







THE POPULAR
HISTORY OF ENGLAND:

An Illustrated History

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

BY CHARLES KNIGHT.

VOLUME VIII.

FROM THE PEACE WITH THE UNITED STATES, 1815, TO THE FINAL EXTINCTION
OF THE CORN-LAWS, FEB., 1849.

WITH

AN APPENDIX OF ANNALS, 1849-1867, AND INDEX.



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THE Diary of Mr. Abbot, the Speaker, for the month of March, 1815, contains brief but remarkable entries which may suggest some notion of the agitation of the public mind when the news came of two most unexpected and untoward events.

“March 8th.—News arrived this day of the failure of the attack on New Orleans; and the loss of general Pakenham, general Gibbs, and 2500 men killed and wounded.”

“March 10th.—News arrived of Bonaparte having escaped from Elba, and landing at Antibes, with 1000 men.”

The second startling piece of intelligence, following so close upon the announcement of a great defeat of the British army in America, might have suggested to many a belief that the treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and the United States, signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, had not been ratified; that the escape of Bonaparte had been anticipated by his democratic friends in America; and that a war in both hemispheres would make the peace as perishable as “The Temple of Concord,” splendid with lamps and fireworks for a few hours, upon which the people had gazed in the Green Park on the night of the 1st of August. The Peace of Ghent had nevertheless been duly ratified. In the days before steam communication, news from Europe did not reach the United States in less than seven or eight weeks. Fort Mobile, at one of the mouths of the Mississippi, had been surrendered to the British on the 11th of February. The news of the conclusion of peace between the plenipotentiaries at Ghent was received in the States on the 14th of February.

We now propose, as intimated in our previous volume, to review the progress of this unhappy war with the United States.* To render this narrative more intelligible, we shall take a brief view of the position of the Union at the period of the rupture with Great Britain, in June, 1812.

The Federal government as then constituted, and as still subsisting, entered upon its functions in 1789. On the 21st of February, 1787, Congress had declared that it was unable to conduct the government under the articles of the first confederation of 1777. Each of the thirteen States had then its separate legislature, each being, in fact, an independent republic assuming an absolute sovereignty. There was no sufficient central authority to act for the whole of the States as composing one nation. An assembly of fifty-five members, with Washington as its president, framed the second constitution, by which the authority is divided between the Federal government and the States. The object aimed at was, that each State should continue to govern itself in whatever concerned its internal affairs, but that the Union should represent one compact body, providing for the general exigencies of the people. The Constitution did not attempt to prescribe the government of the separate States, each of which had its own constitution. The nature and duties of the Federal government were defined with an exactness which shows how comprehensive was the prevision of the able men who drew up the articles which during a very long period maintained so many conflicting interests in tolerable harmony. The Federal government was endowed with legislative, executive, and judicial powers. All legislative authority was vested in a Congress of the United States, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senate was composed of two members from each State, whether large or small. The House of Representatives was composed of a varying number from each State, according to the amount of population. With the Congress abided the power of raising an army and navy, of declaring war, of making peace, of levying taxes for the common defence and welfare of the United States. The executive power was vested in an elective President of the United States, who, in some particulars, was to act under the advice and with the consent of the Senate. The judicial power of the Federal government was vested in one supreme court, in district courts, and in circuit courts.

The sovereignty of the people, which had been nurtured amongst the original settlers, became the guiding principle of the revolution which established the independence of America. The most conspicuous leaders of that revolution were men of old family and of competent fortunes; but the democratic element, progressively increasing in power, gradually weakened and finally destroyed the influence derived from property and from ancient associations. The English laws of entail enabled estates, especially in Virginia, to be transmitted from generation to generation. Estates tail were abolished in Virginia in 1776: in other States the English entail laws were wholly suppressed; and in others were greatly modified. The desire for free circulation of property, in accordance with the general principles of equality which pervaded the American government, caused the rejection of the English laws respecting descent. "If a man dies intestate, his property goes

* *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 545.

to his heirs in a direct line. If he has but one heir or heiress, he or she succeeds to the whole. If there are several heirs of the same degree, they divide the inheritance equally amongst them, without distinction of sex." *

In 1790 the Federal Union comprised the New England States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut; the Middle States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland; the Southern States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Vermont had been added to the original Federation of thirteen States—indicated by the stripes of the American flag. These States, with about 100,000 settlers in Tennessee and Kentucky, had, in 1790, according to the census, a population of about 4 millions; in 1800 the population was nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions; in 1810 it was nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The rate of increase in twenty years was very large in the States composing the Union in 1790; but a million of people had been added in 1810 by the families that had penetrated into the wilds of the West and South-West. Communities rose up, in regions almost unknown to the founders of the American republic, to claim their place in the Union as independent States, having a sufficient amount of population to entitle them to that distinction. Kentucky was admitted to the Union in 1792; Tennessee in 1796; Ohio in 1803. Louisiana, which had been purchased from France in 1803, became a member of the Federation in 1812. These States added largely to the democratic element in the government. In 1790 there were nearly 700,000 slaves in the Union; in 1800 they approached 900,000; in 1810 they amounted to nearly 1,200,000. Of the old States, the four Southern, with Maryland, contained, almost exclusively, the Slave Population. The coloured race were soon abundantly found amongst the swarms of the new Western States, particularly in Kentucky and Tennessee. In the ratio of Representatives to Population, three-fifths of the slaves were added to the whole number of free persons in each State. The slaves, uncared for by legislation, augmented the legislative power of the slave-owners. Universal Suffrage had one exception—"Blacks excluded."

Such was the community that, in 1812, declared war against Great Britain.

John Adams, the second President of the United States, was elected upon the retirement of Washington after his eight years' service, at the end of 1796. According to the American constitution, the President might be once re-elected on the expiration of his first term of four years. Adams was not so re-elected, although he had filled the office of Vice-President for eight years under Washington. Each of these eminent men was opposed to the extreme Democratic party, of which Jefferson was the most distinguished representative. The contest between the Federalists and the Democrats was the most violent that the Union had beheld; and it ended by the election of Jefferson as President by a majority of one vote of the electoral body. Jefferson himself described this event of 1801 as a pacific revolution, as real as that of 1776—a revolution not in the form of the powers, but in the principles, of the government, which had compelled the vessel of the

* Kent's "Commentaries," quoted in De Toqueville, "Democracy in America," vol. i. p. 283.

state to float out of the monarchical current in which a faction, as if possessed—a faction composed of Anglicised Royalists and Aristocrats—had detained it during the sleep of the people. The revolution of 1801, he held, had carried the vessel of the state into its natural course—the Republican and Democratic course.*

During the Presidency of Washington it was with great difficulty that he could prevent the sympathies of the people with Republican France from plunging America into a war with England. There had been a French and an English party since the Union of the States in 1789. It is pointed out as remarkable, that most of the veterans who bore arms against England during the Revolution had become of the English party. This party included the majority of the wealthy and the educated. But the universality of suffrage more and more compelled every candidate for power to become the partizan of France.† When the Democratic party became supreme under Jefferson from 1801 to 1809, and afterwards under James Madison, although it might have been conceived that the despotism of the Consulate and the Empire would have revolted the genuine friends of liberty, the commercial derangements arising out of Bonaparte's Milan and Berlin decrees were tenderly dealt with, whilst the results of the counter measures of the British Orders in Council created in the majority an exclusive bitterness of feeling against this country.‡ The injuries inflicted upon American commerce by the decrees of Napoleon called forth no warlike manifestation of American resentment. The Orders in Council of England, in connection with the assertion of our claim to a right of search for British sailors in American trading vessels, produced a hostile Message to Congress of the American President on the 1st of June, 1812. This was the prologue to the Act of the 18th of June of the Senate and House of Representatives, by which war was declared "to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof and the United States of America and their territories." Five days after the date of this declaration of war, and before the Message of Madison could have been known in England, our government had unconditionally suspended the Orders in Council as regarded America. A conditional revocation of the Orders had appeared in the "London Gazette" of the 3rd of April. This holding out the hand of fellowship did not produce a corresponding demonstration. The great Democratic party were bent upon war.§

To attempt to arrive at an impartial estimate of facts from the counterpleas of two parties in a civil cause, is a very difficult and unsatisfactory task. To judge between two angry nations by the accusations and recriminations of their manifestoes, would be an attempt still more embarrassing to the historian. The Message of the American President of the 1st of June is such an ex-parte manifesto;|| the Declaration of the Prince Regent, relative to the causes and origin of the war with America, of the 9th of January, 1813, is a

* Cornelis de Wit, "Thomas Jefferson, Étude Historique," Paris, 1861.

† Simoud, "Tour in Great Britain," vol. i. p. 329.

‡ *Ante*, vol. vii. pp. 493-494.

§ *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 544.

|| "Annual Register" for 1812, p. 424.

state paper of a similar character.* There is, however, a very remarkable document of American origin, which, although coming from a community whose interests were deeply opposed to the war, may furnish some evidence to test the value of the rival pleas of the two belligerent governments.† On the 14th of June, 1813, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts addressed a Remonstrance to the Senate and Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, in which it was contended that, "the promptness with which Great Britain hastened to repeal her Orders, before the declaration of war by the United States was made known to her, and the restoration of an immense amount of property, then within her power, can leave but little doubt that the war, on our part, was premature; and still less, that the perseverance in it, after that repeal was known, was improper, impolitic, and unjust." The Legislature of Massachusetts maintained that the United States had never induced Great Britain to believe that the impressment of her own seamen on board of American ships was a reasonable ground of war. It held that the evil of impressment had been grossly exaggerated; ‡ and that an honest and fair proposal to exclude the subjects of Great Britain from the American service would have produced an honourable and advantageous arrangement of the whole question. The Prince Regent, in his Declaration, avers, that the complete subserviency of the government of the United States to the ruler of France was the real cause of the war; that "from their common origin, from their common interests, and from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny." The Remonstrance of the Legislature of Massachusetts echoes this charge in words of glowing eloquence: "If war must have been the portion of these United States; if they were destined by Providence to march the downward road to slavery, through foreign conquest and military usurpation; your remonstrants regret that such a moment and such an occasion should have been chosen for the experiment; that while the oppressed nations of Europe are making a magnanimous and glorious effort against the common enemy of free states, we alone, the descendants of the pilgrims, sworn foes to civil and religious slavery, should voluntarily co-operate with the oppressor to bind other nations in his chains."

The policy of Jefferson during the eight years of his Presidency, and that of Madison during the first three years of his tenure of office, was not to draw the sword against either of the two great belligerents who interfered with the peaceful course of American commerce by their decrees and counter-decrees. Their weapons were embargoes and tariffs. Gradually the war-party in the States became irresistible. Six months only were wanting to the completion of the term of Madison's Presidency; he would not be re-elected if he did not yield to the popular voice, whose passionate expression, in the Slave States especially, was no evidence against its real strength. In a

* Hansard, vol. xxiv. p. 363.

† "Annual Register," 1813, p. 409 (State Papers).

‡ Simond says that one half of the crews of American ships were British seamen, having false protections, and yet not one in a hundred was impressed. He himself owned twenty-four American vessels, and had not ten sailors impressed out of them during the war, although a great number were British-born. ("Tour," vol. i. p. 334.)

mixed government the violence of the multitude has a counterpoise in the sagacity and prudence of the more educated classes. In America, when two generals, friends of Washington, who had advocated peace, were conveyed to prison to shelter them from the mob, and when the mob broke open the prison, fractured the skull of one, and killed another on the spot, the lesson was very intelligible to waverers between war and peace. Jefferson himself dreaded going to war, because "the licentious and lying character of our journals, but more than this, the marvellous credulity with which the members of Congress received every current lie," would produce constant embarrassment to the government in the conduct of the war. The newspapers had become a new power in the Federation, "indispensable to the existence of freedom, and nearly incompatible with the maintenance of public order."* Yet their rapid and excessive multiplication had neutralized their influence. In 1775 there were 37 newspapers in the thirteen States; in 1810 there were 358 in the Union. Jefferson, however "quaker" was his general policy, looked upon the probable issue of the war of 1812 with an almost childish confidence. The United States had only to create a marine to free the seas from the ascendancy of Great Britain. Upon American ground they would be irresistible. The invasion of Canada would be only a march. To carry Halifax would be merely an affair of a few months. New York might be burnt by the British fleet, but could not the government of the Union, in its turn, cause London to be burnt by English mercenaries, easily recruited from a starving corrupt population? No truce, no intermission, before Canada was obtained as an indemnity for a thousand ships seized by British cruisers, and for six thousand seamen carried off by impressment. No sheathing the sword before full security for the future was obtained for every man sailing under the American flag. All this accomplished,—peace with Great Britain, and war with France. Such were the dreams of the man who drew the first Declaration of Independence, and who believed that nothing was beyond the power of a democratic government.† The warlike impulses of this democracy were sensibly mitigated by the sudden pressure of taxation for the general purposes of the Federal government, in addition to the local taxation of each State. In the four years ended 1811, the expenditure upon the Military and Naval Establishments was about 24 millions of dollars. In the four years ended 1815, they had reached 102 millions of dollars. The Public Debt had been more than doubled between 1813 and 1816, as compared with the four previous years.

The injurious effects to the commerce of both countries which resulted from the British Orders in Council, the American Embargo Acts, and the war, are manifest in the returns of exports of British produce to the United States, and of the total exports from American ports to all countries. In 1807 the United States imported nearly twenty-nine millions of pounds' worth of foreign merchandise, and exported twenty-two millions and a half of home and foreign produce. In 1811 the imports and the exports were less by one half. In 1814 the total imports from all parts of the world

* De Tocqueville, vol. ii. p. 20.

† These opinions are supported by a reference to five letters of Jefferson, of January, June, and August, 1812, to be found in "Works of Jefferson," vol. vi. See De Wit, "Thomas Jefferson," p. 356.

amounted only to 2,700,000*l.*, and the total exports to 1,440,000*l.* The internal resources of America were indeed very great, in her unlimited amount of territory, in the adventurous industry of her people, and in the rapid multiplication of the communications between the several States. In 1790 there were under 2000 miles of Post Routes, with 75 Post-offices. In 1815 there were nearly 44,000 miles of Post Routes, with 3000 Post-offices. But the American population would never have quadrupled in half a century without the stimulus of foreign commerce. The great Cotton cultivation of the Southern States was at the period of this war very imperfectly developed, and their slave population was consequently less identified with the ruthless tyranny of the demand for labour than with the milder servitude under the original planters. It might have been supposed that the interruption of our cotton supply by the war of 1812 would have produced an essential derangement of that great branch of our manufacturing industry which had enabled us in a considerable degree to support the pressure of the continental war. But at that period the imports of American cotton were comparatively trifling. The first arrival of cotton wool from America was one bag from Charleston delivered at Liverpool in 1785. In 1791 only 2,000,000 lbs. of cotton were grown in the United States; in 1801 the crop was about 40,000,000 lbs.; in 1811 the crop was estimated at 80,000,000 lbs. The exports of cotton, which had been 62,000,000 lbs. in 1811, were reduced to 28,000,000 lbs. in 1812, and to 19,000,000 lbs. in 1813. When we compare these figures with the 961,707,264 lbs. of raw cotton imported into the United Kingdom from the United States in the year ending 31st of December, 1859, we may estimate the danger and difficulty of a diminished supply now, as compared with the period when the commercial intercourse of the two countries was wholly suspended, except through the extensive operation of that contraband trade which no blockade or embargo could prevent.* It is a singular fact, as showing the notions of commercial policy which prevailed at that period in the legislative mind, that Earl Darnley, in the House of Lords on May 14, 1813, complained that "American Cotton, on a system that could not be too severely reprobated, had, until lately, been allowed to be imported, to the great detriment of our own colonies, and to the great advantage of the territory of our enemies." † The cotton-spinners of York at that time addressed a petition to the House of Commons, in which they said, that having learnt that petitions had been presented to the House in favour of a prohibition on the exportation of cotton-wool, the growth of America, they prayed the House not to adopt any measures which could assist the efforts of foreign nations to supplant our cotton manufacture, and which would prove the entire ruin of the trade of the petitioners.‡

In the Remonstrance of Massachusetts the Congress is asked, "Must we add another example to the catalogue of republics which have been ruined by a spirit of foreign conquests. . . . Were not the territories of the United

* For the preceding statistical facts regarding the United States at the time of the War, we have consulted "Geography of America," published by the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; Porter's "Progress of the Nation;" Macgregor's "Commercial Statistics," vol. iii.; the "English Cyclopædia," art. United States; and the "American Almanac," for 1861.

† Hansard, vol. xxvi. col. 180.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

States sufficiently extensive before the annexation of Louisiana, the projected reduction of Canada, and the seizure of West Florida?" Within a fortnight after the declaration of war, the American general Hull set out for the invasion of Canada with a force of 2800 men. On the 12th of July he crossed the river Detroit, and captured the small open town of Sandwich. From this place he issued a proclamation threatening a war of extermination if the savages were employed in resisting his advance. The English commander, major-general Brock, had, however, collected a force of 700 British regulars and militia, and 600 Indians, with which he repulsed Hull in three attempts against Fort Amherstburg, and compelled him to recross the river to Detroit. On the 16th of August Hull capitulated with 2500 men to Brock and his little army. A second attempt to invade Upper Canada was made by the American general Wadsworth, who, on the 13th of October, carried Queenstown with a large force. In the defence of Queenstown, general Brock, the gallant English commander, fell; but reinforcements of English troops having arrived, Wadsworth was totally defeated, and surrendered with 900 men. At the time of Hull's capitulation to Brock, the American fort in the small island of Michillimackinac was taken by a force of English, of Canadians, and of Indians.

The employment of Indians in the first American war had aroused the eloquent wrath of Chatham, when he exclaimed, "Who is the man who will dare to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage?" Not only American but English writers denounce their employment in the war of 1812, as a stain upon our national reputation. Certainly it is to be apprehended that whenever the Indians were acting in detached bodies, as allies of the British and Canadians, their warfare was marked by the reckless destruction of life and property, and by their accustomed cruelty to the vanquished enemy. It is not clear, however, that the charge is unexceptionably just that the British brought into the conflict "savages of too low an order to be under military command."* It is but fair to state that in the last despatch of general Brock, addressed to sir George Prevost, Governor in chief of the British provinces of North America, he says, that many of the Indian nations had been engaged in active warfare with the United States, notwithstanding the constant endeavours of the British government to dissuade them from it; that from the breaking out of the war, they took a most active part; and that they were led in the attack upon Hull at Detroit by an English colonel and an English captain. "Nothing," adds general Brock, "could exceed their order and steadiness. A few prisoners were taken by them during the advance, whom they treated with every humanity. Such was their forbearance and attention to what was required of them, that the enemy sustained no other loss in men than what was occasioned by the fire of our battery."† This might have been an exceptional case, in which the common ferocity of Indian warfare might have been controlled by one of the most honourable and the most lamented of the British officers in America. The savages fighting under him cannot be described as of "too low an order to be under military com-

* H. Martineau, "Introduction to History of the Peace."

† London Gazette, October 6th, 1812, in "Annual Register."

mand." The British authorities undoubtedly put arms into the hands of the Indian chiefs when the war broke out. The crime was not in arming these daring warriors, with the intent to bring them under the common subjection of the soldier to his officer; but in leaving them when they were armed to their own uncontrolled action, in which "forbearance" would have been accounted by them weakness and not virtue.

The early successes of our land forces could scarcely have been expected. The number of regular British troops in Canada was about 4500 men; the militia of the two provinces was not more in number. The American regular army was equally small. But the prowess of the American militia had been capable in the former war of gaining victories over the disciplined troops of Burgoyne and Cornwallis. The politicians of London were surprised at the victories of 1812. They saw a great host of the militia of the Northern States ready to fight with the warlike enthusiasm of democratic populations. They were unacquainted with the philosophical demonstration, "that when a democratic people engages in a war after a long peace, it incurs much more risk of defeat than any other nation." The first successes of our armies in America begat a confidence that the duration of the war would be attended with similar triumphs. There was surprise when our troops in Canada were beaten. There was universal indignation when, in the last year of the war, the choicest of the Peninsular troops were routed at New Orleans. It was not understood that the chances of success for the army of a democratic people are necessarily increased by a prolonged war; and that such an army, if not ruined at first, would become the victors.*

At the commencement of the war of 1812, the naval force of the United States consisted of four frigates and eight sloops, manned by 6000 seamen. The British navy comprised, of ships in commission for sea service, a total of 621; of these, 102 were ships of the line; of frigates, from 44 guns to 32, there were 111; of smaller frigates, sloops, gun-brigs, and cutters, there were more than 300.† What, thought the people of this country, could the petty American navy effect against such a force? The London Gazette, of the 6th of October, announced the capture of Detroit and the capitulation of Hull. The London Gazette, of the 10th of October, contains a despatch from vice-admiral Sawyer, enclosing "a letter from captain Dacres, of his Majesty's *late* ship *Guerrière*, giving an account of his having sustained a close action of near two hours, on the 19th ult., with the American frigate *Constitution*, of very superior force both in guns and men (of the latter almost double), when the *Guerrière*, being totally dismasted, she rolled so deep as to render all further efforts at the guns unavailing, and it became a duty to spare the lives of the remaining part of her valuable crew by hauling down her colours." The American frigate *Constitution*, which captured the *Guerrière*, was of 1533 tons, whilst the English frigate was of 1092 tons. On the 16th of October the American brig *Wasp* captured the British sloop *Frolic*, each being of 18 guns, but the American vessel much superior in tonnage. Both these small vessels were captured soon after the action by the British ship of the line *Poictiers*. Another disaster quickly

* See De Tocqueville, vol. iv. chap. xxiv.

† See Tables to James's "Naval History."

followed the loss of the *Guerrière*. The British frigate *Macedonian*, after a most gallant fight, was captured by the American frigate *United States*. As in the case of the *Guerrière*, the tonnage of the *Macedonian* was nearly a third less than the tonnage of the enemy's frigate. Again, on the 29th of December, the *Java*, of 1092 tons, was captured by the *Constitution*. The British sloop *Peacock*, which struck to the American brig *Hornet* on the 14th of February, 1813, was the fifth ship of our navy, numbering 621 vessels in commission for sea service, which had hauled down its colours in engagements with four ships of that navy which comprised only four frigates and eight sloops. The people of this country were in astonishment, and almost in despair, at this unexpected result. The glory of our navy had departed. "The charm of its invincibility had now been broken; its consecrated standard no longer floated victorious on the main."* France and other nations rejoiced, saying that England's maritime tyranny was at an end. The Admiralty was assailed by denunciations of its incapacity and neglect. It was answered that our naval force on the American stations at the commencement of the war was in no degree insufficient; that from Halifax to the West Indies there were stationed ships seven times more powerful than the whole of the American navy. Our government was evidently ignorant of the great inequality in the comparative size of what were called American frigates. The *Constitution*, the *United States*, and the *President*, were intended for line-of-battle ships. Although only single-decked vessels, they had the same tonnage and capacity for carrying men as the greater number of British two-deckers. They were ships of the line in disguise. The Americans no doubt knew that the captain of a British 32-gun frigate was bound to fight any single-decked ship, and that he would be liable to a court-martial if he shrank from such an engagement. Our government, which prescribed the rule, shut its eyes to the inevitable danger. Scarcely a frigate of our navy in the Atlantic was sailing with a consort. As in the outset of every other war, and too often during its continuance, the British Admiralty was the slave of routine. It neither built frigates, nor cut down line-of-battle ships, capable of meeting these enormous American vessels called frigates. It sent the captains and crews of ordinary frigates to fight single-handed against such disparity of force. There were numerous fast two-deckers that might have been employed on the American stations, ready for meeting these vessels on equal terms. The Admiralty believed that a frigate was a frigate, and ought to contend with any other frigate. The government was, in truth, too busy with the European war to pay much attention to an enemy regarded with an official feeling approaching to contempt.

Seven years only had elapsed since the glories of Trafalgar, when the British navy felt degraded and humiliated by these unforeseen triumphs of an enemy with whom that generation of seamen had never measured their strength. A spirit of emulation was quickly roused. The commanders and crews of ships in the Atlantic knew that it would not be enough to make prize of merchant vessels and sweep privateers from the seas, but that the honour of the British flag would be impaired unless some achievement could

* Earl Dornley in the House of Lords, May 14, 1813—(Hansard, vol. xxiv. col. 182.)

restore its old prestige. There was a captain of a frigate on the Halifax station whose chivalrous feeling prompted him to some exploit in which, with an equal enemy, he might rely upon a sound ship and upon well-trained men. Captain Broke, of the Shannon, had, by careful training, brought his crew into the highest state of efficiency. He had been long watching the frigate Chesapeake in the harbour of Boston. These frigates were of nearly equal strength in their weight of metal and their number of men. Captain Broke, in his desire to fight a duel with the American frigate, had sent away his consort, the Tenedos, and had then despatched a courteous challenge to captain Lawrence of the Chesapeake, in which he says:—"I request you will do me the favour to meet the Shannon, ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags. All interruption shall be provided against." This challenge was sent on the 1st of June, and immediately afterwards the Shannon lay-to under Boston lighthouse. Captain Lawrence had not received Broke's letter when he sailed out of the harbour, followed by many seamen and other inhabitants of Boston in barges and pleasure boats, who expected that this daring demonstration of the hostile frigate would be followed by its speedy capture. At half-past five in the afternoon the American hauled up within hail of the Englishman on the starboard side, and the battle began. After two or three broadsides had been exchanged, the Chesapeake fell on board the Shannon, her mizen chains locking in with her adversary's fore-rigging. Broke immediately ordered the two ships to be lashed together, and the select men to prepare for boarding. His own pithy narrative tells the result more effectively than any amplification. "Our gallant bands appointed to that service immediately rushed in, under their respective officers, upon the enemy's decks, driving everything before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance. The firing continued at all the gangways, and between the tops, but in two minutes' time the enemy were driven sword in hand from every post. The American flag was hauled down, and the proud old British union floated triumphant over it. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole of this service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action." This single combat, fought on the anniversary of Howe's great victory, had as much effect in restoring the confidence of England in her naval arm as if an enemy's squadron had been brought captured into her ports. Captain Broke sailed off with his prize for Halifax, where captain Lawrence, who had fought his ship with real heroism, died of his wounds, and was followed to the grave by the officers of the Shannon.

The details of the campaigns in Canada would have small interest for the present generation. The vicissitudes of this warfare, the advance of the Americans one week and their retreat the next, the skirmishes, the surprises, scarcely excited the attention of the public of this country, coming close upon the stimulating narratives of the retreat of Napoleon from Moscow, or the march of Wellington from Torres Vedras to Madrid. The battle of "Chrystler's Farm" could scarcely compete in interest with the victory of Salamanca. In 1813 the British were compelled to evacuate York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada. The Americans there burnt the public buildings; which act was alleged as the justification for a more

memorable and more disgraceful act of retaliation by the British at Washington. In an attack upon Burlington, the Americans were compelled to fall back upon Niagara, and lost a great part of their army in a series of unsuccessful actions. The British on the Detroit frontier were forced to retreat in confusion. On Lake Ontario our troops, under sir George Prevost, were repulsed in an attack upon Sackett's Harbour. On Lake Erie the superior force of the enemy destroyed our flotilla; and the Americans, obtaining the command of the lake, became masters of Upper Canada. Ten thousand men then marched from different points upon Lower Canada, where the action near Chrystler's Farm took place, and the American army, totally routed, precipitately crossed the St. Lawrence. General Hull sustained another severe defeat on the 25th of December. In this campaign, when the American general evacuated Fort St. George, by the express orders of his government he burnt the Canadian village of Newark. The order said, "The exposed part of the frontier must be protected by destroying such of the Canadian villages in its front as would best shelter the enemy during the winter." When the British troops under colonel Murray defeated the Americans at Buffalo, that village was burnt as well as the village of Black Rock; and the Indians were let loose on the surrounding country to take vengeance for the conflagration of Newark. Sir George Prevost then issued a proclamation lamenting the necessity which had compelled these reprisals, and deprecating a continuance of so barbarous a system of warfare. His retaliation had some effect upon the Americans in putting a stop to what an officer of that government called the "new and degrading system of defence, which, by substituting the torch for the bayonet, furnished the enemy with both motive and justification for a war of retaliation."* The disgrace remained to both sides. The retaliatory spirit was strangely exhibited during this year in another form. Twenty-three prisoners of war were sent to England to be dealt with as British subjects. The American general then ordered into close confinement twenty-three British soldiers, as hostages for the safety of the twenty-three who were liable to be dealt with as traitors. Our government selected forty-six officers and non-commissioned officers—prisoners in England—to be regarded as hostages for the safety of the twenty-three prisoners in America. The affair went off with menaces; and, on an exchange of prisoners, the British who had fought against their country, and the hostages, were silently released.

The desultory, indecisive, and useless fightings in Canada had produced not the slightest effect upon the relative positions of Great Britain and America. The English, however, had learnt not to underrate the courage and enterprize of their enemy; the Americans had learnt that Canada could not be conquered in a day's march, and that a handful of disciplined troops might defend the country against numerous bands imperfectly organized. The naval successes of the United States were almost wholly at an end after the first year. Our government learnt a little caution and providence, and gave up the false confidence that any English frigate could fight a vessel whose tonnage was as three to two. The merchant service of both countries sustained severe losses; but American commerce suffered still more from the

* Armstrong (American Secretary-at-War)—quoted by Alison.

restrictive measures of the American government. The interruption to the dealings of North and South with neutral states was so serious, that in March, 1814, the President proposed to Congress the repeal of the Embargo and Non-Importation Acts. The British government proclaimed a blockade of the whole Atlantic coast of the United States, nearly 2000 miles in extent, and abounding in harbours and navigable inlets. The President, on the 29th of June, proclaimed that such blockade was not a regular or legal blockade, as defined and recognized by the law of nations, and that it formed no lawful prohibition or obstacle to friendly and neutral vessels to trade with the United States. We have shown that in 1814 the total exports of the United States had fallen to less than a million and a half in value. The government had almost wholly lost, in the excessive falling off of imports, its great source of revenue—the Customs. It resorted in 1814 to taxes on excisable articles, to licences, and to stamps. The system of loans, coupled with the issue of Treasury notes was also adopted; and the public debt was very quickly doubled. The Democratic party was depressed, and almost hopeless. Jefferson himself began to speak with bitterness of the ruin of the planters, of the weight of taxes, of the silly boasts of the press.* The personal lot of this distinguished man was truly pitiable. He said, that as for himself, this state of things would compel him to make the sacrifice of all tranquillity, of all comfort, for the rest of his days. From the total depreciation of the products which ought to procure him subsistence and independence, he should be, like Tantalus, dying of thirst, with the water up to his shoulders. The New England States began openly to complain of that preponderance of the Southern States which had forced the Union into war. Very early in the contest Massachusetts and Connecticut had refused to send their contingents to the army of the Union; and now Massachusetts proposed to confer with delegates from other New England States, “to take measures if they think proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States, to revise the Constitution”—in other words, to break up the Union. Six years later, the question of preponderance between the North and South was again agitated, upon the discussions on the admission of Missouri to the Union; in which struggle the great question was involved, whether slavery should be established in that State, or excluded by the terms of admission. The confidence of many thoughtful persons in the United States in the duration of the Union had been shaken by the divisions of Federalists and Republicans, which had reached a climax in the war of 1812. Jefferson, one of the most foreseeing of the founders of the Republic, did not regard these divisions with alarm, because they existed in the bosom of each State. What he regarded with alarm was the coincidence of a line of demarcation, moral and political, with the geographical line. The views of a sagacious statesman are sometimes prophetic. The idea of a line of geographical demarcation involving a different system of politics and morals, once conceived, he thought could never be effaced. He believed that this idea would appear, on every occasion, renewing irritation, and kindling in the end hate so mortal, that separation would become preferable to eternal discord. He

* Letters of Jefferson, in the sixth volume of his Works.

had been, he said, of those who had had the firmest confidence in the long duration of the Union; he began much to doubt it.*

On the 31st of May, 1814, two thousand four hundred gallant troops, the soldiers of Wellington in the Peninsula, were on board a fleet in the Garonne, waiting a favourable wind to sail for America. They consisted of the Forty-fourth and the Eighty-fifth regiments, and had marched from Bayonne when the white flag hoisted on the citadel had announced that the war with France was at an end. The squadron sailed for Bermuda where they were joined by other forces. The troops, amounting to about 3500 men, were under the command of general Ross. Admiral Cockburn commanded the fleet. These officers were experienced and energetic. Their political discretion may be doubted, although their first dangerous and unjustifiable measures might have been under the positive direction of the government at home. Having taken possession of the Tangier Islands in the Bay of Chesapeake, they invited the negroes in the adjoining provinces, with a promise of emancipation, to join the British forces. Seventeen hundred men fled from their plantations, and were marshalled in the English ranks. This incitement of the negro population to revolt was a measure that the most uncompromising hostility and the nearest danger could scarcely justify. The British government had to pay a heavy fine to the owners of the slaves; the amount of which was referred at the Treaty of Ghent to the emperor of Russia. He awarded a compensation of 250,000*l.* On the 14th of August admiral Cockburn officially announced to Mr. Monroe, the American Secretary of State, that it was his purpose to employ the force under his direction "in destroying and laying waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable." He added that this was in retaliation for a wanton destruction committed by the army of the United States in Upper Canada.† The announcement was afterwards withdrawn. The spirit of it was unhappily preserved, to diminish the lustre of a brilliant attack upon the capital of the United States.‡

The British squadron having ascended the river Patuxent, the army was disembarked at the village of Benedict, with the intention of co-operating with admiral Cockburn in an attack on a flotilla of gunboats. The army commenced its march on the 20th of August, and in three days had advanced to within sixteen miles of Washington. Admiral Cockburn had during this time taken and destroyed the whole of the flotilla. On the 23rd general Ross determined to make an attempt to carry Washington. He put his troops in motion on the evening of the 23rd, and on the 24th

* Works, vol. vii. quoted by De Wit. See Miss Martineau, "History of the American Compromises."

† Alison, in quoting this announcement, makes admiral Cockburn say, that it became his duty to do this "under the new and imperative character of his orders."

‡ The duke of Wellington had ever scrupulously respected private property, and had spared defenceless places. When the Prince de Joinville, in 1814, suggested the bombardment of Brighton in the event of a war, the duke wrote to Mr. Raikes—"What but the inordinate desire of popularity could have induced a man in his station, a prince of the blood royal, the son of the king, of high rank and pretensions in that profession of the service, to write and publish such a production—an invitation and provocative to war, to be carried on in a manner such as has been disclaimed by the civilized portions of mankind."—(Raikes' "Correspondence," p. 366.)

defeated the American army, amounting to between eight and nine thousand men. The catastrophe is related in few words by general Ross:—"Having halted the army for a short time, I determined to march upon Washington, and reached that city at eight o'clock that night. Judging it of consequence to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, so that the army might retire without loss of time, the following buildings were set fire to and consumed:—the Capitol, including the Senate-House and House of Representatives, the Arsenal, the Dockyard, Treasury, War-office, President's Palace, Rope-walk, and the great Bridge across the Potomac: in the dockyard a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop-of-war, were consumed. The object of the expedition being accomplished, I determined, before any greater force of the enemy could be assembled, to withdraw the troops, and accordingly commenced retiring on the night of the 25th."

The indignation of the American people was naturally extreme at an event which was not unjustly characterized in a proclamation issued from Washington on the 1st of September. The President therein accuses the invading force, that during their possession of the capital of the nation, though only for a single day, "they wantonly destroyed the public edifices, having no relation in their structure to operations of war, nor used at the time for military annoyance; some of these edifices being also costly monuments of taste and of the arts, and others repositories of the public archives, not only precious to the nation, as the memorials of its origin and its early transactions, but interesting to all nations, as contributions to the general stock of historical instruction and political science." In England there was a general feeling that, however brilliant had been the attack upon Washington, the destruction of non-warlike buildings was something more than a mistake. It was an outrage inconsistent with civilized warfare, which was not likely to produce "on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of a war in which they have been so wantonly involved." Such was the thoughtless and undignified language of the Prince Regent's speech on opening the Session of Parliament on the 8th of November. A more sober view of this demonstration of the calamities of war was taken by a high military authority at the Horse Guards. "It may tend to disunite and to spread alarm and confusion, but I incline to think that it will give eventually more power to the Congress. A nation may be overpowered and compelled to peace, but it must be a most contemptible set to be frightened into one."* Lord Grenville, with dignified earnestness, lamented a departure from a system of forbearance which had been pursued even by Napoleon during a conflict of twenty years, in whose hands nearly all the capitals of Europe had been, and in no instance, except in that of the Kremlin of Moscow, were any unmilitary buildings destroyed.† We had done, said Mr. Whitbread, what the Goths had refused to do at Rome, when Belisarius represented to them that to destroy works of art was to erect a monument to the folly of the destroyers.‡ He maintained that the outrage at Washington had con-

* Sir Willoughby Gordon, Letter to the Speaker, October 1st, 1814—Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 520.

† Hansard, vol. xxix. col. 17.

‡ See Gibbon, chap. xliii., A.D. 506.

ciliated to the American government those parts of the United States which were before hostile to it; had put in motion battalions of militia which before were not allowed to march. It had united all. It had made determined opposition to England a common interest.*

Whether to the destruction of the public buildings of Washington may be attributed the extraordinary vigour which seemed now to be infused into the military character of the American democracy, it is certain that after that event the course of the war was one of almost unvarying success to their arms. In a battle on the 11th of September, which was the prelude to an attack upon Baltimore, general Ross was mortally wounded; and colonel Brooke who succeeded to the command, although gaining a victory, was compelled the next night to retreat to the ships which were intended to co-operate in the assault. The Americans had sunk twenty vessels in the Patapsco river, which effectually prevented the British squadron rendering any aid. But a more serious blow was inflicted upon the army in Canada. Our forces there, under sir George Prevost, had been augmented till they had reached sixteen thousand regular troops, who had arrived from the South of France, with the full conviction on the part of our government that the war would be speedily concluded by this array of veterans against undisciplined masses. Nine thousand of the soldiers of the Peninsula were to act in co-operation with a flotilla on Lake Champlain. This little fleet of a frigate, a brig, a sloop, and twelve-gun boats, was ill-manned and equipped. The American squadron on the lake was very superior in strength. The troops under Prevost were to attack the redoubts of Plattsburg, whilst our flotilla was engaged with the vessels in the bay. Captain Downie led his ship the *Confiance* gallantly into action; but when a heavy fire opened from the American line, the gun-boats, which had few British sailors on board, took flight like scared wild fowl. The frigate, brig, and sloop were left to bear all the brunt of the contest. The *Confiance* made a brave fight, as did the brig and sloop; but they were finally compelled to strike. Meanwhile, Prevost lingered in making the land attack; and his troops did not reach the point of assault till the fleet had surrendered. He had been thus instructed by earl Bathurst: "take care not to expose his Majesty's troops to being cut off; and guard against whatever might commit the safety of the forces under your command." He obeyed his instructions to the letter. The command of the lake was lost; and therefore it was useless to attack Plattsburg. A violent outcry was raised against our commander of the forces in Canada. He resigned; and demanded a court-martial. Wellington thought Prevost was right to retire after the fleet was beaten.† He died before the court-martial commenced. His defence of Canada, with a small force, against repeated incursions of an enemy whose numbers were long thought by the Americans to be irresistible, ought to have saved his memory from the obloquy which has been attempted to be thrown upon it by some writers.‡

On Christmas Day, 1814, general sir Edward Pakenham, one of the most brave and skilful of the officers who had served under Wellington in Spain,

* Hansard, vol. xxix. col. 47.

† "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 224.

‡ A writer in the "Quarterly Review," No. LIV. is amongst the bitterest of his accusers. Alison has ably and generously defended him.

joined the army that was encamped a short distance from New Orleans, preparing for an assault upon that city. The British government had not unjustly deemed that the capture of a place situated within a hundred miles of the mouth of the Mississippi, and which therefore was the chief emporium of the commerce of the "Great Water," would be an important success, and have a material influence on the favourable conclusion of a peace. Sir Edward Pakenham, accompanied by general Gibbs, had arrived from England to take the chief command of the army, which, after the fall of general Ross, had been under the orders of general Keane. Pakenham found this army, having achieved no final success at Baltimore, now placed in a situation of considerable danger and difficulty. On that Christmas-day the officers dined together, but their festivity was not cheered by any pleasant retrospect of a past triumph which could give them confidence in an approaching victory. New Orleans was an unfortified town, then containing only about 17,000 inhabitants—one-tenth of its population in 1860. The forts on the Mississippi were too strong to enable an armament to sail up from its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico. But a hostile force having passed from Lake Borgne into Lake Pontchartrain, might land at either of two creeks. The Bayou of St. John was too well guarded to render a landing easy. The Bayou of Catiline, about ten miles from the city, was more practicable; but an army having landed would find itself planted on open swampy ground, with the Mississippi on the one side of the city, and a morass on the other side, preventing any assault except from the unfavourable ground on the bank of the lake.

On the 13th of December the troops embarked in small boats, and began to enter Lake Borgne. They had here to encounter a powerful American flotilla, which was finally defeated. A portion of the troops was now landed on a barren place called Pine Island, where it was determined that the whole army should assemble. It was the 21st before all were got on shore in this wretched desert, where, without tents or huts, and unable to find fuel, the troops were exposed to rain by day and to frost by night. Pine Island was eighty miles distant from the creek where it was proposed to disembark. Only about one-third of the troops could be conveyed at once in the open boats, which only could navigate those shallow waters. It was necessary therefore to arrange for the landing in divisions. The advanced division, consisting of 1600 men, successfully disembarked at the Bayou of Catiline, having surprised the American sentinels. General Keane was in command of this division. No enemy was to be seen. Deserters came in, saying that the inhabitants of New Orleans were favourably disposed towards the British. Everything appeared to promise safety, and general Keane marched into the open country without waiting, as had been arranged, for the other divisions to join him. He ordered the troops to encamp near the Mississippi. The men had eaten their supper in the belief that their rest would not be disturbed, when a large vessel dropped her anchor in the river, and furled her sails opposite the camp. A cry was at last heard, "Give them this for the honour of America!" and a broadside of grape swept down numbers of our unprepared soldiers. The night was dark as the schooner continued to fire from the river. On the land side the rattle of musketry was now heard. Our troops had found some shelter from the fire of the schooner, but now they were surrounded by a

superior land force. After a severe struggle, without any possibility of forming the men, the enemy retreated. We had lost five hundred killed and wounded in this deadly strife. The second division of the army, which had embarked about twelve hours after the first division, heard the firing in the stillness of the night, as the boats were crossing the lake. By great exertions the whole army had been brought into position on the evening of the 24th. The next day Pakenham arrived to take the command, and was received with such hearty cheers as manifested the confidence of the soldiers in a Peninsular commander.

The first object of the general was to construct a battery, by which, firing red-hot shot, he destroyed the schooner on the river. On the 27th he advanced his whole force to attack the American army. It was advantageously posted, being defended in front by a broad canal, and by formidable breastworks. The road by which the army marched was not only commanded by batteries, but by a flotilla on the Mississippi. The British ranks were greatly thinned by this conjoint fire. It was thought necessary to pause before further operations. All this effectual resistance had been evidently planned by some officer of high military talent. That officer was general Jackson, who became President of the United States in 1829. The British army was inactive on the 28th, 29th, and 30th. The enemy was strengthening his lines, which were so formidable, that Pakenham resolved to construct breaching batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, brought up from the vessels on the lake. During the night of the 31st six batteries had been completed, the material of which was not earth, but hogsheads of sugar taken out of the warehouses on the plantations. One of the other great products of Louisiana was employed by the Americans. Their parapets were constructed of earth and bags of cotton. It was soon found that our defences of sugar-hogsheads were wholly unavailing. In the first six days of January, a bold and ingenious attempt was made by the British commander to deepen a canal which ran across the neck of land lying between the Bayou of Catiline and the Mississippi, so that boats might be brought up from the lake, and a portion of the troops carried across the river to attack the battery on its right bank. The morning of the 7th was arranged for a general attack. The army had been reinforced by the arrival of two battalions under general Lambert, and its whole number was now little short of 8,000 men. A series of disasters disturbed, at the critical moment, the arrangements which appeared to have been made with a tolerable certainty of success. As the boats went up the canal, its banks crumbled in, blocked up the passage, and permitted only a few of the smaller boats to reach their point of destination. The main body of the army was to have attacked the works on the left bank at five o'clock on the morning of the 7th, simultaneously with the projected attack on the right bank. Pakenham waited till his patience was exhausted, and then determined to commence the assault without this support. The advantage of a sudden storming in the darkness of a January morning had passed away. It was broad daylight when the Americans saw the British column of three regiments marching on to the edge of the glacis. They were halted at the moment when a dash might have succeeded; for the scaling-ladders and fascines had been forgotten. A terrible fire drove them back in disorder. Pakenham, seeing that nothing but daring and endurance would

carry the day, rallied his troops, and leading them again to the attack, fell mortally wounded. General Gibbs and general Keane were also struck down. The command devolved upon general Lambert, who prudently resolved to draw off the troops. Our loss had amounted to two thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. An armistice of two days was agreed upon, for the purpose of burying the dead. On the 18th of January, the retreat of the British army commenced; and was so safely effected, that the troops re-embarked on the night of the 27th, with all the artillery and stores, except eight heavy guns. An insignificant triumph, in the capture of Fort Boyer, near Mobile, closed our military operations, on the 12th of February. The news of the conclusion of peace at Ghent arrived the next day.*

The Peace of Ghent was concluded by three British commissioners, lord Gambier, Mr. Goulburn, and Mr. Adams; and by four American plenipotentiaries, Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Henry Clay, Mr. J. A. Bayard, and Mr. Jonathan Russell. The objection made in October by Mr. Madison to the terms proposed by Great Britain, had led the negotiators on each side to effect a compromise. It was fortunate that it had been effected before the American people, intoxicated by the triumph at New Orleans, should have lost their anxious desire that hostilities should come to an end. The American government, by this peace, had not obtained a concession upon the two principles for which it went to war—that the flag covers the merchandize, and that the right of search for deserters is inadmissible. It was agreed that each government should use their efforts to put down the slave-trade. Difficult questions of boundary were left unsettled to give rise to future disputes. But in this war of three years the people of both countries had learnt by their commercial privations how desirable, if not indispensable, was a free intercourse between two great communities, having each so much to offer for the satisfaction of the other's wants, and both associated by natural ties of blood and language which the coldest politicians cannot wholly ignore. The mistakes in the conduct of the war were pretty equal on both sides. The defeats of the Americans in the invasion of Canada had in some degree lowered the European opinion of their military qualities. Plattsburg had shaken the confidence of the English public in the effect likely to be produced by a large employment of regular forces against imperfectly disciplined troops. The final disaster of our arms led to a more impartial estimate of what a democratic people is capable of effecting after a few years of rash and ill-understood warfare. A calm and sagacious writer has said, "The success, which was too late to affect the negotiations at Ghent, was sufficiently striking to be worth more to the American people than a good peace. It is in reality to the victory of New Orleans that a great part is due of the moral impression which has been left upon the world by the war of 1812,—a war imprudently engaged in, feebly conducted, rarely successful, very costly, perfectly sterile in diplomatic results, and, nevertheless, finally as useful to the prestige of the United States as fruitful for them in necessary lessons."†

* These unfortunate operations are detailed with great spirit in "A Narrative of the Campaigns at Washington and New Orleans, by an Officer who served in the Expedition" (Rev. G. R. Gleig).

† Cornelis de Wit, "Thomas Jefferson," p. 359.



Hougoumont—Gateway of Farm-Yard, from the Interior.

CHAPTER II.

The Hundred Days—Landing of Napoleon near Cannes—Retrospect of the Restoration of the Bourbons—The Charter—The French army—The Treaty of Paris published—The escape of Napoleon from Elba—Declaration of the Powers assembled in Congress—Advance of Napoleon—He is joined by Labedoyère and Ney—Flight of Louis XVIII.—Napoleon at the Tuileries—British Parliament declares for war—Napoleon organizes his army—Crosses the frontier—Joins his army at Charleroi—Wellington's position—He marches from Brussels—Battle of Ligny—Battle of Quatre Bras—The field of Waterloo—Positions of the two armies on the night of the 17th and morning of 18th of June—The Battle of Waterloo.

On the high road, midway between Cannes and Antibes, and close to a lane leading to a landing-place in the Gulf of St. Juan, are two cabarets, one on the left side of the road, the other on the right, which have set up rival claims to immortality. The cabaret on the left bears this inscription, "Napoléon I., au Golfe de Jouan—débarqua 1 Mars, repose dans cette même propriété." The cabaret on the right thus asserts its pretensions:—"Chez moi se repose Napoléon I. Venez boire passants, célébrez son nom." In the year whose great event these signs pretend to record neither of the wayside public houses had been built. A miserable column, erected a few years since, repeats the one inscription which is the nearest approach to truth—that Napoleon rested "in this property." He had sat down under an olive-tree of this estate. He had successfully achieved his perilous voyage

from Elba, from which he had embarked on the morning of the 26th of February, with his Guards, in seven small vessels. He once more stood on the soil of France, at three o'clock in the afternoon of that memorable 1st of March. The little army bivouacked that evening on some land that was then outside the town of Cannes on the east. An attempt was made to seduce the garrison at Antibes, but the commander of the fortress arrested the soldiers who had been employed on this mission, and threatened to fire upon any others who should approach. Cambronne, one of the generals who accompanied Napoleon, went into the town of Cannes to demand of the maire six thousand rations for the troops. The demand was very unwillingly complied with, for the presence of the ex-emperor excited the hatred of the people, who were tired of wars and revolutions. Some said, if he came into the town they would shoot him. At four o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of March, the troops, in number about eight hundred, with Napoleon at their head, attended by his old companions in arms, Bertrand, Drouet, and Cambronne, commenced their march north on the road to Grasse; and possibly skirted Cannes on the east side, which quarter has been almost entirely built since 1815.*

This landing in the Gulf of St. Juan on the 1st of March was the introductory scene to the great drama called "The Hundred Days." These count from the 13th of March, when Napoleon assumed the government, to the 22nd of June, when he abdicated.

The secret departure from Elba was not known to the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and to the representatives of the other European powers assembled in congress at Vienna, till the 7th of March, when the duke of Wellington received a despatch from lord Burghersh, the British minister at Florence, announcing the astounding fact. It was some days afterwards before the landing near Cannes and the march towards Grasse were known at Vienna.† Such was the slowness of communication, that on the 5th of March it was not known in Paris that the ex-emperor had quitted the territory all too narrow for his ambition. Let us, before proceeding to relate the progress and issue of this great adventure, take a retrospect of the events that had followed Napoleon's abdication of the 4th of April, 1814,—eleven months of false confidence and hollow peace.

The 4th of June, 1814, was an exciting day for Paris; an important day for the future tranquillity of France and of Europe. A Constitutional Charter was that day to be promulgated by the restored king; and, on the same day, the last of the allied troops were to quit the capital. Louis XVIII. was to be left in the midst of his subjects, without the guarantee for his safety which some associated with the continued presence of the armed foreigners. The Charter created a Chamber of Peers, of about one hundred and forty members, named for life by the king. These took the place of the servile flatterers of Napoleon, called the Senate. The composition of this new body was an approach to impartiality in the union of Members of the old noblesse with a remnant of the Senate, and of Generals of the army before the revo-

* We are indebted for these particulars to a friend resident in Cannes; and we give them to clear up the obscurity which prevails in some accounts as to the localities of that eventful debarkation.

† "Wellington's Despatches," vol. xii. p. 266. Despatch to Castlereagh, 12th of March.

lution, with Marshals of the Empire. By the Charter, a Representative body was also created, with very sufficient authority, and especially with the power of determining the taxes to be levied on the people. But if the value of a representative system was held to be in some degree proportionate to the amount of population by which it is elected, some might have doubted if the limitation of electors to those who paid 300 francs direct taxes yearly, thus restricting the nomination wholly to the more opulent class, was a guarantee for the impartial working of the Constitution. The Charter also provided for civil and religious freedom, for trial by jury, for the liberty of the press. The exclusive privileges of the old monarchy,—the inequalities before the law,—which produced the revolution of 1789, were no more. The letter of the ancient feudalism had perished. But its spirit lingered in the very date of this Charter. It was held that Louis XVIII. began to reign when Louis XVII., the unhappy son of Louis XVI. was released by death from his miseries. The Charter, “given at Paris in the year of grace 1814, in the nineteenth year of our reign,” was an emanation of the royal bounty. The king was declared by the chancellor, in his speech of the 4th of June, to be “in full possession of his hereditary rights,” but that he had himself placed limits to the power which he had received from God and his fathers. The compromise was as distasteful to the Republicans as the real advantages of the Charter to the people were hateful to the Royalists. An acute observer, who was present at the ceremony of the promulgation of the Charter, writes,—“In England such a government would be held to be an execrable despotism, impudently mocking the forms of freedom. I am inclined to believe, however, that it contains nearly as much liberty as the French can bear.”* The dissatisfaction which very soon followed the government of Louis “the desired,” did not arise out of the greater or lesser amount of liberty bestowed by the Charter; but out of the manifold contradictions between the acts of the government and the character and habits of the French people. All had been changed since 1792, but the notions of the restored Royalists had undergone no change.

The Constitutional Charter was in some degree the work of the king himself, inasmuch as he had greatly modified a Charter presented to him by the Senate, which he found busy upon a constitution after Napoleon’s abdication. The substance, and even the forms, of liberty, having perished during the Consulate and the Empire, the change was great when freedom of speech and of writing were possible; when a Senate and a Representative body could debate without reserve and vote without compulsion. But a quarter of a century of revolution and military despotism had really unfitted the French to comprehend the value of the partial liberty which they had regained. The desire for liberty had almost wholly disappeared in the passion for equality which the revolution had generated. A Constitutional Monarchy, represented by a gouty old man who could not mount his horse—who had been brought back by foreign armies—was a poor compensation to the national vanity for the glory of living under a ruler who, for the greater period of his power, had only gone forth to new conquests,—who led kings captive, and who filled France with spoils of subject cities. The one surpassing folly of the restored

* “Lord Dudley’s Letters,” p. 42.

government was the belief that France, and especially Paris, could forget Napoleon. When our Charles II. returned to St. James's under the protection of the army of Monk, it was held that his reign commenced on the terrible 30th of January, on which his father had perished before the Banqueting House at Whitehall. It was in England determined to ignore the twelve years of the Commonwealth. But it was easier for the Stuarts to take their place as a matter of absolute right and necessity—for the loyalists had always been an enduring power even during the supremacy of Cromwell—than for the Bourbons to re-enter the Tuileries as if they had been excluded for twenty years by a mere dominant usurpation which had died out. The very existence of Monsieur, and of the Comte D'Artois, had been as completely forgotten by the people, as they had become alienated from the emigrant nobility, who had fled from their ancient chateaux, and whose lands had passed into the hands of small proprietors who hated the name of Seigneurs in the dread that the quiet possession of what they had bought as national domain might be disturbed. The egregious folly which believed that a nation could altogether forget, was exhibited in the attempt to destroy every symbol of the rule of Bonaparte. The Parisians laughed at the littleness which set the upholsterers to work in defacing the N., which was multiplied on the carpets and hangings of the Tuileries; but they were angry when the white flag took the place of the tricolor. The anger of the bourgeoisie was perhaps of little consequence. They grumbled and sneered at the ordinances of the police, which forbade shops to be opened on Sundays and fête days. Wine sellers, restaurateurs, and billiard-table keepers, thought that no tyranny could be equal to that of closing their establishments during the hours of divine service. The government was right in its desire that a decent show of respect for religion should take the place of the old license; yet it was not so easy to change the habits of a generation. The discontent of the idle pleasure-seeking Parisians would not have brought back Napoleon, had not offence been given to a much more powerful and united body. The army felt more acutely than the people the suppression of the tricolor. The men hid their old cockades in their knapsacks; the officers, when the cockades and the standards were required to be given up, concealed the eagles, or burnt the standards, which they had followed to victory. Thousands of old soldiers were pouring into France, released as prisoners of war, or turned out from the fortresses of provinces once annexed to the empire. The distinctive numbers of the regiments were entirely changed, so that the peculiar glory and heroism of each regiment were lost in the renown of the general mass. The army was reduced with imprudent haste; officers of the regiments retained by the restored government were put upon half pay, and their places were supplied by young men who had seen no service, or by ancient gentlemen whose only merit was to have emigrated. Numerous Invalides were turned out from their refuge in Paris to exhibit their wounds and proclaim their wrongs in the provinces. The power which had so long dominated over France was not judiciously reduced; its vanity was outraged by unnecessary affronts. The head of that wondrous military organization which had so long kept Europe in terror was his own master, in an island within two days' sail of the shores of France, unwatched and uncared for, as if he had utterly gone out of the minds of his idolators. The symbols of his authority had

disappeared from the palaces and public buildings of France; but a symbol was invented to indicate that with the return of spring the hero would come back to chase the Bourbons from their throne, and to repair the disasters of the last year of the empire. Little prints of groups of violets were handed from hand to hand, in which the outline of a well-known face might be traced in the arrangement of the flowers. *Père la Violette* was the name by which the expected one was now recognized; and before the violets were come, this sign had passed from soldier to soldier. As they looked proudly and significantly around them, and talked mysteriously in spite of the police, men fancied that a crisis was approaching, and that the Bee might once more replace the Lily on robes of state and on chairs of sovereignty. The army might gain in a renewed power to dominate at home and to plunder abroad. But what would the people gain who, in less than a year after they had rejected Napoleon, had begun to sympathize with the desire of the army for his return? Some of the more sober amongst Frenchmen saw, in spite of the ultra-monarchical tendencies of such as the Comte D'Artois and his faction, an almost certainty that genuine liberty and real prosperity would be established when false glory had lost its charm; that a spirit of Christian tolerance would take the place of the irreligion which the restored priestcraft had thought to supplant by a bigoted formality. These reasoners did not understand the nation whose restless propensities had been confirmed by fifteen years of aggressive despotism, succeeding ten years of sensitive democracy—a nation most difficult to govern, because “always deceiving its masters, who fear it either too little or too much.” *

The Treaty of Paris, ratified between France and the Allied Powers on the 30th of May, was published at the same time that the Charter was promulgated. Thiers describes with a touching sensibility the pain produced amongst all classes by a knowledge of the terms of this treaty: “They recognized the cruel hand of the stranger, above all, in the limitation of our frontiers.” The maledictions of the nation, he says, “fell chiefly upon England and upon Austria.” † It could have been no matter of surprise to any Frenchman of ordinary intelligence that the prolonged resistance of Napoleon to the moderate demands of the Allied Powers, in 1813 and 1814, had ended in the limitation of France to her ancient frontiers. Whilst Bonaparte was at the head of a powerful army, and the event of a conflict on the soil of France was full of uncertainty, the Allied Powers published their celebrated Declaration of Frankfort of the 1st of December, 1813, in which they said, “The Allied Sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy. . . . The Powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew.” Lord Aberdeen had concurred with Metternich in approving this declaration. Lord Castlereagh, on the contrary, thought this gratuitous engagement previous to the opening of a negotiation was most inconvenient and blameable. ‡ In the conferences of Chatillon of March 1814, the final terms proposed to Napoleon as the conditions on which he should be recognized as

* De Tocqueville—“Society before the Revolution.”

† “Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire,” tome xviii. p. 192.

‡ Letter from the Hague, Dec. 14.

Emperor, were the cession of the whole of the conquests made by France since 1792. Napoleon rejected these terms, and was compelled to abdicate. While these negotiations were pending, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia concluded the "Treaty of Union, Concert, and Subsidy," known as the Treaty of Chaumont, which declared, that if the French Government should refuse the conditions contained in proposals for a general peace, the solemn engagement thus entered into was intended "to draw closer the ties which unite them, for the vigorous prosecution of a war undertaken for the salutary purpose of putting an end to the miseries of Europe, by re-establishing a just balance of power." The restoration of the ancient dynasty was naturally associated with a return to the ancient territorial limits of France. It was this association that, in addition to other grievances, real or imaginary, made the Bourbons obnoxious to a generation incessantly familiar with conquest, and proportionately stimulated into a belief that France was the inevitable arbitress of the destinies of the world.

The duke of Wellington succeeded lord Castlereagh as the British Minister at Vienna, when the labours of the Congress were approaching their termination. The main points were concluded.* There were only some formal acts to be done. The sovereigns and the ministers of the larger states were about to separate, when their departure for their several countries was arrested by the news of the great event of the return of the ex-emperor to France.

The position of Napoleon at Elba was that of an independent sovereign. He had many soldiers around him devoted to his interests. He had cruisers by which he could keep up a correspondence with Italy and with France. During the sitting of the Congress, the evident danger arising out of his vicinity to the Continent was constantly present to the minds of some of the diplomatists; although they heard that the monarch of the little island appeared not only resigned to his fate, but interested in the improvement of his dominions and the prosperity of his people. His occupations of directing new buildings and of planning new roads did not deceive every one; and there was serious talk of conveying him to some more secure place—some inaccessible island of the Atlantic—where the shadow of the eagle's wing would cease to frighten the timorous birds. The emperor of Russia, however, insisted upon the literal fulfilment of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. It was with him a point of honour to leave Napoleon undisturbed; to surround him with no spies; to let him feel that he was in no sense of the word a prisoner. Sir Neil Campbell was sent, in April, 1814, by the British government to Elba, with instructions to "pay every proper respect and attention to Napoleon, to whose secure asylum in Elba it is the wish of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent to afford every facility and protection." He was to remain there as long as Napoleon might desire his presence. Sir Neil Campbell lived on the most friendly and familiar terms with the ex-emperor; occasionally went away to Florence or to Leghorn; and having no apprehensions of danger, did not consider that he was called upon to exercise any peculiar watchfulness. But in the middle of February his suspicions were excited, and he went to Florence to consult with the British ambassador there as to the necessity of having some adequate naval force

* See Chapter III.

about the island. French historians have generally some reconditte theory at hand to account for very natural occurrences. M. Capefigue thinks that there was a complicity on the part of England in the return of Napoleon. He believes that England, which had been an absorbing power in Europe during the imperial epoch, now seeing that Russia was too paramount, conceived that she might recover the first rank in a new struggle with Napoleon. The English cruisers therefore shut their eyes during the passage of Bonaparte to the Gulf of St. Juan.* Always, *perfidie Albion*.

Upon the 13th of March, "the Powers who signed the Treaty of Paris assembled in Congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force," published a declaration which at once put an end to all possibility of terminating this issue without a trial of strength more or less severe. The declaration contained these emphatic words:—"By thus violating the convention which had established him in the Island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither truce nor peace with him. The Powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that, as an enemy and a disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance."

In a despatch of the duke of Wellington of the 12th of March, he writes: "It is my opinion that Bonaparte has acted upon false or no information, and that the king will destroy him without difficulty, and in a short time. If he does not, the affair will be a serious one, and great and immediate effort must be made."† On the 4th of April, Wellington had arrived in Brussels to devise measures for the defence of the Netherlands. The "affair" had become "a serious one." Napoleon had marched from Cannes to Grenoble without encountering any opposition in the thinly-populated mountainous regions of Dauphiny. He had been in communication with Labedoyère, who was an officer of the garrison at Grenoble, and this young colonel was ready with the men he commanded to hoist the tricolor. General Marchand, the governor of Grenoble, who was firm in his allegiance to the sovereign of the Restoration, sent out a detachment to observe the force that was approaching. Napoleon alone advanced to meet them, exclaiming, "I am your Emperor; fire on me if you wish." The soldiers threw themselves on their knees, and amidst shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur*," joined his ranks. Labedoyère and his men swelled the number, and Napoleon entered Grenoble amidst the cheers of the soldiery and the citizens. On the 12th of March he was at Lyon. From this city he issued decrees which assumed that he was already in possession of the supreme authority. By these the Chambers of Peers and Deputies were dissolved; the returned emigrants were banished; titles of honour, except for national services, were abolished; and emigrant officers who had received commissions from the restored government were struck off the list of the army.

* "*Les Cent Jours*," tome i. p. 123.

† "*Despatches*," vol. xii. p. 263.

On the 14th of March, Marshal Ney, who on the 7th had taken leave of the king with the assurance that he would bring back Bonaparte in an iron cage, published a proclamation to the army at Auxerre, which thus begins:—"Officers and Soldiers, the cause of the Bourbons is irrevocably lost: the legitimate dynasty which the French nation has adopted is about again to mount the throne." It was in vain that in the two Chambers at Paris Napoleon was denounced as a public enemy, and that the benefits of a charter under a constitutional monarch were set forth in contrast with the principles of a military despot. The troops could no longer be relied upon. On the 19th of March the king, by proclamation, dissolved the Chambers. On the 20th, after midnight, Louis and the royal family left the Tuileries. On the 25th, his Court was established at Ghent. Napoleon was at Fontainebleau on the 19th. On the 21st he slept in the palace of the Tuileries, having been borne up the grand staircase by an enthusiastic crowd, and welcomed in the familiar saloons by ladies of his old court, who showered upon him bouquets of violets. The wives and daughters of his marshals and generals had been neglected or openly affronted by those who had come to the levées of the restored monarch with an imprudent contempt of a revolutionary aristocracy: the ladies of the imperial court had now their revenge.

On the 6th of April, the Prince Regent sent a message to the two houses of Parliament, that the events which had recently occurred in France had induced his royal highness to give directions for the augmentation of the land and sea forces. It was also announced that the Prince Regent had lost no time in "entering into communication with the Allied Powers for the purpose of forming such a concert as might most effectually provide for the general and permanent security of Europe." The Treaty of Vienna of the 23rd of March had bound the Allied Powers to make war together upon Napoleon, and to conclude no separate peace with him. The resistance in the British Parliament to the determination to engage in this war was very feeble. In the debate on the Address for arming and acting in concert with our Allies, Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, to implore the Regent to use his utmost endeavours to preserve peace. It was rejected by a majority of 220 against 37. A second motion for an Address, praying the Crown not to involve the country in a war upon the ground of excluding a particular person from the government of France, was rejected by a majority of 273 against 72. The enormous sums demanded by the government were voted almost without inquiry. When a budget was brought forward on the 14th of June, which included a total charge of eighty-one millions, of which thirty-six millions were a loan, there were "not more than seventy persons present in the house, though late in the evening." *

Napoleon, on the 30th of April, had issued a decree convoking the Electoral Colleges for the nomination of Deputies to the Chamber of Representatives. The greater number of the people abstained from voting. It was necessary to do something striking, and Napoleon determined to revive the old revolutionary fête of the Champ de Mai. It was in this assembly of two hundred thousand of both sexes that he announced that the wishes of the nation having brought him back to the throne, his whole thoughts were

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 546.

turned to the "founding our liberty on a Constitution resting on the wishes and interests of the people." This Constitution was called "Acte additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire." It was a very literal copy of the Charter of Louis XVIII., and had been forced upon the emperor by a party who believed that a limited monarchy, with representative institutions, might be a successful experiment whether under a Bourbon or a Bonaparte. Napoleon had addressed letters to the European potentates, professing his moderate and peaceful intentions. No faith could be placed in his professions, and his letters were unanswered. There could only be one solution of the question between Napoleon and the Allied Powers. In the Champ de Mai he exclaimed, "The princes who resist all popular rights are determined on war. For war we must prepare." The Chambers commenced their functions, not in the old spirit of the Empire, but as if they were really trusted with power, as portions of that Constitution to which the emperor had sworn in the Champ de Mai. His real security depended little upon the state of public opinion and upon the subservience of the legislature, but upon the efficiency with which he could reorganize his army. Devoting all his energies to this task, he was very soon prepared with a bold plan of operation. He would not wait for the attacks of his enemies, but would pass the French frontiers, and engage with some portions of the allied armies before they could unite. On the 11th of June, having appointed a Provisional Government to act in concert with the Chambers, he left Paris in the evening. On the 13th he was at Avesnes. On the 15th he had crossed the frontier, and was at the head of 122,000 men, at Charleroi in the Netherlands.

Most of the garrisons of the Netherlands had been strengthened by the vigilance of the duke of Wellington; Charleroi was amongst the weakest. In addition to the general belief that Napoleon would remain on the defensive, the uncertainty as to the line of operations which he would choose if he determined on the offensive by an invasion of the Low Countries, forbade a concentration of force upon any one of the assailable points of the frontier. It was open to Napoleon to attack the Prussians by the Meuse; to enter by Mons, to drive back Wellington upon Antwerp; or to advance by the Sambre, upon the point of junction of the two armies. The four Prussian corps of Blücher were at Charleroi, at Namur, at Dinant, and at Liège. The army of Wellington, consisting of British, Netherlanders, and Hanoverians, was distributed in cantonments, a reserve occupying the environs of Brussels, where the duke had established his head-quarters. The troops under his command, however separated, could easily unite, and they had the most precise directions how to act in the case of the French passing the frontier. The statement that Wellington had received false information from Fouché upon Napoleon's movements, and was therefore surprised when Napoleon was upon the Sambre, is thus contradicted by the duke's intimate friend, lord Ellesmere: "I can assert on the duke's personal authority, and on that of others in his confidence at head-quarters, that the duke neither acted on nor received any such intelligence as that supposed, from Fouché or any one else: that he acted on reports received from his own outposts and those of his allies, the Prussians, and on these alone." The surprise is supposed to be confirmed by the fact that Wellington attended a ball at Brussels after hostilities had begun. Upon this, lord Ellesmere says, "it is only necessary to state that

Napoleon's advance was known to the duke long before the period fixed for that festivity; that the question whether it should be allowed to proceed had been fully discussed and decided in the affirmative. It was held that a recall of the invitations would create premature alarm among the population of Brussels, and premature encouragement to a pretty numerous party in its walls disaffected to the cause of the Allies." The Despatches of Wellington sufficiently prove that he was perfectly aware of the advance of Napoleon when he went to the ball. At half-past nine on the evening of the 15th, he wrote to the duke de Berri, that the enemy attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin that morning, and appeared to threaten Charleroi. "I have ordered our troops to prepare to march at break of day." The duke had issued the most precise directions for the several positions which the whole of his army were to take up that night; every separate direction concluding with the emphatic words, "to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice."* For the troops, who were immediately under his eye, the order was "to be in readiness to march from Brussels at a moment's notice:" that moment arrived even before the break of day. The duke quietly supped with the gay assembly at the duchess of Richmond's; he and his generals gradually retired; the drums beat the alarm; the bugle-call gave the signal for "mounting in hot haste;" the bagpipes summoned the Highlanders; the artillery was rumbling through the streets; the measured tread of infantry, and the sharp rattle of cavalry, were heard in every quarter of the old town. The whole scene was changed from revelry to war before the "last light had fled" from that "banquet-hall." The reserve at Brussels were all on the march through the forest of Soignies, on the road to Quatre Bras, in the morning twilight. The duke of Brunswick had gone forth, heading his gallant countrymen in their sombre livery of grief for his father's death at Jena. The prince of Orange had marched to the front the moment he left the ball-room. The duke of Wellington was soon up with his men, who cheered him as he passed. He well knew the ground where his great struggle was to be made. He could calculate with exactness the moment when the divisions would join him upon the road towards the enemy.

There was an interval only of a few hours before the march from Brussels, and the gathering of other divisions on the roads which led to Quatre Bras, were succeeded by a battle. The Prussians, under general Ziethen, who had been driven from Charleroi on the 15th, had retired upon Fleurus. Marshal Blücher had concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, with the villages of St. Amand and Ligny in front of his position. If Wellington is considered by some to have been tardy in concentrating his troops in the neighbourhood of the Sambre, Napoleon is equally liable to reproach in having believed that Blücher was concentrating his troops about Namur, and in having neglected to attack the separate corps early in the morning of the 16th, before they had nearly all united. Bulow's corps, however, had not come up to join Blücher, when Napoleon attacked him in front, expecting that Ney would also have attacked him in the rear. The movement of Ney was interfered with by the timely arrival of Sir Thomas Picton's division at Quatre Bras, in company with the Brunswickers and the contingent of

* "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 472.

Nassau. Wellington had himself ridden to Sombref, and had conferred with Blücher before the battle known as that of Ligny had begun. He had returned to Quatre Bras by four o'clock, and then took the command of his own army. The battle between the French and the Prussians lasted for three or four hours. Although Blücher maintained his position, he was so weakened by the severity of the contest, that he marched in the night and concentrated his army upon Wavre. The British also maintained their position, "and completely defeated and repulsed," says the duke, "all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it." Our loss was severe, amounting in killed, wounded, and missing, to more than 2,500 men. The duke was very composed after this first trial of strength. The Spanish general, Alava, saw at the close of that day his old companion in the Peninsular war sitting by the road-side; and to his surprise was asked, "Were you at Lady ——'s party last night?"*

The movement of Blücher rendered a correspondent movement necessary upon the part of Wellington. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th he retired from Quatre Bras upon Waterloo, a distance of about seven miles. Between Waterloo and Wavre was a distance of about ten miles, through a country of difficult defiles. On the 17th the French made no attempt to pursue Blücher. A large body of French cavalry followed the English cavalry under lord Uxbridge; and at Genappe they were charged by the first Life Guards. In the course of the day Napoleon moved forward his army upon the same road over which Wellington had marched earlier in the morning. Wellington had taken up his position in advance of the village of Waterloo, near Mont St. Jean, where the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles crossed. On the night of the 17th, and early in the morning of the 18th, Napoleon collected his whole army, with the exception of a corps which had been sent under Grouchy to observe Blücher, on a range of heights in front of the British position.

The battle field of Waterloo has been described again and again by observers capable of impressing us by the spirit or the accuracy of their pictures. The poet, the historian, and the tactician, have made every point in some degree familiar to us. Byron says, "I went on horseback twice over the field, comparing it with my recollection of similar scenes. As a plain, Waterloo seems marked out for the scene of some great action, though this may be mere imagination. I have viewed with attention those of Platea, Troy, Mantinea, Leuctra, Chæroneæ, and Marathon; and the field around Mount St. Jean and Hougoumont appears to want little but a better cause, and that undefinable but impressive halo which the lapse of ages throws around a celebrated spot, to vie in interest with any or all of these, except, perhaps, the last mentioned."† Before Byron had gone over the field, it had been called "this modern Marathon."‡ During the lapse of nearly half a century, it is not the "undefinable but impressive halo which the lapse of ages throws around a celebrated spot," which has made this ground such an object of curiosity to English visitors of the continent. Neither are there many who think that its interest requires "a better cause." So many of

* Lord Ellesmere—"Life of Wellington."

† Notes to "Childe Harold," canto iii.

‡ Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 152.

our countrymen have traversed this battle field, and have thus acquired a knowledge which no description can convey, that we shall only attempt briefly to indicate a few of its peculiar aspects in connection with a very general narrative of the leading events of the great day of the 18th of June.*

On the ground which we call the field of Waterloo (although the battle was fought about a mile and a half in advance of that village), Wellington had taken up his position, with a certain knowledge, derived from several previous examinations, of its capabilities for defence. "He used to describe the line of ground between the farm of La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont as resembling the curtain of a bastion, with these two positions for its angles."† The first care of the duke was to occupy with sufficient force these two angles, Hougoumont, near the Nivelles road, in front of the right centre, and La Haye Sainte, close to the Genappe road, in front of the left centre. The right of his position was thrown back to a ravine near Braine Merbes, which was occupied; and its left extended to the chateau of Fricheront, situated on a height above the hamlet of La Haye. The undulating plain upon which the army of English, Belgians, and Germans looked from the ridge on which they stood on the evening of the 17th was covered with crops of grain, of potatoes, and of clover. It had rained incessantly through the day; as night advanced the torrents of rain were accompanied with thunder and lightning. The troops had to bivouack upon the wet crops, whilst the generals and their staff obtained shelter in the adjacent villages. Wellington had his head-quarters in a house opposite the church at Waterloo. At three o'clock in the morning of the 18th he was writing to sir Charles Stuart at Brussels, with a calm confidence in the result of the almost inevitable struggle of that day. "The Prussians will be ready again in the morning for anything. Pray keep the English quiet if you can. Let them all prepare to move, but neither be in a hurry or a fright, as all will yet turn out well." At the same hour he wrote a long letter in French to the duke de Berri, in which he says, "I hope, and moreover I have every reason to believe, that all will go well." At the time of writing this letter, only a portion of the French army had taken up their ground on the opposite side of the valley, and he thought it possible that the main attack might be made at Hal, on the great road from Mous to Brussels. He had there stationed 7000 men, in addition to a large number of troops under the command of the Prince of Orange. The possible success of the enemy there, appeared to him "the only risk we run."‡ His army was a little superior in number to that of Napoleon, but it was inferior in artillery. There was however a far greater disparity. Wellington commanded an army of various nations, who had never before fought together; and even some of his British troops were new levies. In the summer of 1814, a large number of his famous Peninsular soldiers had been sent to America. Napoleon, on the contrary, had an army which he could wield with the most perfect assurance of unity of action,

* The author visited the field in May, 1861, in company with his friend, Mr. W. Harvey, who then made the two sketches of Hougoumont which illustrate this chapter.

† Lord Ellesmere.

‡ "Despatches," vol. xii. pp. 476, 477.

composed in great part of veterans who had returned to France at the peace. When Napoleon saw the English in position before the forest of Soignies, he exclaimed, "At last I have them; nine chances to ten are in my favour." He was of opinion, in which his generals agreed with him, that it was contrary to the most simple rules of the art of war for Wellington to remain in the position which he occupied; that having behind him the defiles of the forest of Soignies, if he were beaten all retreat would be impossible. Extensive and compact as that forest was, Wellington knew that there were many roads through it, all converging upon Brussels, most of which were practicable for cavalry and for artillery, as well as for infantry. "The duke," says Lord Ellesmere, "was of opinion that his troops could have retired perfectly well through the wood of Soignies, which, like other beech woods, is open at bottom; and he was still further satisfied that, if driven from the open field of Waterloo, he could have held the wood against all comers till joined by the Prussians, upon whose co-operation he throughout depended and relied." The greater number of military authorities agree that the position of Mont St. Jean was well chosen, and suitably occupied.*

General Jomini has described as one of the advantages of the position of Wellington, that all the movements of the French could be seen from it. There was a drizzling rain on the morning of the 18th; but occasionally the sun broke through the clouds, and displayed the French columns deploying to take up their ground. Amidst the inspiring airs of the numerous bands which in the French armies were always ready to encourage the spirits of the soldier, three lines were formed, of infantry and cuirassiers and lancers, with the artillery on the crest of the ridge. To the French the British army offered no such magnificent spectacle, the greater number being concealed by the undulations of the ridge on which they stood. They had taken their ground silently in two lines, with the artillery in front, and the cavalry in the rear. They stood noiselessly, except when one loud hurra was raised as the duke rode along the lines between nine and ten o'clock. Large detachments were in the inclosures of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte.

The bells of the neighbouring churches were summoning to worship on that Sabbath morn when 150,000 men were thus preparing to destroy each other. The clock of Nivelles struck eleven as the first cannon was fired from the French centre. On the left of their line the quick fire of musketry was soon heard from the column advancing to attack Hougoumont. This property (the Château-Goumont—corrupted into Hougoumont) was a comfortable residence of a Flemish yeoman, with farm buildings, and a garden extensive enough to be misnamed an orchard, which was inclosed by a wall on the east and south sides. This inclosure of about two acres was laid out in straight walks and planted with well trimmed trees. The formal garden is now laid down to grass. The ruins of the château, which was burnt, with the exception of a chapel attached to it, have been cleared away. A humble dwelling, formerly the gardener's house, now stands amidst some sheds and other rough buildings, the inclosed space being entered by a pair of wooden gates, closing up the passage to the yard. There is not much here to see, if

* Brialmont—"Histoire de Wellington," tome ii. pp. 412, 413.

we look cursorily upon this dilapidated residence. If we examine it carefully there is abundant evidence of the nature of the struggle which here took place during seven or eight hours of that eventful day. The loop-holed walls show where the defenders of Hougoumont fired upon the attacking enemy; the dints of the assailing shot are still visible on many a brick. One portion of the gate, too injured for repair, is now hung up as a memorial. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say, "This Belgian yeoman's garden wall was the safeguard of Europe, and the destiny of mankind perhaps turned upon the possession of his house."* Six thousand French, under the command of Jerome Bonaparte, commenced their attack upon the English light troops which were in the wood around the château. This wood was defended with an obstinacy which was attested by the bullet marks upon every tree. The wood was, however, carried by the French, and the light troops had now to defend the walls of the garden and the gates of the yard.



Hougoumont.—Exterior of Garden Wall.

Some preparation had been made for this in the loopholes which had been knocked out, and by scaffolding from which the defenders could fire. This deadly contest was prolonged without any result till two o'clock, when Napoleon ordered that a battery of howitzers should play upon the building. It was soon in flames, but there was no relaxation in the resolute defence of the farm-yard by the 1st and 2nd Foot-Guards. By a vehement rush the French had burst open the gates; but they were finally closed by a prodigious

* Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 134.

exertion of personal strength, in which colonel Maedonnell was amongst the most efficient of the stalwart heroes. The prolonged defence of Hougoumont had a decided influence in deranging the plans of Napoleon. "The general opinion was, that after having taken the post of Hougoumont, he would then render himself master of La Haye Sainte, and afterwards decide the battle by a violent attack of his reserve upon the enemy's centre."*

The difficulties attending the attempt to give an intelligible description of a great battle, such as that of Waterloo, have been well set forth by Wellington himself. He had been applied to by one whom he evidently held in great respect—probably Walter Scott—to give him information as to particular events and instances of personal heroism, for the purpose of a connected narrative description. "The object which you propose to yourself is very difficult of attainment, and, if really attained, is not a little invidious. The history of a battle is not unlike the history of a ball. Some individuals may recollect all the little events of which the great result is the battle won or lost; but no individual can recollect the order in which, or the exact moment at which, they occurred, which makes all the difference as to their value or importance."† Wellington's own official description of the progress of the contest is in the most general terms. He says that the attack upon the right of our centre (Hougoumont) was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line. Repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, either mixed or separate, were made upon us. In one of these the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte. The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful. They were repeated till about seven in the evening, when a desperate effort to force our left centre was defeated. Having observed that the French retired from this attack in great confusion; that the arrival of general Bulow's corps had begun to take effect; and that marshal Blücher had joined in person with the corps of his army, he (Wellington) determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point. These official generalities have far less interest than some of the familiar and pithy sentences addressed by the duke to personal friends. To lord Beresford he writes, on the 2nd of July, "You will have heard of our battle of the 18th. Never did I see such a pounding match. Both were what the boxers call gluttons. Napoleon did not manœuvre at all. He just moved forward in the old style, in columns, and was driven off in the old style. The only difference was, that he mixed cavalry with his infantry, and supported both with an enormous quantity of artillery. I had the infantry for some time in squares, and we had the French cavalry walking about us as if they had been our own. I never saw the British infantry behave so well."‡ It has been truly said, "there is nothing in the history of battles more sublime than the generalship, which could order, and the patient valour that could sustain, such a method of fighting as this."§ The desperate attempts to pierce our line were defeated

* Brialmont (quoting French authorities), tome ii. p. 415.

† "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 590.

‡ "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 529.

§ Miss Martineau—"Introduction to the History of the Peace," p. cccxcv.

by that unequalled firmness of the British infantry which, it is reported, led Soult to say to the emperor, "Sire, I know these English; they will die on the ground before they will leave it."

This devoted endurance during seven or eight of the most trying hours was sustained throughout by the presence of the duke at every point of danger, and by his constant care to spare his troops as much as possible, by repressing the natural anxiety of men in battle to be actively employed. The character of a part of the ridge upon which the British line was placed has been materially altered, by removing the earth for a considerable distance to form the materials for an enormous mound, on the top of which is the Belgian lion. Behind this natural parapet the duke had placed several regiments, the men lying down concealed from the French, who were advancing to attack. "Up, Guards, and at them!" were the words that in a moment presented a wall of bayonets to the confident French. For four or five hours the British commander had to endure the agony of disappointed expectation. He had counted upon being joined by Blücher about one in the afternoon, according to a message which he had received when the battle had begun. Two o'clock,—three o'clock,—four o'clock,—five o'clock,—six o'clock,—came, but no sign of the expected aid on his left: there was nothing for it but to endure. General Picton had been killed before the battle was half over. When Wellington was told that of Picton's division of 7000 men only 1500 remained, he replied, "They must stand in their place till the last man," and they did stand. A general officer asked that his brigade, reduced to a third, should be relieved. "It is impossible," said the duke, "he and I, and all of us, are called upon to die in the place which we occupy at this moment." Surrounded by his men in a square charged by the French cavalry, he exclaimed, "Stand fast, 95th! we must not be beaten, my friends. What would they say of us in England?" This stoical fortitude it was difficult for him always to sustain. Looking upon the carnage around him, he said, "There are yet some hours left for cutting these brave fellows in pieces: please God that the night or the Prussians would arrive before that is effected!"

The official despatch of Wellington contained these words: "I should not do justice to my own feelings, or to marshal Blücher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them." Blücher had arrived precisely at the time when his co-operation in another part of the field was a warranty for the success of the attack by Wellington which produced the final result. Brialmont cites these words as an example of the perfect equity and noble disinterestedness of which the duke had given so many proofs; but he protests against the injustice by which some historians have attempted to rest upon this avowal an opinion that to Blücher is to be attributed the honour of the victory. When the corps of Bulow, Brialmont says, arrived, the position of Wellington was serious, but it was not desperate. If Blücher had not debouched upon the left of the position, fortune might have declared against the Allies. If the Prussians arrived in the nick of time, and decided the victory, that was owing rather to Wellington than to the initiative of their own general. It is impossible to refuse to Wellington the title of the conqueror at Waterloo, for it was he who settled the joint measures for the

day of the 18th; who chose, and who occupied, the field of battle; who directed during seven hours the whole of the operations; and who ordered the decisive attack at the moment when the Prussians, according to their promises, debouched on the right of the enemy.*

At six o'clock in the evening there was no point at which the allied army had yielded, or which had not been recovered from the possession of the French. It was seven o'clock when the emperor made his great attack upon our left centre. It was at this moment that the issue of the conflict was doubtful. The duke, however, rapidly collected his men from all points, to meet this apparently overwhelming force. An observer of the scene says, "To the most dinning and continual roar of cannon and musketry I have ever known, there succeeded a sudden pause and silence. It was but momentary,—they had turned, and now fled, pursued by our troops." † The Prussians had outflanked the movements of the reserve corps acting against them, and were now pressing on the main body of Napoleon's army. It was then that he was convinced of the worthlessness of the fatal delusion in which he had indulged throughout the day,—that Grouchy, with his thirty thousand men was at hand, and that the Prussians could not come up before he had beaten "that Wellington." The rout and panic of the French became universal. For a moment Napoleon hoped to arrest this flight by forming a square of the last regiment of his Guards, and by raising a battery with some dismounted cannon. A ball from this battery carried off the leg of lord Uxbridge. In the obscurity of the twilight the fugitives saw not this rallying point, and hurried on, a disorganized and helpless crowd. In the last square formed by the Guard, Napoleon was about to throw himself, there in all likelihood to die. Soult turned Napoleon's horse, exclaiming, "Ah, Sire! our enemies are already too fortunate." The emperor fled with the mass. The square, however, held firm, to allow time for their leader to escape. Cambronne and other officers remained in the square. "Surrender!" was the cry of their assailants. Cambronne threw himself into the ranks of his enemies, and perished. One last cry of "*Vive l'Empereur*" was heard amidst the smoke and clash of arms. "Nothing more is heard; the Guard is dead, the Empire is finished." ‡

At nine o'clock, Wellington and Blücher met near La Belle Alliance, which was in the centre of the French position. The Prussian general Gneisenau pursued the flying French, to whom all chance of rallying was impossible. Wellington joined in the pursuit, but the fatigue of his men compelled him to stop between Rossomme and Genappe. It was at Genappe that the carriage of the emperor was taken, to form a show in London. During the pursuit Wellington rode with the advanced guard. Colonel Hervey, who was with him, advised him to desist, as the country was growing less open, and he might be fired at by some stragglers from behind the hedges. "Let them fire away," he replied, "the battle is won, and my life is of no value *now*." § Under the brilliant moon which succeeded the lowering day, Wellington rode across the battle-field to his quarters at

* "Histoire de Wellington," tome ii. pp. 440—445.

† Letter from sir Robert Gardiner, in "Ward's Memoirs," vol. i. p. 493.

‡ Brialmont, tome ii. p. 429.

§ Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 134.

Waterloo. As the heaps of dying and dead lay around him, the emotions must have rushed upon him which he so beautifully expressed the next day, in a letter to the duke of Beaufort: "The losses I have sustained have quite broken me down, and I have no feeling for the advantages we have acquired." To the earl of Aberdeen, in a letter dated the same day, he said, "I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me, and contemplate the loss which I have sustained, particularly in your brother. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me."*

The total loss of both armies in this tremendous battle is thus stated:—British and Hanoverians, 11,678; Netherlanders, 3,547; troops of Brunswick, 1000; of Nassau, 1000; Prussians, 7454. Total, 24,679. Of the French army, 18,500 were killed or wounded, and 7800 made prisoners.†

* "Despatches," vol. xii. pp. 488, 489.

† Brialmont, tome ii. p. 431.



Montmartre and St. Denis; Paris in the distance.

CHAPTER III.

Napoleon's return to Paris—His abdication—On board the *Bellerophon*, at Plymouth—Sails for St. Helena—Specimens of the truth of History—The Allies take possession of Paris—Return of Louis XVIII.—Definitive Treaty with France—Settlement of Europe previously arranged by the Congress at Vienna—Holy Alliance—Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade—Execution of Labeledoyère—Escape of Lavalette—Execution of Ney—The Battle of Algiers.

AFTER the fatal night of the 18th of June, Napoleon had travelled with all haste to Paris, where he arrived at four o'clock on the morning of the 21st. The Chamber of Representatives met at noon on that day, and declared its sitting permanent. Its manifest intention was to assume the executive power, and to compel Napoleon to abdicate. Lucien Bonaparte appeared at the bar of the Chamber to urge the claims of his brother upon the gratitude of France. Lafayette replied, that "during the last ten years three millions of Frenchmen had perished for a man who would still struggle against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Now our duty is to save our country." During the 22nd Napoleon was urged to abdicate. He resisted for some time, exclaiming, "The Chamber is composed of nothing but Jacobins and ambitious men. I ought to have driven them away." He yielded at last, and dictated his abdication in favour of his son Napoleon II.; and in this document, in which he said "My political life is ended," he invited the Chambers to organize a Regency. The Chambers sent a deputation to thank Napoleon for the sacrifice which he had made to the independence and happiness of the French nation; but he replied that he had only abdicated in favour of his son, and that if the Chambers did not proclaim him, his own abdication would be null. Instead of appointing a Council of Regency, it was determined by the Chambers that the government should be put into the hands of a Commission of five members. This was indirectly to set aside Napoleon the Second. The provisional government required that Napoleon should leave France, and embark at Rochefort for the United States. He demanded that the government should give him two frigates for his passage there. The frigates were placed at his disposal, and their commanders were ordered to set sail within twenty-four hours after he was on board, if the English cruisers were not in the way. Bonaparte arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd of July.

Finding that he had no chance of escaping by sea, he sent Las Cases and Savary to captain Maitland, who commanded the *Bellerophon*, to ask for leave to proceed to America, either in a French or a neutral vessel. The reply of captain Maitland was, that his instructions forbid this; but that if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there, without entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with.

In the house of a gentleman at Plymouth we have looked with no common interest upon a portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte, painted under very extraordinary circumstances. At the end of July, 1815, the British ship of war *Bellerophon* is at anchor in Plymouth harbour. On board is the ex-emperor of the French, who, on the 13th of July, had addressed a letter to the Prince Regent from Rochefort, in which he said, "I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British nation" (*m'asseoir sur les foyers*). The *Bellerophon*, with Napoleon and his suite, had sailed from Rochefort on the 14th of July. Whilst the British government was in a state of indecision as to the final disposal of its fallen enemy, he was not permitted to land, nor was any person from the shore allowed to enter the vessel. But round the *Bellerophon* numerous boats, filled with curious observers, were perpetually rowing, and to these gazers Bonaparte seemed rather disposed to show himself than to remain in the privacy of his cabin. The opportunity of making a portrait of this remarkable man was not lost upon a young artist, a native of Plymouth. Charles Eastlake, now President of the Royal Academy, was sketching that stout figure and superb head from one of the boats surrounding the ship of war; and when Napoleon perceived the object of the artist, he would stop his walk upon the deck, so as to afford him the opportunity of proceeding successfully with his work. The *Bellerophon* remained a fortnight in Plymouth Roads, and then Napoleon was removed to the *Northumberland*, which sailed for St. Helena.

On the 31st of July, lord Keith, with sir Henry Bunbury, the Under-Secretary of State, had announced to Napoleon the resolution of the British government, that the island of St. Helena should be his future residence. He protested that he was not a prisoner of war, although he subsequently acknowledged that he had made no conditions on coming on board the *Bellerophon*. The question as to the *status* of the ex-emperor under the law of nations gave rise to very grave discussions amongst English jurists. Lord Campbell says, "I think lord Eldon took a much more sensible view of the subject than any of them—which was, 'that the case was not provided for by anything to be found in Grotius or Vattel; but that the law of self-preservation would justify the keeping of him under restraint in some distant region, where he should be treated with all indulgence compatible with a due regard for the peace of mankind.'"* The probability is, that if Napoleon had fallen into the hands of the Prussians, who were near Paris on the 29th of June, the question of his fate would have been disposed of in a much more summary way than could arise out of any discussion upon the law of nations. On the 28th of June, Wellington wrote to sir Charles Stuart, "General — has been here this day, to negotiate for Napoleon's passing to America, to which proposition I have answered that I have no authority. The Prus-

* "Lives of the Chancellors," chap. cccii.

sians think the Jacobins wish to give him over to me, believing that I will save his life. — [Blücher] wishes to kill him; but I have told him that I shall remonstrate, and shall insist upon his being disposed of by common accord. I have likewise said, that, as a private friend, I advised him to have nothing to do with so foul a transaction; that he and I had acted too distinguished parts in these transactions to become executioners; and that I was determined that, if the sovereigns wished to put him to death, they should appoint an executioner, which should not be me.* The Prussian general Muffling states in his "Memoirs," that having been appointed to obtain the concurrence of Wellington in the design of Blücher that Napoleon should be shot in the place where the duke d'Enghien had been killed, Wellington had replied—"Such an act would disgrace our names in history, and posterity would say of us, 'they were not worthy to have been the conquerors of Napoleon.'" The prisoner of St. Helena repaid this conduct by bequeathing ten thousand francs to the man who had attempted to assassinate Wellington, during his residence in Paris as the commander of the Army of Occupation. French historians have attempted to justify this odious testamentary expression of Napoleon's hatred of his victor, by attributing to Wellington that he instigated the banishment to St. Helena. It is now known that, as early as May 1814, the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Vienna decided, in a secret conference, that if Napoleon should escape from Elba, and should fall into the power of the Allies, a safer residence should be assigned him, at St. Helena or at St. Lucia.

The assumption that the Sovereigns wished to put Napoleon to death was the interpretation which, in the excitement of that time, many persons attached to the declaration of the Allied Powers of the 13th of March, that he had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; adding, "as an enemy and a disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance." Lord Eldon, referring to this declaration, says that the Allies have "considered him as out of the pale of the law of nations, as the *Hostis humani generis*, as an outlaw (without knowing very well what they mean by that word), as a robber and freebooter, who might be put out of the world." † M. Thiers, in a spirit very different from that of the impartial historian, argues, with regard to the words of the 13th of March, that "the obvious conclusion is, that whoever could seize Bonaparte ought immediately to shoot him, and would be considered as having rendered to Europe a signal service." ‡ The declaration of the Allies was signed by the plenipotentiaries of eight powers, who had been parties to the Treaty of Paris of the previous year. Talleyrand and three others signed on the part of France; Wellington and three others on the part of Great Britain. When Wellington insisted, against the opinion of Blücher, that Bonaparte should "be disposed of by common accord," he rightly interpreted the words of the declaration of the 13th of March:—"comme ennemi et perturbateur du repos du monde, il s'est livré à la *vindicté publique*." It is established by the papers of Talleyrand that the

* Wellington's "Despatches," vol. xii. p. 516.

† "Life of Eldon," (Letter to Sir William Scott), vol. ii. p. 279.

‡ "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire, tome xix. p. 275. 1861.

precise words of the declaration were proposed by Talleyrand himself. Yet M. Thiers attributes to Wellington that he was the instigator, upon his own responsibility, of the measures which the Allies took in this crisis, including, of course, this declaration against Napoleon. This eminent writer, in a mistaken view which we are unwilling to characterize by any harsher name, further represents the duke of Wellington as plunging the British nation into a war without the authority of his government, for the gratification of his own personal ambition. Lord Wellington, he says, who had replaced lord Castlereagh, relying upon his great services and his popularity in England, hesitated not to take his resolution. Although he had received no instructions, he judged that it was worth while to renew the war, to maintain the state of things that England was about to establish in Europe. "He had a confused hope of increasing his own glory in this new war; and he was not afraid of involving his government, convinced that no one would dare to disavow him in England, whatever might be thought of his conduct." * One of the duke's objects in going to Belgium in April, says M. Thiers, was that he might be nearer London, "to uphold the courage of his own government, and to compel it to ratify the engagements which he had made without being authorized." † The English Cabinet, he concludes, if it had been present at Vienna, would not have engaged in the war as easily as the duke of Wellington, for they were aware that public opinion was opposed to it. The opinions thus expressed by M. Thiers, that the war against Napoleon was urged on by the personal ambition of the duke of Wellington, that the British government was reluctant to engage in it, and that the British people were decidedly opposed to it, are quite upon a par with the belief of the same historian, that Bonaparte had returned from Elba entirely changed,—a lover of peace, an upholder of liberty, a friend to the free expression of opinion, a ruler who would vindicate the choice of the people by equity and moderation. Of his good faith no one ought to have doubted. "He gave to the world, after so many spectacles of such instructive grandeur, a last spectacle, more profoundly moral and more profoundly tragic than any which had gone before; genius, vainly, though sincerely, repentant." ‡ When statements and opinions such as these are boldly put forward, we may give their author the benefit of that charitable scepticism which thinks that "the Historian, affirming many things, can, in the cloudy knowledge of mankind, hardly escape from many lies." §

On the 7th of July the English and Prussian armies entered Paris, and took military possession of all the principal points, under a convention signed on the 3rd of July, by which the French army was to evacuate Paris and to retreat beyond the Loire. Louis the Eighteenth made his public entrance, escorted by the National Guards, on the 8th of July. To the firm moderation of Wellington it is wholly due that the Parisians were not doomed to suffer any humiliation beyond that of the presence of foreign armies. He calmed Blücher's thirst for vengeance by exhortation, and even by stronger modes of remonstrance. When the Prussian general had begun to mine the bridge of Jena, with the intention to blow it up, because that monument

* "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," tome xix. p. 361.

† *Ibid.*, p. 366.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 629.

§ Sir P. Sidney—"Defence of Poesy," p. 33, "Poetical Works," ed. 1720.

proclaimed a defeat of the Prussian arms, "The duke of Wellington," says a French historian, "interfered by placing an English sentinel on the bridge itself. A single sentinel. He was the British nation; and if Blücher had blown up the bridge, the act was to be held as a rupture with Great Britain."*

The definitive treaty between France on the one part, and Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, on the other, was signed on the 20th November, 1815. Its object was declared to be for the "restoring between France and her neighbours those relations of reciprocal confidence and goodwill which the fatal effects of the Revolution and of the system of conquest had for so long a time disturbed." This treaty left the boundaries of France, with a very slight alteration in her frontier lines, the same as agreed at the Peace of 1814. It was, nevertheless, resolved to keep possession of the frontier fortresses for a term not exceeding five years, and to maintain an army of occupation, to be paid and supported by France during the same period. The greatest mortification which the French had to endure was the determination of the Allied Powers that the works of art which had been plundered from various countries during the wars of the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire, should go back to the churches and the museums from which they had been forcibly taken. This act of retribution provoked then, as it still provokes, the lamentation of pretended lovers of the fine arts, whose selfish convenience would be more gratified by seeing the greatest masterpieces of sculpture and painting in the Louvre than in their proper sites at Rome, at Florence, at Antwerp, at the Hague. The honest national pride of the true owners of such works is accounted as nothing in these lamentations.

To France alone did the treaty of the 20th of November apply. The settlement of Europe, as it was hopefully called, had been effected by the general treaty signed in Congress at Vienna, on the 9th of June. When the Peace of 1814 was concluded with the restored Monarchy of France, there were an immense number of political questions left undetermined, which were almost of as much importance to the tranquillity of the future as the overthrow of the gigantic power of the French Empire. The convulsions of twenty years had left Europe in a chaotic state, out of which order and harmony could scarcely be evolved even by any exercise of political wisdom based upon an unselfish moderation. In the reorganization of Europe there would unquestionably be a struggle for aggrandizement, which might present as great dangers as the military supremacy which had been overthrown. On the 25th of September, 1814, the emperor of Russia; the king of Prussia; the kings of Bavaria, Denmark, and Würtemberg; princes of small states, German and Italian; princesses, amongst whom the duchess of Oldenburg, the sister of Alexander, was the most influential; great plenipotentiaries, such as lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand; and lesser diplomatists, who came to get something, if possible, out of the general scramble—all assembled at Vienna to debate, to dine, to vary the tedious discussions of the morning with the enlivening festivities of the night. Ambassadors vied with Sovereigns in the splendour of their entertainments. Castlereagh gave as sumptuous dinners, and as attractive balls, as Alexander:—

* Caepigue, "Les Cent Jours," tome ii. p. 365.

“ Now this mask
Was cry'd incomparable ; and the ensuing night
Made it a fool and beggar.”*

Nevertheless, the slightest survey of the map of Europe would show that there was serious work to be accomplished. It had been agreed by secret articles of the Treaty of Paris, that a kingdom, under the title of the Netherlands, should be formed by the union of Belgium with Holland; Prussia was to obtain the Rhenish Provinces; Sweden and Norway were to be united; Hanover was to be restored to the king of England, with an accession of territory taken from Westphalia; Lombardy and Venice were to return to the rule of Austria; Savoy to that of Piedmont. The Congress had been sitting two months, when rumours of the probable destiny of Saxony and of Poland roused the spirit of inquiry in the British Parliament. Mr. Whitbread, on the 28th of November, protested against the reported annexation of Saxony to the kingdom of Prussia. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, could not believe that the fate of Saxony was yet fixed, much less could he believe that any British Minister would have been a party to such a decision as was supposed to have been made. Nevertheless, it is now certain, that up to the end of October, lord Castlereagh had been a consenting party to the annexation of Saxony, which he defended by referring to the tergiversations of the king: of the people no mention was made by our Minister. Mr. Whitbread further said, “the rumours were, that the emperor Alexander had strenuously contended for the independence of Poland, and that he had been opposed by the British Minister.” The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that “he did not believe that a British Minister had been the author of the subjugation of that country.” There is now no doubt, that the very reverse of the rumours with regard to Poland marked the conduct of the emperor Alexander and of lord Castlereagh. As recently as July 2nd, 1861, lord John Russell, founding his opinion upon the correspondence of the time, declared in the House of Commons, that everything that could be done by British diplomacy for Poland was done by lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna; that our minister wished, when Europe was to be reconstructed, that Poland should rise from her ashes, and should again possess an independent government; and that thus desiring the independence of Poland, he could not conceive that such independence was consistent with Poland being placed under the dominion of the emperor of Russia. In the debate of the 28th of November, Mr. Whitbread said, “We now lived in an age when free nations were not to be sold and transferred like beasts of burden; and if any attempt of the kind was made, the result would be a bloody and revengeful war.” The attempt was made, and successfully, in too many instances; but it was not without the immediate risk of a war that the designs of Russia for the transference of nations were encountered in the Congress of Vienna. The policy of lord Castlereagh with regard to Saxony was changed as the negotiations advanced. Talleyrand, as a representative of France, had been admitted, after great hesitation, to take a part in the deliberations of

* Shakspere—“Henry VIII.,” act i. scene 1.

the Congress. The annexation of Saxony to Prussia was opposed by Austria and by France. It had become evident that Prussia and Russia were assuming a dangerous preponderance in the partition of states, and that Great Britain must join with France in opposing them. These three powers before the end of 1814 had agreed that Russia should not say to Prussia, "Secure me Poland," and that Prussia should not say to Russia, "Secure me Saxony," and that they should shake hands upon this compact. On the 3rd of February, 1815, a secret treaty was concluded between Austria, England, and France, to act in concert, each with an army of 150,000 men, to carry into effect the Treaty of Paris, "holding it necessary, in consequence of pretensions recently manifested, to look to the means to resist every aggression." M. Thiers assumes that lord Castlereagh, having received, at the beginning of January, the news of the conclusion of peace with America, had taken a higher attitude towards Russia and Prussia. "His heart relieved of an enormous weight, that of the American war, he was ready to brave the most extreme consequences, rather than to cede to the arrogance of the Prussians and the Russians. . . . He had said to them that England was not made to receive the law from any one." The attitude of lord Castlereagh, and the fact, which could not be concealed, of negotiations going on between him, Talleyrand, and Metternich, apart from the other Powers, probably produced some concessions from Alexander and Frederick William, although they yielded little in reality. Prussia obtained one-half of Saxony, with a portion of the duchy of Warsaw. Russia secured the kingdom of Poland in undisputed sovereignty. The new kingdom of Poland was to have a constitution, with national institutions and national representation. But these promised advantages were to be bestowed upon the people in the manner which the government should think most suitable. "That, of course, left a very wide scope for interpretation; but beyond that there was a feeling which acted from that time, and which is acting at the present time, namely, that while the emperor Alexander I. wished to retain his power over Poland, at the same time he wished to grant to Poland large privileges, and to make it, at all events, a flourishing province, under the name of the kingdom of Poland; but the general feeling at St. Petersburg, the seat of power, was that Poland ought not to be indulged with privileges more large and more liberal than were granted to Russia."*

Whilst Austria was opposing the acquisitions of territory desired by Russia and by Prussia, she herself was acquiring new dominions and extended sovereignty, however unsuited were her annexed subjects for the yoke of her absolute power. The four millions of the Lombardo-Veneto kingdom would be as difficult to rule as those of the old provinces of the Low Countries which were severed from her empire. Little objection was made at this time to the anomaly of a German rule over Italian people. The only hostile voice in the British Parliament was one raised against the annexation of Genoa to Piedmont. By the final arrangement the hope was at an end which England had stimulated, when lord William Bentinck, in 1814, entered Genoa at the head of a British army, on whose banners was inscribed "Italian independence." Italy returned to its old condition of disunion.

* Lord John Russell—Debate in the Commons, July 2, 1861.

Murat, who had been placed by Napoleon upon the throne of Naples when Joseph Bonaparte had become the "intrusive king" of Spain, had deserted the cause of his great fellow-soldier after the battle of Leipzig. Joining the Allied Powers, he appeared to have secured his position as an independent sovereign. But in the Congress there was no advance towards his recognition, as in the case of Bernadotte. He entered into correspondence with the ex-emperor at Elba, thus precipitating his own fall. Murat made it impossible for the Allies to believe in Napoleon's professions of a desire for peace, by rashly plunging into hostilities against Austria. The old misrule of the Bourbon in Naples and Sicily was no impediment to the determination of the Allies to restore that miserable dynasty. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany was restored, as well as smaller states. A quarter of a century passed away before the hollowness of these arrangements was tested by the revolt of some portion of the people of the Italian peninsula against their rulers, and by the loudly expressed desire of the whole for a common nationality.

Whilst the prosaic destinies of Europe had been settled amidst a conflict of jarring interests, the emperor of Russia had assiduously laboured to obtain converts to a political union, which should be founded upon principles very different from those which ordinarily guide the councils of diplomatists. In a manifesto from St. Petersburg, dated "on the day of the birth of our Saviour, 25th December, 1815," the emperor commanded that there should be read in all the churches a "Convention concluded at Paris, on the 26th of September, 1815, between the emperor of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia," in which "they solemnly declare that the present act has no other object than to publish in the face of the whole world their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective States and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of the holy religion of our Saviour, namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections." This was the famous declaration of "The Holy Alliance." When asked to sign it, the duke of Wellington said that the English Parliament would require something more precise. Whenever, in after years, either of the three Sovereigns manifested symptoms of disregard for "the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace," the Holy Alliance was held, perhaps somewhat unjustly, to be a cloak under which their violation of pledges to their own subjects, and their desire for territorial aggrandizement, might be best concealed. Denunciations of this Convention were long heard in the British Parliament.

The Peace of Europe was settled, as every former peace had been settled, upon a struggle for what the continental powers thought most conducive to their own advantage. The representatives of Great Britain manifested a praiseworthy abnegation of merely selfish interests. Napoleon, at St. Helena, said to O'Meara, "So silly a treaty as that made by your ministers for their own country was never known before. You give up everything and gain nothing." We can now answer that we gained everything when we gained a longer period of repose than our modern annals could previously exhibit. We gained everything when, after twenty years of warfare upon

the most extravagant scale, the spirit of the people conducted that warfare to a triumphant end. The gains of a great nation are not to be reckoned only by its territorial acquisitions, or its diplomatic influence. The war which England had waged, often single-handed, against a colossal tyranny, raised her to an eminence which amply compensated for the mistakes of her negotiators. It was something that they did not close the war in a huckstering spirit—that they did not squabble for this colony or that *entrepôt*. The fact of our greatness was not to be mistaken when we left to others the scramble for aggrandizement, content at last to be free to pursue our own course of consolidating our power by the arts of peace. There were years of exhaustion and discontent to follow those years of perilous conflict and final triumph. But security was won; we were safe from the giant aggressor.

If the plenipotentiaries of this country might return home a little imbued with the temper of despotic cabinets—if they could be accused of having too strenuously asserted the principle of legitimacy—if they had appeared to have contended too much for the claims of kings, and too little for the rights of the people—in one respect they had done their duty, and truly upheld the moral supremacy of England. They had laboured strenuously, and they had laboured with tolerable success, for the abolition of the Slave Trade. In the Treaty of Utrecht, England protected her commercial interests—despicable protection—by stipulating for a monopoly of the slave trade for thirty years. In the Treaty of Paris, England wrested from France an immediate abolition of the traffic, and a declaration from all the high contracting powers that they would concert, without loss of time, “the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious.” At the peace of 1814, the restored government of France—restored by our money and our arms—refused to consent to the immediate abolition. Bonaparte, amidst his memorable acts of the Hundred Days, abolished the hateful traffic by a stroke of his pen. The Bourbon government, a second time restored, dared no longer refuse this one demand of Great Britain. Other nations had promised. But, where we might have commanded, there alone was resistance. Spain and Portugal still maintained the traffic.

After great revolutions, such as those of France in 1814 and 1815—such as England had witnessed in the restoration of the Stuarts—it is almost impossible that a triumphant party should altogether have the magnanimity to pardon political offences. But History looks with a just indignation upon any unreasonable severities, and especially upon any signal want of clemency in the ruler who has the unquestioned power to exercise the divine prerogative of mercy. Louis XVIII. can scarcely be accused of blood-thirstiness; yet his character would have stood better, not only with the French people but with the British, had he not sanctioned the condemnation and capital punishment of three, who had indeed betrayed the trust which the restored government had reposed in them, but who had some excuse in their inability to resist the fascinations of Napoleon. Talleyrand had been unable to accomplish by negotiation as favourable terms for France as he had expected, and he resigned his office as President of the Council. He was succeeded by the Duc de Richelieu, who signed the treaty of the 20th of November. Whilst Talleyrand remained in power he, as well as Fouché, was anxious that

no capital punishments should be inflicted upon any of those who were proscribed by an ordonnance of the 24th of July, for the part they had taken in the return of Bonaparte in March. Ney, Labedoyère, and Lavalette were advised to place themselves in safety by leaving France. They were tardy and irresolute; the friendly warning was useless. Labedoyère was tried by Court-martial; and was shot. Lavalette, who had been condemned to death by the Cour d'Assise, escaped through a stratagem of his wife, who, having visited him in prison, was able to disguise her husband in her own dress, remaining herself as an object for the possible vengeance of the royalists. Lavalette was assisted to pass the frontier by the generous friendship of three Englishmen,—sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Hutchinson; who were tried for this offence, and sentenced to three months imprisonment. The proceeding which most commanded public attention in England was the trial and execution of Ney; for it was held to involve the honour of the duke of Wellington. Whilst the trial was proceeding before the Chamber of Peers, Ney was advised to rely for his defence on the capitulation of Paris. His wife had an interview with Wellington, who had previously expressed his opinion, in a letter to the prince de la Moskwa,—to the effect that the capitulation related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris; that the object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authorities of those who made it, towards any persons on account of the offices which they filled, or their conduct or their political opinions. “But it was never intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government which should succeed to it, from acting in this respect as it might deem fit.”* When the bravest of the French marshals was executed, party spirit blamed the duke of Wellington for not regarding the capitulation as an amnesty. It would have been generous in the king of France to have spared Ney's life; but the capitulation of Paris offered no legal obstacle to that infliction of punishment which the king had threatened to the guilty before the capitulation.

“One day of dreadful occupation more”† before England could be held to be at peace with foreign foes. At the Congress of Vienna, the aggressions of the Barbary States formed a natural subject of deliberation. It was proposed that a general European crusade should be undertaken against the infidel corsairs; who, for three hundred years, had been the terror of Europe, warring against every flag in the Mediterranean, and carrying off Christian slaves from every shore. In 1815, the government of the United States, whose ships had been plundered by the Algerines, captured a frigate and a brig belonging to the Dey, and obtained a compensation of sixty thousand dollars. In the spring of 1816, lord Exmouth, with a squadron under his command, proceeded to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, where he effected the release of seventeen hundred and ninety-two Christian slaves, and negotiated treaties of peace and amity on behalf of the minor powers in the Mediter-

* “Despatches,” vol. xii. p. 694.

† Southey—“Ode on the Battle of Algiers.”

anean. From Tunis and Tripoli a declaration was obtained that no Christian slaves should in future be made by either of those powers. The Dey of Algiers, however, refused to agree to the abolition of slavery without permission from the Sultan. Lord Exmouth acceded to a suspension for three months of the Dey's decision, and returned to England. One condition of the treaty with Algiers, then concluded by lord Exmouth, was, that the governments of Sicily and Sardinia should pay ransom for the release of their subjects; and, in point of fact, they did so pay, to the extent of nearly four hundred thousand dollars. This clause of the treaty was justly denounced in the British Parliament, as an acknowledgment of the right of depredation exercised by the barbarians.

The fleet of lord Exmouth was dismantled; the crews were paid off and disbanded. A sudden outrage, which occurred even before lord Exmouth quitted the Mediterranean, but which did not then come to his knowledge, was the obvious cause of the change in the determination of our government. Under a treaty of 1806, we occupied, for the protection of the coral fishery, Bona, a town in the regency of Algiers. On the 23rd of May, the fishers who had landed were massacred by a large body of troops; the British flag was torn down and trampled under foot, and the house of our vice-consul was pillaged. It was alleged that this outrage was a fanatical movement of the licentious Algerine soldiery. An expedition against Algiers was instantly determined upon by the British Cabinet. A formidable fleet was equipped, with the least possible delay, at Portsmouth, and crews were collected from the different guard-ships, and volunteers invited to serve upon this particular enterprise. For once, a British fleet went to sea without recourse to the disgraceful practice of impressment. Lord Exmouth left Plymouth on the 28th of July, with a fleet consisting of twenty-five sail of large and small ships. At Gibraltar he was joined by the Dutch admiral, Van Cappellan, with five frigates and a sloop; and he finally set sail for Algiers on the 14th. The winds being adverse, the fleet did not arrive in sight of Algiers till the 27th of August. During his course, lord Exmouth learnt that the British Consul had been put in chains.

A most interesting and graphic narrative of the expedition to Algiers was published by Mr. Abraham Salamé, a native of Alexandria, who was taken out by lord Exmouth to act as his interpreter. On the morning of the 27th, as the fleet was nearing Algiers, Salamé was sent forward with a letter to the Dey, which demanded the entire abolition of Christian slavery; the delivery of all Christian slaves in the kingdom of Algiers; the restoration of all the money that had been paid for the redemption of slaves by the king of the Two Sicilies and the king of Sardinia; peace between Algiers and the Netherlands; and the immediate liberation of the British Consul, and two boats' crews who had been detained with him. At eleven o'clock, the interpreter reached the Mole, in a boat bearing a flag of truce, and, delivering his letters to the captain of the port, demanded an answer to the letter addressed to the Dey in one hour. He was told that if answer were returned at all, it should be delivered in two hours. Salamé waited for his answer till half-past two, but no answer came. During this time a breeze sprung up, the fleet advanced into the bay, and lay-to within half-a-mile of Algiers. The interpreter then hoisted the signal that no answer had been given, and the

fleet immediately began to bear up, and every ship to take her position. Salamé reached the Queen Charlotte, lord Exmouth's ship, in safety; but, he candidly acknowledges, almost more dead than alive. Then he saw the change which comes over a brave and decided man at the moment when resolve passes into action. "I was quite surprised to see how his lordship was altered from what I left him in the morning, for I knew his manner was in general very mild; and now he seemed to me *all-fightful*, as a fierce lion which had been chained in its cage and was set at liberty. With all that, his lordship's answer to me was, 'Never mind—we shall see now;' and at the same time he turned towards the officers, saying, 'Be ready!'" There is, perhaps, nothing in the history of warfare more terrific in its consequences than the first broadside that the British fired at Algiers. The Queen Charlotte passed through all the batteries without firing a gun, and took up a position within a hundred yards of the Mole-head batteries. At the first shot, which was fired by the Algerines at the Impregnable, lord Exmouth cried out, "That will do; fire, my fine fellows!" The miserable Algerines who were looking on, as at a show, with apparent indifference to the consequences, were swept away by hundreds by this first fire from the Queen Charlotte. From a quarter before three o'clock till nine, the most tremendous firing on both sides continued without intermission, and the firing did not cease altogether until half-past eleven. During this engagement of nine hours, the allied fleet fired a hundred and eighteen tons of gunpowder, and five hundred tons of shot and shells. The Algerines exclaimed that hell had opened its mouth upon them through the English ships. That the Algerines had plied their instruments of destruction with no common alacrity is sufficiently shown by the fact, that eight hundred and fifty-two officers and men were killed in the British squadron, and sixty-five in the Dutch. Lord Exmouth himself says, in his despatch, "There were awful moments during the conflict, which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us." The Algerine batteries around lord Exmouth's division were silenced about ten o'clock, and were in a complete state of ruin and dilapidation; but a fort at the upper angle of the city continued to annoy our ships, whose firing had almost ceased. This was the moment of the most serious danger to our fleet. Our means of attack were well-nigh expended; the upper batteries of the city could not be reached by our guns; the ships were becalmed. "Providence, at this interval," says lord Exmouth, "gave to my anxious wishes the usual land-wind common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours' incessant labour." Nine Algerine frigates and a number of gunboats were burning within the bay; the storehouses within the Mole were on fire. The blaze illumined all the bay, and showed the town and its environs almost as clear as in the day-time; instead of walls, the batteries presented nothing to the sight but heaps of rubbish; and out of these ruins the Moors and Turks were busily employed in dragging their dead. When the fleet had anchored a storm arose—not so violent as the storm which here destroyed the mighty fleet of Charles the Fifth, and left his magnificent army, which had landed to subdue the barbarians, to perish by

sword and famine—but a storm of thunder and lightning, which filled up the measure of sublimity, at the close of the twelve awful hours of battle and slaughter.

On the morning of the 28th, lord Exmouth wrote a letter to the Dey, who had himself fought with courage, in which the same terms of peace were offered as on the previous day. “If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns,” wrote lord Exmouth. The three guns were fired, the Dey made apologies, and treaties of peace and amity were finally signed, to be very soon again broken. The enduring triumph of this expedition was the release, within three days of the battle, of a thousand and eighty-three Christian slaves, who arrived from the interior, and who were immediately conveyed to their respective countries.



Statue of Bonaparte, by Canova, in Apsley House.

CHAPTER IV.*

Meeting of Parliament—Reception of Lord Castlereagh—Debates on the Address—Government defeated on the proposed renewal of the Property-Tax—Marriage of the Princess Charlotte—Unpopularity of the Prince Regent—Complaints of Agricultural Distress—Depression of Commerce and Manufactures—Causes assigned for the depression of Industry—Reduction of the Circulating Medium—Unfavourable Season—Riots and outrages in Agricultural Districts—Renewal of Luddism—Private Benevolence—Progress of Legislation for Social Improvement—Criminal Laws—Forgeries of Bank Notes—Police of London—Gas-Light—Mendicity and Vagrancy—Law of Settlement—General Administration of Poor Laws—Inquiry into the State of Education—Savings' Banks—Game Laws.

THE Imperial Parliament assembled on the 1st of February, 1816. At this opening of the Session the ministry met the representatives of the people with all the pride and confidence of a success beyond hope. The march to Paris, twice over, says a conspicuous actor in the politics of that hour, was sufficiently marvellous; "but it appeared, if possible, still more incredible, that we should witness lord Castlereagh entering the House of Commons, and resuming, amidst universal shouts of applause, the seat which he had quitted for a season to attend as a chief actor in the arrangement of continental territory." † Why incredible? Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons was the impersonation of a great national triumph. The parliamentary majority cheered the Minister for Foreign Affairs as he would have been cheered by any other assembly, when he came home flushed with success. For a little while the nation might bear even the presumption of those who claimed all the merit of the triumph. On the first night of the Session, it was clearly seen that there was to be a limit to what Parliament would bear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared his intention to continue the Property or Income Tax, on the modified scale of five per cent. This avowal was the signal for one of the chief battle-cries which were to lead on the scanty forces of Opposition.

* The period comprised in this Chapter, and in Chapter V., embracing the annals of 1816 and 1817, has been previously treated of by the author of "The Popular History" in "The History of the Peace," published in 1846. This work, begun by him, was continued and completed by Miss Martineau, and therefore bears her name. Although in the present history the author proposed only to occupy about half the space of what he had previously written, he felt the extreme difficulty of relating the same events, and expressing the same opinions, altogether in new words. Having stated his difficulty to Messrs. Chambers, who are now the proprietors of the copyright of "The History of the Peace," he has received from them a very kind permission, to condense the original narrative, or adopt any passages, at his own discretion. Whilst this licence relieves the author from an obvious embarrassment, he has nevertheless been desirous to avoid a mere transcript of any large portion of what he had previously written. But he has not made the useless attempt to distinguish between the new matter and the old, hoping that he has amalgamated the separate parts so as to produce a harmonious result.

† Brougham's "Speeches," vol. i. p. 634 : Introduction to Speech on Holy Alliance.

In a debate in the Committee of Supply, lord Castlereagh used a memorable expression which roused a spirit in the country of deep hostility—almost of disgust: “He felt assured that the people of England would not, from an ignorant impatience to be relieved from the pressure of taxation, put everything to hazard, when everything might be accomplished by continued constancy and firmness.”* From the moment of this offensive declaration the Income Tax was doomed. The people had not borne the taxation of so many years of war with a heroism such as no people had ever before shown, to be taunted with ignorant impatience of taxation, now that they had won peace. The presumption of the government at this period was calculated to produce a violent reaction throughout the land. Men really thought that the old English spirit of freedom was about to be trampled upon when the debates on the Treaties took place, in which lord Liverpool moved the Address. Lord Grenville proposed an amendment, which deprecated in the strongest language “the settled system to raise the country into a military power.” In the House of Peers the government had a majority of sixty-four. Lord Holland entered a protest against the Address, in terms which embodied his speech upon the Treaties, and expressed the opinions of that section of the Opposition: “Because the treaties and engagements contain a direct guarantee of the present government of France against the people of that country; and, in my judgment, imply a general and perpetual guarantee of all European governments against the governed.” In the House of Commons the Foreign Secretary moved the Address upon the Treaties. An amendment was proposed by lord Milton, which deprecated the military occupation of France and the unexampled military establishments of this country. The debate lasted two nights, the Address being finally carried by a majority of a hundred and sixty-three. What was said on both sides was, to a considerable extent, the regular display of party conflict. The exultation of the government at the settlement of their war-labours look now scarcely more inflated than the fears of some members of the Opposition that the confederated arms of the despots of Europe might be turned against the liberties of England. The practical business that was at hand—the enforcement of economy, the alleviation of distress—was the matter of real importance that was to grow out of these debates.

The Corporation of London took the lead in the national expression of opinion against the Property Tax. It was not only the anti-ministerial party of the City that joined in the petition of the corporation;—the judgments of mercantile men against the continuance of the tax were almost universal. The dislike of the rural population was as fixed as that of the inhabitants of towns. The battle against this tax was one of the most remarkable examples of parliamentary strategy that was ever displayed. For six weeks the Opposition, headed by Mr. Brougham, availed themselves of all the means of delay afforded by the forms of the House. As petitions against the tax were presented night after night, debates on the petitions prevented debate and division on the reading of the Bill. It was the 17th of March before the resolutions for the continuance of the tax were presented to the House. The division of the 18th of March, upon the motion of the Chancellor of

* Hansard, vol. xxxiii. p. 455.

the Exchequer in a Committee of Ways and Means, was terminated in half an hour by the impatience of the House. For the continuance of the Property Tax 201 members voted; against it, 238. This defeat of the government dispelled the belief that resistance to taxation was "ignorant impatience." The Chancellor of the Exchequer took a somewhat remarkable course after this defeat. He voluntarily abandoned the war-duties upon malt, amounting to about 2,700,000*l.* The decision of the House would compel him to resort to the money-market,—in other words, to raise a loan. "It was of little consequence that the loan should be increased by the amount of the calculated produce of the malt-duty." Lord Castlereagh said, "it was a matter of indifference whether they took a loan of six or eight millions." This was the "indifference"—the result of a long course of unbounded expense—that required all the efforts of the people and of their friends, during many years, to change into responsibility.

The inquisitorial character of the Property Tax had some influence in producing the popular hostility to its continuance. The returns of the tax-payers were then scrutinized with a severity which has been wisely put aside in the present times. But during the pressure of war-expenditure, and long afterwards, the imposition and collection of other taxes were rendered as odious as possible to the people. The government employed, to an extent which scarcely seems credible now, an army of common informers, through whose agency the system of surcharges and penalties was enforced. Southey attacked this disgrace of our nation as being ten times more inquisitorial than the Holy Office of Spain. "This species of espionage has within these few years become a regular trade; the laws are in some instances so perplexing, and in others so vexatious, that matter for prosecution is never wanting." He describes how "a fellow surcharges half the people in the district; that is, he informs the tax-commissioners that such persons have given in a false account of their windows, dogs, horses, carriages, &c., an offence for which the tax is trebled, and half the surplus given to the informer." Harassed and perplexed—summoned from distant parts to appear before the commissioners—the persons informed against give up the trouble and expense of seeking justice; pay the penalty and bear the surcharge.*

The debates upon the Army Estimates, which eventually caused some reduction—the rejection of the Property Tax—the searching inquiry into the Civil List—the agitation of the question of sinecure offices—were indications of the feeling which any government would have to encounter that did not resolutely determine that a season of peace should be a season of economy. When the details of the Civil List exhibited items of wanton and ridiculous luxury, the members of the Administration themselves were pained and humiliated. When the same ministers proposed the magnificent establishment for the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, upon their marriage, not a dissentient voice was heard in Parliament. The nation saw in this marriage of the presumptive heiress of the Crown—a marriage of affection—some assured hope that public duties might be fitly learned in the serenity of domestic happiness. The private virtues were felt to be the best preparation for the possession of sovereign power. The idea of a patriot queen dis-

* "Espriella's Letters"—Letter xvi.

charging all her high functions with steady alacrity, confident in the affections of her people, of simple habits, of refined and intellectual tastes, her throne sanctified by the attributes of womanly affection—such hopes were something to console the nation for the present endurance of authority that claimed only “mouth-honour,” without love or respect. The marriage of the Princess Charlotte was hailed as a public blessing. It took place at Carlton House, on the evening of the 2nd of May.

One of the most painful circumstances of this period, and one pregnant with danger, was the general contempt for the character of him who now wielded the sovereign authority. The military triumphs of the Regency made the nation only consider how strongly in contrast to the elevation of that heroic time were the cravings for ease and indulgence, the reckless expenditure upon childish gratifications, of the Regent. The attacks of the press upon his sensual follies made him hate the expression of public opinion. That voice was heard in a place where the character and actions of the sovereign are usually unnoticed, even in the greatest freedom of parliamentary debate. The Prince of Wales was in “all but name a King.” Romilly describes a scene in the House of Commons, which took place in a debate on the 20th of March, in which Brougham, he says, made a violent attack upon the Regent, “whom he described as devoted, in the recesses of his palace, to the most vicious pleasures, and callous to the distresses and sufferings of others, in terms which would not have been too strong to describe the latter days of Tiberius.” He adds, “it is generally believed that, but for the speech of Brougham’s, the ministers would again have been in a minority. . . . Brougham’s speech was very injudicious as well as very unjust, for, with all the Prince’s faults, it is absurd to speak of him as if he were one of the most sensual and unfeeling tyrants that ever disgraced a throne.”* Nevertheless, although satire ran riot in ridicule of the unbounded and effeminate luxury of Carlton House in spite of *ex officio* informations, there was wanting some authoritative voice to proclaim that the mightiest of the earth are unworthy of their high station when they live for their own pleasures alone. The declamation of Mr. Brougham might be unstatesmanlike, but it was not without its use.

When the government, in the name of the Prince Regent, informed Parliament that “the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the United Kingdom were in a flourishing condition,” the exception of Agriculture was a sufficient announcement that the cry of “Distress” was near at hand. Amidst the best and the worst species of opposition—the power of argument and the weakness of tumult—a Bill was in 1815 hurried through Parliament which absolutely closed the ports till the price of wheat rose to 80s. This law was passed during a season of wonderful abundance. It produced the immediate good to the landed interest of preventing the abundant supply being increased by importation; but the effect which it produced to the nation was to dry up the resources in years of scarcity which the foresight of other countries might have provided. The war-and-famine price of 1812 was again reached in the latter part of 1816, in 1817, and in 1818. The golden days of the deity that is found in no mythology, the Anti-Ceres, were

* Romilly’s “Life.”

returned. But the people were starving. Misery and insurrection filled the land.

A year after the hasty enactment of a Corn-Law in 1815, amidst riots in the metropolis and the provinces, a majority of the landed interest came to Parliament to ask for the remission of peculiar burthens, and to demand fresh protection. The landed interest of 1816 had but one remedy for every evil—unequal remission of taxation conjoined with protection. They desired themselves to pay less to the State than their fellow-subjects; they required the State to limit their fellow-subjects to that exclusive market for the necessaries of life which should dry up the sources of profitable industry, and thus make their taxation doubly burthensome. On the 7th of March Mr. Western laid upon the table of the House a series of fourteen Resolutions, which declared the “unexampled distress” of those whose capitals were employed in agriculture. They demanded the repeal of so much of the Act of 1815 as should allow foreign corn to be warehoused, so that only British corn should be stored; and urged an advance of money by the government to such individuals as might be inclined to buy up our native produce. The principle upon which all this was advocated was a sufficiently broad one: “That excessive taxation renders it necessary to give protection to all articles the produce of our own soil, against similar articles the growth of foreign countries, not subject to the same burthens;” and “that it is therefore expedient to impose additional duties and restrictions on the importation of all articles, the produce of foreign agriculture.” It is a remarkable example of the power of the landed interest in the House of Commons, that these assertions and unconditional demands were received not only with tolerance but respect. The day-spring of economical politics had scarcely yet dawned. The strength either of the Ministry or the Opposition essentially depended upon the numerical force of the country gentlemen. The commercial and manufacturing interests were most imperfectly represented. The landed aristocracy had retained official power, in association with a few “clerkly” workers, from the earliest feudal times. The admission of a merchant to the councils of the sovereign would have been deemed pollution. The mill-owners had carried us through the war; yet as a political body they were without influence, almost without a voice. There was no one in the House of Commons, who had either the courage or the ability to probe the wounds of the agricultural interests, which were thus paraded before the nation. The Resolutions of Mr. Western in 1816 came to no practical result; for the chief reason, that the forced abandonment of the property-tax, and the voluntary relinquishment of the war malt-duty, had really left very little within the reach of Government to be offered as a further boon to the landed interest.

“Manufactures and Commerce,” said the speech of the Prince Regent, “are in a flourishing condition.” This was to rely upon the bare figures of Custom House returns. In 1815 the declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported was fifty-one millions, being six millions more than in 1814. Well might the commerce of the country seem to be flourishing. Those who knew the real workings of that commerce were not so deceived. Mr. Baring, on the second night of the Session, declared, that “he saw more loss than gain in this great increase of export.” When the

destruction of the power of Napoleon in 1814 had opened the ports of the continent to our vessels; when the consumption of our exports no longer depended upon a vast system of contraband trade; it was universally thought that there could be no limit to the demand for British manufactures and colonial produce. If, under the anti-commercial decrees of our great enemy, the shipments to European ports had been twelve millions in 1811, why should they not be doubled in 1814? And accordingly they were doubled. The most extravagant profits were expected to be realized. The ordinary course of trade was forsaken, and small capitalists as well as large, at the outports as well as in London, eagerly bought up colonial produce, and looked for golden returns. "The shippers found to their cost, when it was too late, that the effective demand on the continent for colonial produce and British manufactures had been greatly over-rated; for whatever might be the desire of the foreign consumers to possess articles so long out of their reach, they were limited in their means of purchase, and accordingly, the bulk of the commodities exported brought very inadequate returns."* A very slight consideration will explain the causes of this enormous mistake. In the first place, the continent was wholly exhausted by the long course of war; by the prodigious expenditure of capital that the war had demanded; by the wasteful consumption of mighty armies embattled against the oppressor; by the rapine of the predatory hordes that were let loose upon their soil; by confiscation. The people had necessarily the greatest difficulty to maintain life; they had little to spare for the secondary necessaries—nothing for indulgence. The merchants of our own country—the nation in general—had been so accustomed to the outward indications of prosperity at home during the course of the war, that they had no adequate idea that war was the great destroyer of capital, and that it essentially left all mankind poorer. In the second place, what had the continent to give us in exchange for our coffee and our sugar, our calicoes and our cutlery? The old mercantile school still existed amongst us, who thought that the perfection of commerce was to exchange goods for money, and that a great commercial nation might subsist without barter. But the continent had no money to exchange for English products, even if the exploded theories of the balance of trade could have found any realization. The continent, exhausted as it was, had its native commodities, but those we refused. We doggedly held on in a course of commercial regulation which belonged only to the infancy of society. We perpetuated foreign restrictions and exclusions of our own manufactured produce, by persistence in a system which other nations of necessity regarded as the cause of our manufacturing superiority. We did not then know how essentially this system retarded our own national progress. We listened to those who, on every side, clamoured for exclusive interests. Agriculturists and manufacturers, landowners and shipowners, equally shouted for protection.

The state of the American trade of 1816 was described by Mr. Brougham, after speaking of the disastrous results of the continental speculations:—"The peace with America has produced somewhat of a similar effect; though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those to the European markets the year before; because

* Tooke's "History of Prices," vol. ii. p. 8.

ultimately the Americans will pay; which the exhausted state of the continent renders very unlikely." * Let us remark that we did not prevent the Americans paying in the only way in which one great people can pay another—by the interchange of commodities which each wants, in return for commodities of which each can produce a superfluity. We shut out their corn, but we did not shut out their cotton. But we went farther with the United States in the recognition of just commercial principles than with any European nation. By the Treaty of Ghent, in 1814, both countries agreed to repeal their navigation laws, and "the ships of the two countries were placed reciprocally upon the same footing in the ports of England and the United States, and all discriminating duties chargeable upon the goods which they conveyed were mutually repealed."

The distresses of the agricultural and the commercial interests were coincident; for the means of purchase amongst all classes were exhausted. The capital which was to impel their profitable industry was dried up. There was "a very general depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of losses and failures among the agricultural, and commercial, and manufacturing, and mining, and shipping, and building interests, which marked that period as one of most extensive suffering and distress." † Some proclaimed that the depression and the distress were caused, not by the exhaustion of war, but by "the transition from a state of war to a state of peace." The theory upon which this delusion was upheld was this:—"The whole annual war expenditure, to the amount of not less than forty millions, was at once withdrawn from circulation. But public expenditure is like the fountain tree in the Indian paradise, which diffuses in fertilizing streams the vapours which it was created to collect and condense for the purpose of more beneficially returning and distributing them." ‡ According to this logical imagery, or imaginative logic, the capital of a nation in the pockets of its proprietors is "vapour;" it becomes a "fertilizing stream" when it condenses into taxes. It assumes that there is more demand when the capital of a country is expended by government, than when the same capital is expended by individuals. It assumes that the expenditure of capital by government in subsidies, in the wasteful consumption of armies, in all the tear and wear of war, is more profitable than the expenditure of capital in the general objects of industry which create more capital. It assumes that the partial expenditure of capital by government in its victualling offices, is more profitable than the regular expenditure of the same capital left in the pockets of the tax-payers, to give them an additional command over food and raiment,—over the comforts and elegancies of life. This fallacy, as well as many others connected with the depression of industry at the close of the war, has been disproved by the long experience of peace. We had arrived in 1816 at the highest point of war exhaustion. The expenditure of government in the eleven years between 1805 and 1815 was very nearly 900,000,000*l.* In 1815 the revenue raised by taxation was 72,000,000*l.* Upon a population of fifteen millions in the United Kingdom this was a

* Brougham's "Speeches," vol. i. p. 519.

† Tooke's "History of Prices," vol. ii. p. 12.

‡ "Quarterly Review," July, 1816.

rate per head of 4*l.* 16*s.* The rate of taxation per head upon the population of the United Kingdom in 1860 was 2*l.* 8*s.* There was the same aggregate amount of taxation, but the burden was divided between twice the number of tax-payers.

The partial return to a real standard of the currency at the period of peace was considered by many to have been a main if not the sole cause of the distress and embarrassment which we have described. Nevertheless, the Bank of England at the peace scarcely contracted its issues at all. In August, 1813, the circulation of bank-notes was nearly twenty-five millions; at the same season in 1814 it was twenty-eight millions; in 1815 twenty-seven millions; in 1816 only half a million less. The utmost amount of the depreciation of bank-notes was in 1814, when a hundred pounds of paper would only buy 74*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* of gold—a depreciation of about 25 per cent. In 1815 and 1816 a hundred pounds of paper would buy 83*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* of gold—a depreciation of nearly 17 per cent. Thus the rise in the value of money, which Cobbett, and many others of less violent politics, declared had produced the wide-spreading ruin of 1816, by causing a proportionate fall of the prices of commodities exchanged for money, was not more than 8 per cent., as compared with the period when the value of an unconvertible paper-money was at the lowest. It is no less true that a vast amount of paper-money was withdrawn from circulation at this period, by the failure of many country-banks, and the contraction of their advances by all who were stable. This was a consequence of the great fall of agricultural produce—a consequence of the diminished credit of the producers. When the restriction upon cash payments by the Bank of England was, in 1816, agreed to be renewed for two years, the bearing of the continuance of the restriction upon the state of prices was not overlooked. On the 1st of May, 1816, Mr. Horner, on his motion for a Committee to inquire into the expediency of restoring the cash payments of the Bank of England, said that, “from inquiries which he had made, and from the accounts on the table, he was convinced that a greater and more sudden reduction of the circulating medium had never taken place in any country than had taken place since the peace in this country, with the exception of those reductions which had happened in France after the Mississippi scheme, and after the destruction of the assignats. The reduction of the currency had originated in the previous fall of the prices of agricultural produce. This fall had produced a destruction of the country bank-paper to an extent which would not have been thought possible without more ruin than had ensued. The Bank of England had also reduced its issues, as appeared by the accounts recently presented. But without looking to the diminution of the Bank of England paper, the reduction of country paper was enough to account for the fall which had taken place.”* William Cobbett, in November, 1816, maintained, not unreasonably, although he exaggerated the extent of the diminished issue of bank-paper, that if, with reduced prices of commodities, the debt and taxes had come down too, there would have been no material injury.†

* Hansard, vol. xxxiv. p. 143.

† “Political Register,” November 30, 1816.

That the paralysis of industry which marked the latter months of 1815 and the beginning of 1816 was most felt by those whose voices of complaint were least heard, by the working population, was soon made perfectly manifest. There was a surplus of labour in every department of human exertion. Mr. Brand declared in Parliament, at the end of March, speaking especially of the agricultural population, that "the poor, in many cases, abandoned their own residences. Whole parishes had been deserted; and the crowd of paupers, increasing in numbers as they went from parish to parish, spread wider and wider this awful desolation." * Discharged sailors and disbanded militiamen swelled the ranks of indigence. If the unhappy wanderers crowded to the cities, they encountered bodies of workmen equally wretched, wholly deprived of work, or working at short time upon insufficient wages. But another evil, of which we find no parliamentary record, amidst debates on the prevailing distress, had come upon the land to aggravate discontent into desperation. While the landowners were demanding more protection, and passing new laws for limiting the supply of food, the heavens lowered; intense frosts prevailed in February; the spring was inclement; the temperature of the advancing summer was unusually low; and in July incessant rains and cold stormy winds completed the most ungenial season that had occurred in this country since 1799. In January the average price of wheat was 52s. 6d.; in May it was 76s. 4d. The apprehensions of a deficient crop were universal in Germany, in France, and in the south of Europe. The result of the harvest showed that these apprehensions were not idle. The prices of grain in England rapidly rose after July; and at the end of the year, rye, barley, and beans had more than doubled the average market price at the beginning; wheat had risen from 52s. 6d. to 103s.

"The matter of seditions is of two kinds," says lord Bacon, "much poverty and much discontentment." Both causes were fully operating in Great Britain in 1816. The seditions of absolute poverty—"the rebellions of the belly," as the same great thinker writes—were the first to manifest themselves. Early in May, symptoms of insubordination and desperate violence were displayed among the agricultural population of the eastern counties. These "poor dumb mouths" soon made themselves audible. They combined in the destruction of property with a fierce recklessness that startled those who saw no danger but in the violence of dense populations, and who were constantly proclaiming that the nation which builds on manufactures sleeps upon gunpowder. In Suffolk, nightly fires of incendiaries began to blaze in every district; threshing machines were broken or burnt in open day; mills were attacked. At Brandon, near Bury, large bodies of labourers assembled to prescribe a maximum price of grain and meat, and to pull down the houses of butchers and bakers. They bore flags, with the motto, "Bread or Blood." At Bury and at Norwich, disturbances of a similar nature were quickly repressed. But the most serious demonstration of the spirit of the peasantry arose in what is called "the Isle of Ely." When we regard the peculiar character of this portion of the country, we may easily understand how a great fall in the prices of grain had driven the land out of cultivation, and cast off the labour of the peasantry, to be as

* Hansard, vol. xxxiii. p. 671.

noxious in its stagnation as the overcharged waters of that artificially fertile region. That country was then very imperfectly drained, and the rates for the imperfect drainage being unpaid by many tenants, the destructive agencies of nature were more active than the healing and directing energies of man. It is well known, too, that in the fen countries the temptation of immediate profit had more than commonly led the farmer to raise exhausting crops, and that the nature of the land, under such circumstances, is such, that a more provident tillage, and abundant manure, cannot for a long time restore it. The high prices of wheat from 1810 to 1814 had supplied this temptation. The Isle of Ely, in 1816, had become somewhat like Prospero's isle, where there was "everything advantageous to life, save means to live." It was under such circumstances that, on the 22nd of May, a great body of insurgent fen men assembled at Littleport, a small town on the river Lark. They commenced their riotous proceedings by a night attack on the house of a magistrate. They broke into shops, emptied the cellars of public-houses, and finally marched to Ely, where they continued their lawless course of drunkenness and plunder. For two days and nights these scenes of violence did not cease: and the parish of Littleport was described as resembling a town sacked by a besieging army, the principal inhabitants having been compelled to abandon their houses in terror of their lives, leaving their property to the fury of this fearful band of desperate men. There could, of necessity, be but one termination. The military were called in, and a sort of skirmish ensued, in which blood flowed on both sides. A large number of the rioters were finally lodged in Ely gaol. Then came the sure retribution of the offended laws. A Special Commission was issued for the trial of the culprits. Thirty-four persons were convicted, and sentenced to death, on charges of burglary and robbery, of whom five were executed.

Incendiary fires, attempts at plunder, riots put down by military force, spread alarm through districts chiefly agricultural. The distress which had fallen upon the manufacturing and other non-agricultural portions of the population was manifested in many signal ways. At the beginning of July, a body of colliers, thrown out of employment by the stoppage of iron-works at Bilston, took the singular resolution of setting out to London, for the purpose of submitting their distresses in a petition to the Prince Regent, and presenting him with two waggons of coals, which they drew along with them. One party advanced as far as St. Alban's, and another reached Maidenhead Thicket. The Home Office took the precaution of sending a strong body of police, with magistrates, from London, to meet these poor fellows, and induce them to return; and they were successful. The distresses of the workmen in the iron trade were quite appalling. Utter desolation prevailed in districts where iron-works had been suspended. The workmen in these districts used to be surrounded with many comforts. They had saved a little money. The factories were shut up, the furnaces blown out, the coal-pits closed. Then the neat cottages, where hundreds of families had lived in comfort, were gradually stripped of every article of furniture; the doors of these once cheerful dwellings were closed; the families were wandering about the country, seeking for that relief from private charity which the parishes could not supply them. Depredation was very rare. Later in the year, the miners and colliers connected with the great iron-

works in the neighbourhood of Merthyr assembled in a tumultuous manner, and their numbers gradually swelling till they reached ten or twelve thousand, they finally extinguished the blast at several works, but did little other damage. These men were on very reduced wages, but their distress does not seem to have been nearly so great as the utter destitution of the Staffordshire colliers.

The Luddite insurrection of 1812 had never been wholly put down.* In 1816, it broke forth with new violence. At Loughborough, in July, many frames employed in the manufacture of lace were destroyed with the same secrecy as in 1812. Armed bands, under the orders of a chief, held the inhabitants in nightly terror, commanding them to put out their lights, and keep within their houses, under penalty of death. Their ravages were not confined to the towns; they would march with suddenness and secrecy to distant villages, and rapidly effect their purposes of destruction. The General Ludd, who led on these armed and disguised desperadoes, would address his forces in a short speech, divide them into parties, and assign their respective operations. Then, in the silence of night, would houses and factories be broken open, frames and other machines be demolished, unfinished work be scattered on the highways, furniture be wholly destroyed. The ignorance which has more or less prevailed at all times on the subject of machinery—coupled with the want of employment produced by the depression of every branch of industry—was the cause that, undeterred by the terrible penalties of the law, the Luddites still pursued the course which had well-nigh driven the lace manufacture from their district, and converted temporary distress into permanent ruin.

The sufferings of the poor in 1816 were too manifest not to call forth an unusual amount of public sympathy, displayed in subscriptions for relief, and in schemes for providing employment. However local charity may have mitigated the intensity of the evil arising out of the general exhaustion of capital, the more ostentatious exertions of that period were economic mistakes, which would have become fatal delusions if they had not quickly broken down. Every scheme to provide unprofitable employment by what is called charity must necessarily be fallacious. Affording no returns to produce continued employment, it soon comes to an end. The higher benevolence which goes to the root, as far as possible, of the evils of society, was then little understood and less practised. Let us endeavour to trace the operation, during the first year in which Parliament had leisure to attend to the condition of the people, of that legislation which seeks to remove evil laws and to amend worn-out institutions.

The notion that had been engendered by the French Revolution that to innovate was to destroy, that to reform was to revolutionize, was the creed of the majority from the close of the war to the end of the reign of George the Fourth. The re-action, which in 1816 had commenced, of a more enlightened public opinion, finally produced the remarkable progress in social improvement which is the great characteristic of the happier eras of William the Fourth and of Victoria. This re-action acquired efficiency and permanence from the very obstinacy with which it was resisted. It grew up

* *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 548.

during an incessant conflict, in which the roughest weapons of controversy were freely used by speakers and by writers. The amount of acrimony and intolerance which we may trace in the periodical press of that time, now appears ludicrous to the few who have survived what Sydney Smith calls "an awful period for those who had the misfortune to entertain liberal opinions." A later generation turns with loathing from the mode in which educated men denounced those who differed from them in the notion that the English constitution, as then understood, was the best possible form of government, and that what those who were sneered at as enthusiasts called social evils were really blessings in disguise. When the enthusiasts attempted to repeal or modify laws wholly unsuited to the advanced opinions of the age, and which appeared unlikely to provoke the hostility of mere selfish interests, there was always some formidable adversary to stand in the breach, ready to defend the crumbling outer walls of our time-honoured institutions, as if they constituted the strength and glory of the citadel. Wise men looked upon English life, and thought—

" 'tis an unweeded garden
That grows to seed ; things rank and gross in nature
Possess it merely."

They were levellers—they were visionaries—they would make government impossible, said an overwhelming majority. A type of the class who resisted every approach to improvement was the Lord Chancellor Eldon. His thought by day, his dream by night, was to uphold what he called the Constitution—that indefinable compound of principles and expedients, that to him was as sacred as the commands of Holy Writ. Whoever approached to lay his hands on that ark, whether he came to blot out a cruel statute, or to mitigate a commercial restriction, or to disfranchise a corrupt borough, or to break down a religious disability, was his enemy. It has been truly observed, that he confounded every abuse that surrounded the throne, or grew up within the precincts of the altar, with the institutions themselves—"alike the determined enemy of all who would either invade the institution or extirpate the abuse." Romilly was the foremost amongst the courageous spirits who risked something for the amelioration of the lot of their fellow-men. His perseverance was an example to other earnest labourers, who, amidst much suspicion, and some ridicule, rested not till they had secured a neutral ground on which the benevolent and wise of each party might labour without any compromise of their political consistency. Criminal Laws; Police; Poor-Laws; Education; these offered themselves, when the excitement of the war had passed away, as subjects that might be dealt with in the same spirit which had finally carried the abolition of the Slave Trade. Tory might unite with Whig in measures whose necessity was proclaimed in many forms of misery, of oppression, of neglect. Resistance to change gradually became feebler and feebler. There was a wide gulf between the land of promise and the land of reality; but it was first bridged over with a single plank, and then a solid structure arose, across which the advocates of "things as they should be" securely passed to an enduring triumph, of which the wisest of the adherents of "things as they are" came, in the fulness of time, to share the honour.

The name of reform in the Criminal Laws had not been heard in the House

of Commons for fifty-eight years, when, in 1808, Romilly carried his Bill for the abolition of the punishment of death for privately stealing from the person to the value of five shillings; in other words, for picking pockets. His friend Scarlett advised him to attempt at once to repeal all the statutes which punish with death mere thefts unaccompanied by any act of violence, or other circumstance of aggravation; but Romilly, seeing that he had no chance of being able to carry through the House a Bill which was to expunge at once all those laws from the statute-book, determined to attempt the repeal of them one by one. Upon this prudential principle Romilly carried his first reform in 1808. Nevertheless, the House of Commons, which consented to pass the Bill, forced upon him the omission of its preamble:—"Whereas, the extreme severity of penal laws hath not been found effectual for the prevention of crimes; but, on the contrary, by increasing the difficulty of convicting offenders, in some cases affords them impunity, and in most cases renders their punishment extremely uncertain." The temper with which too many persons of rank and influence received any project of amelioration at the beginning of this century, is forcibly exhibited in an anecdote which Romilly has preserved for our edification. The brother of a peer of the realm, fresh from a debauch, came up to him at the bar of the House of Commons, and stammered out, "I am against your Bill; I am for hanging all."*

In 1810 Romilly brought in three Bills to repeal the Acts which punished with death the crimes of stealing privately in a shop goods of the value of five shillings, and of stealing to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling-house, or on board vessels in navigable rivers. The first Bill passed the House of Commons, but was lost in the Lords. The other two were rejected. In 1811 the rejected Bills were again introduced, with a fourth Bill, abolishing the capital punishment for stealing in bleaching-grounds. The four Bills were carried through the House of Commons; but only that on the subject of bleaching-grounds was sanctioned by the Lords. The constant argument that was employed on these occasions against the alteration of the law was this—that of late years the offences which they undertook to repress were greatly increased. Justly did Romilly say, "A better reason than this for altering the law could hardly be given." On the 24th of May, 1811, when three of the Bills were rejected in the House of Lords, lord Ellenborough declared, "They went to alter those laws which a century had proved to be necessary, and which were now to be overturned by speculation and modern philosophy."† The Lord Chancellor, Eldon, on the same occasion stated, that he had himself early in life felt a disposition to examine the principles on which our criminal code was framed, "before observation and experience had matured his judgment. Since, however, he had learnt to listen to these great teachers in this important science, his ideas had greatly changed, and he saw the wisdom of the principles and practice by which our criminal code was regulated."‡ In 1813 sir Samuel Romilly's Bill for the abolition of capital punishment in cases of shoplifting, was carried by the Commons in the new Parliament; but it was again rejected

* Romilly's "Diary," June, 1808.

† Hansard, vol. xx. p. 299.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. xx. p. 300.

in the House of Lords. No further attempt was made towards the amelioration of this branch of our laws till the year 1816.

On the 16th of February sir Samuel Romilly obtained leave to bring in a Bill repealing the Act of William the Third, which made it a capital offence to steal privately in a shop to the value of five shillings. He described this Act as the most severe and sanguinary in our statute-book. As recently as 1785, no less than ninety-seven persons were executed in London for this offence alone; and the dreadful spectacle was exhibited of twenty suffering at the same time. The capital sentence was now constantly evaded by juries committing a pious fraud, and finding the property of less value than was required by the statute. The consequence, if severe laws were never executed, was, that crime went on to increase, and the crimes of juvenile offenders especially. On moving the third reading of the Bill, on the 15th of March, sir Samuel Romilly called attention to the great number of persons of very tender age who had recently been sentenced to death for pilfering in shops. At that moment there was a child in Newgate, not ten years of age, under sentence of death for this offence; and the Recorder of London was reported to have declared that it was intended to enforce the laws strictly in future, to interpose some check, if possible, to the increase of youthful depravity. The Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords on the 22nd of May. On this occasion the Lord Chief Justice agreed with the Lord Chancellor, "that the effect of removing the penalty of death from other crimes had rendered him still more averse to any new experiment of this kind. Since the removal of the vague terror which hung over the crime of stealing from the person, the number of offences of that kind had alarmingly increased."* Thus, with the absolute certainty of experience that bloody laws rigorously administered did not diminish crime, the legislators of the beginning of the nineteenth century believed, or affected to believe, that the same laws scarcely ever carried into execution would operate through the influence of what they called "a vague terror." The inefficiency of this system is forcibly demonstrated by a comparison of the number of forged notes presented at the Bank of England, with the number of persons convicted of forging and uttering such notes, and the number of these executed for forgery. In 1816 there were 17,885 forged notes presented at the Bank of England; 104 persons were convicted of forgery; 18 were executed. The capital punishment for forgery was not abolished till 1833; but there was no execution for that offence after 1829. The crime had decreased by removing the temptation to its perpetration upon a large scale. In 1820 there were 29,035 forged notes presented at the Bank; the convictions were 352; the executions were 21. In 1823 the forged notes presented were 1648; the convictions were 6; the executions were 2. The resumption of cash payments had extinguished the notes for one pound and two pounds, which had previously constituted the chief circulating medium.

In 1816 our system of police had arrived at its perfection of imbecile wickedness. The machinery for the prevention and detection of crime was exactly accommodated to the machinery for its punishment. On the 3rd of April, on the motion of Mr. Bennet, a Committee of the House of Commons

* Hiansard, vol. xxxiv. p. 634.

was appointed to inquire into the state of the police of the metropolis. The Committee was resumed in 1817; and two Reports were presented, which were among the first causes of the awakening of the public mind to a sense of the frightful evils which were existing in what we flattered ourselves to be the most civilized city in the world. There was no unity of action amongst the petty jurisdictions into which the metropolis was divided. The notion of a preventive police was utterly unknown. The "thief-taker," as the police officer was called, was the great encourager of crime. The suppression of crime would have taken away the chief profits of his occupation. Flash-houses, known in the scientific phraseology of the police as "flash-cribs," "shades," and "infernals," were filthy dens, where thieves and abandoned females were always to be found, riotous or drowsy, surrounded by children of all ages, qualifying for their degrees in the college of crime. "There," says a Middlesex magistrate, examined before the Committee of 1816, "they (the children) see thieves and thief-takers sitting and drinking together on terms of good-fellowship; all they see and hear is calculated to make them believe they may rob without fear of punishment, for in their thoughtless course they do not reflect that the forbearance of the officers will continue no longer than until they commit a forty-pound crime, when they will be sacrificed." A forty-pound crime!—the phraseology is as obsolete as if it were written in the pedlar's French of the rogues of the sixteenth century. A forty-pound crime was a crime for whose detection the State adjudged a reward, to be paid on conviction, of forty pounds; and, as a necessary consequence, the whole race of thieves were fostered into a steady advance from small offences to great, till they obligingly ventured upon some deed of more than common atrocity, which should bestow the blood-money upon the officers of the law who had so long petted and protected them. The system received a fatal blow in 1816, in the detection of three officers of the police, who had actually conspired to induce five men to commit a burglary, for the purpose of obtaining the rewards upon their conviction. The highwaymen who infested the suburbs of the metropolis had been eradicated—they belonged to another age. Offences against the person were very rarely connected with any offences against property. But the uncertainty of punishment, the authorized toleration of small offenders, and the organized system of negotiation for the return of stolen property, had filled the metropolis with legions of experienced depredators. The public exhibitions of the most profligate indecency and brutality can scarcely be believed by those who have grown up in a different state of society. When Defoe described his Colonel Jack, in the days of his boyish initiation into vice, sleeping with other children amidst the kilns and glasshouses of the London fields, we read of a state of things that has long passed away. But, as recently as 1816, in Covent Garden Market, and other places affording a partial shelter, hundreds of men and women, boys and girls, assembled together, and continued during the night, in a state of shameless profligacy, which is described as presenting a scene of vice and tumult more atrocious than anything exhibited even by the lazzaroni of Naples.

The brilliantly lighted, carefully watched, safe, orderly, and tranquil London of the present day, presents as great a contrast to the London of 1816, as that again, contrasted with the London of 1762, the year in which

the Westminster Paving and Lighting Act was passed. Street robberies, before that period, were the ordinary events of the night. Security was the exception to the course of atrocity, for which the Government applied no remedy but to hang. For half a century after this the metropolis had its comparative safety of feeble oil-lamps and decrepit watchmen. The streets were filled with tumultuous vagabonds; and the drowsy guardians of the night suffered every abomination to go on in lawless vigour, happy if their sleep were undisturbed by the midnight row of the drunken rake. In 1807 Pall-Mall was lighted by gas. The persevering German who spent his own money and that of subscribers to his scheme, had no reward. The original gas company, whose example was to be followed, not only by all England but by the whole civilized world, was first derided, and then treated in Parliament as rapacious monopolists, intent upon the ruin of established industry. The adventurers in gas-light did more for the prevention of crime than the Government had done since the days of Alfred. We turn to the Parliamentary Debates, and we see how they were encouraged in 1816,—nine years after it had been found that the invention was of inappreciable public benefit. “The company,” said the earl of Lauderdale, “aimed at a monopoly, which would ultimately prove injurious to the public, and ruin that most important branch of trade, our whale fisheries.”* Alderman Atkins “contended that the measure was calculated to ruin that hardy race of men, the persons employed in the Southern and Greenland whale fisheries, in each of which a million of money, and above a hundred ships, were engaged. If the Bill were to pass, it would throw out of employ ten thousand seamen, and above ten thousand rope-makers, sail-makers, mast-makers, &c., connected with that trade.”† Who can forbear to admire the inexhaustible fund of benevolence that for ages had been at work in the advocacy of the great principle of protection?

A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1815 to inquire into the state of mendicity and vagrancy in the metropolis and its neighbourhood; and they continued their sittings in 1816; reporting minutes of the evidence in each year. Beyond these Reports no legislative measure was adopted. The evidence went rather to show the amount of imposture than of destitution. To collect such evidence was an amusing occupation for the idle mornings of Members of Parliament. To inquire into the causes of destitution and its remedies would have been a far heavier task. The chief tendency of the evidence was to show how the sturdy beggar was a capitalist and an epicure; ate fowls and beefsteaks for supper, and despised broken meat; had money in the funds, and left handsome legacies to his relations. The witnesses, moreover, had famous stories of a lame impostor who tied up his leg in a wooden frame, and a blind one who wrote letters in the evening for his unlettered brethren; of a widow who sat for ten years with twins who never grew bigger, and a wife who obtained clothes and money from eleven lying-in societies in the same year. But the Committee had also some glimpses of real wretchedness amidst these exciting tales of beggar-craft—as old as the days of the old Abraham men. They heard of Calmel’s Buildings, a small court of twenty-four

* Hansard, vol. xxxiv. p. 1280.

† *Ibid.*, p. 1072.

houses in the immediate vicinity of Portman Square, where more than seven hundred Irish lived in the most complete distress and profligacy; and they were told that the court was totally neglected by the parish; that it was never cleaned; that people were afraid to enter it from dread of contagion. In George Yard, Whitechapel, they were informed that there were two thousand people, occupying forty houses, in a similar state of wretchedness. Much more of this was told the Committee; but the evil was exhibited and forgotten. Legislation for Public Health was unknown till 1848, except in the old laws of quarantine. Very much of what was called the vagrancy of the metropolis was a natural consequence of the administration of the Poor Laws throughout the kingdom. A large proportion of the money raised for the relief of the poor was expended in shifting the burthen of their relief from one parish to another; and Middlesex kept a number of functionaries in active operation, to get rid of the vagrants that crowded into London, by passing them out of the limits of the metropolitan county, to return, of course, on the first convenient occasion. As Middlesex worked under the Law of Settlement, so worked the whole kingdom. An intelligent foreigner, who travelled in England in 1810, saw how the poor were repulsed from one parish to another "like infected persons. They are sent back from one end of the kingdom to the other, as criminals formerly in France, *de brigade en brigade*. You meet on the high roads, I will not say often but too often, an old man on foot with his little bundle—a helpless widow, pregnant perhaps, and two or three barefooted children following her—become paupers in a place where they had not yet acquired a legal right to assistance, and sent away, on that account, to their original place of settlement."* This Law of Settlement was in full operation, playing its fantastic tricks from the Channel to the Tweed, when the peace filled the land with disbanded seamen and other servants of war; and agricultural labourers, who could find no employ at home, were wandering, as it was called, to search for capital in some unknown region where capital was seeking for labour. The statute of 1662, the foundation of the Law of Settlement,† forbade this wandering, and gave a very amusing explanation of the ground of its prohibitions: "Whereas, by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock." The great natural law of labour seeking exchange with capital was to be resisted, by a law which declared that those who sought to effect this exchange were "rogues and vagabonds." In this spirit agricultural parishes very generally came to the resolution of employing none but their own parishioners. "The immediate consequence of this determination was, the removal of numbers of the most industrious families from homes where they had lived in comfort, and without parish relief, all their lives, to a workhouse in the parish to which they belonged."‡

It was not till 1861 that the wedge was introduced that might break up the selfish and ignorant laws for the removal of the poor. One of the

* Simond—"Tour in Great Britain," vol. i. p. 293.

† See *ante*, vol. iv. p. 276.

‡ Answers from Sussex to Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry.

greatest evils attending the parochial terror of new settlers was the filthy and ruinous state of the dwellings of agricultural labourers. The evil has been remedied in some degree, but in too many districts it exists now as it existed when Simond "asked proprietors of land, or farmers, why they did not build houses for their labourers;" and was told that "far from building, they would rather pull down such houses." The labourers were crowded in hovels of the adjacent town or village. Cottages were not built or properly upheld in agricultural parishes, for what capitalist would speculate in houses for the labourers, when the most industrious might be hurried away at the bidding of the overseer? The tyranny seems likely to be destroyed by the intelligence which, sooner or later, sweeps away the great or the petty tyrant.

On the 28th of May, Mr. Curwen, an intelligent agriculturist, brought the subject of the Poor Laws before the House of Commons, on a motion for the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry. Mr. Curwen had a plan—as many others had their plans. His scheme formed small part of the deliberations of the Committee, which reported in 1817. Their recommendations for the remedy of the enormous evil of the existing Poor Laws did not penetrate beneath the surface. In 1816 the amount of poor-rate levied was 6,937,425*l.* This charge was at the rate of 12*s.* 4½*d.* per head upon the population of England and Wales.* The average annual expenditure for the relief of the poor had gradually increased from about two millions at the commencement of the war, to seven millions at its close. A very large portion of the money that had been spent in fostering pauperism during the war years, by parish allowances in aid of wages, represents the amount of degradation and misery which the labourers endured, as compared with their unallowanced forefathers. The national debt represents, in a great degree, the money expended in unprofitable wars,—the waste of capital upon objects that can only be justified by the last necessity, and which are the result of those evil passions which the improved knowledge and virtue of mankind may in time root out. In the same way, had the money expended upon fostering pauperism been raised upon loan, we should have had an amount of some two hundred millions, representing, in a like degree, the waste of capital expended in drying up the sources of industry and skill, and paying the alms of miserable indigence instead of the wages of contented labour. It is difficult to conceive a more complete state of degradation than the allowanced labourers exhibited in 1816. With the feudal servitude had passed away the feudal protection. The parish servitude imposed the miseries and contumelies of slavery, without its exemption from immediate care and future responsibility. The old workhouse system was as productive of evil in principle, though not in amount, as the allowance system. In the parish workhouses the consequences of want of classification and bad management operated with the greatest hardship upon children. Habits were formed in the workhouse which rendered the path to respectability almost inaccessible. These children were disposed of under the apprenticing system, and were doomed to a dreary period of servitude, under some needy master who had been tempted in the first instance to take them by the offer of a small

* Purdy, "On the English Poor Rate."

premium. The parochial plan of putting out children, with its attendant evils, was a necessary consequence of the want of training while in the workhouse.

In 1807, Mr. Whitbread proposed to the House of Commons a very large and comprehensive measure of Poor-Law Reform. The principles which he advocated were those of real statesmanship. To arrest the constant progress of pauperism, he desired to raise the character of the labouring classes. He called upon the country to support a plan of general national education; he proposed a method under which the savings of the poor might be properly invested in a great national bank. At the period when Mr. Whitbread brought forward his plan of Poor-Law Reform, the system of mutual instruction, introduced by Lancaster and Bell, was attracting great attention. Too much importance was perhaps at first attached to the mechanical means of education then recently developed; but the influence was favourable to the establishment of schools by societies and individuals. The Government left the instruction of the people to go on as it might, without a single grant, for more than a quarter of a century.

From 1807 to the close of the war, the Legislature heard no word on the Education of the People. The man who for forty-five years has devoted much of his untiring energy to this great question, had in 1816 come back to the place in the councils of the nation which he won in 1812 by a combination of industry and talent almost unprecedented. Henry Brougham had not been in Parliament for three years. On the 21st of May, 1816, he moved for the appointment of a Select Committee "to inquire into the state of the Education of the lower orders of the people in London, Westminster, and Southwark." The motion, which was brought forward with great caution by the mover, was unopposed. The Committee made its first report on the 20th of June, having conducted its inquiries with more than usual activity. The energy of Mr. Brougham, who acted as chairman, gave a remarkable impulse to this important investigation. It was found that in the metropolis there were a hundred and twenty thousand children without the means of education. The principal labours of the Committee had consisted in their examination of evidence as to the number and condition of the charity and parish schools destined for the education of the lower orders. The number of such institutions exceeded anything that could have been previously believed; but the expenditure of the funds was, in many cases, neither pure nor judicious. A few were educated and brought up—the many were neglected. In the country, instances of flagrant abuses had been heard of. Mr. Brougham's Report produced no hostile feelings on this occasion. In 1818 the powers of inquiry granted to the Committee were no longer confined to the metropolis. Then the larger question of the extension of education was merged in a furious controversy as to the amount of abuses in endowed charities, and the propriety of subjecting the higher schools, such as Eton and Winchester, and also Colleges in the Universities, to a searching inquiry into the nature of their statutes, and their adherence to the objects of their foundation. An Act was subsequently passed, in consequence of the labours of the Committee, to appoint Commissioners to inquire concerning the abuse of Charities connected with Education; and by a second Act the right of inquiry was extended to all charities, the Universities and certain

great Foundation schools excepted. The Education Commission was thus merged in the Charity Commission. Of the great national benefits that resulted from that Commission no one can doubt. But it may be doubted whether the controversial shape which the question of education assumed in 1818 did much to advance the disposition which prevailed in 1816, to provide a general system of popular instruction. From some unhappy prejudice—from apathy, or from cowardice—the education of the people made small legislative progress for twenty years. Perhaps the old fable of the sun and the wind experimenting upon the removal of the traveller's cloak, may afford us some solution of this problem. But the Reports of the Education Committee were of the highest value in showing us the extent of instruction at the time of its labours. There were 18,500 schools, educating 644,000 children; of this number 166,000 were educated at endowed schools, and 478,000 at unendowed schools, during six days of the week. This number was independent of Sunday schools, of which there were 5100, attended by 452,000 children; but of course many of these Sunday scholars were included in the returns of other schools.

In the plan of Poor-Law Reform brought forward by Mr. Whitbread in 1807, he earnestly advocated the consideration of a mode by which the savings of the poor might be safely and profitably invested. Three or four years previous, Mr. Malthus, in his "Essay on Population," had argued that "it might be extremely useful to have county banks, where the smallest sums would be received, and a fair interest granted for them." Mr. George Rose had, as early as 1793, legislated for the encouragement of Friendly Societies. In 1798 a bank for the earnings of poor children was established at Tottenham; and this was found so successful, that a bank for the safe deposit of the savings of servants, labourers, and others, was opened at the same place in 1804. Interest was here allowed to the depositors. A similar institution was founded at Bath in 1808. But the greatest experiment upon the possibility of the labouring poor making considerable savings was tried in Scotland. "The Parish Bank Friendly Society of Ruthwell" was established by the Rev. Henry Duncan in 1810. The first London Savings-Bank did not commence its operations till January, 1816. In the Parliamentary Session of 1816, Mr. Rose brought in a bill for the regulation of Savings-Banks, which was subsequently withdrawn for revision. Of the possible benefits of these institutions there could be no doubt in the minds of all men who were anxious to improve the condition of the people. "What a bubble!" wrote Cobbett.

In the Session of 1816 one step was made towards some improvement on that code which Blackstone termed a "a bastard slip of the old forest laws; . . . both productive of the same tyranny to the Commons, but with this difference,—that the forest laws established only one mighty hunter throughout the land; the game-laws have raised a little Nimrod in every manor." The attention of the House of Commons was called to this subject in consequence of the murder of colonel Berkeley's gamekeeper by a gang of armed poachers; and a Committee was appointed "to take into consideration the laws relating to game."* They came to the Resolution, "that it is the opinion

* Hansard, vol. xxxiv. col. 586.

of this Committee, that all game should be the property of the person upon whose lands such game should be found." They contemplated the removal of the qualification to kill game—that law which had its beginning in the reign of Richard II., and which, perfected by the aristocratic legislators of the time of Charles II., required "fifty times the property to enable a man to kill a partridge as to vote for a knight of the shire."* The Committee of 1816 evidently pointed to the necessity of "removing the restraints upon the sale of game." It was not till after fifteen years of controversy that the statute of William IV. dispensed with the qualification for killing game, and legalized its sale. The statute of the 9th of George IV., and that of William IV., rendered the law more stringent and effective against poaching, especially by night. The number of convictions under the Acts for the preservation of game furnish no uncertain test, not only of the state of morals amongst the agricultural labourers, but of the presence or absence of those qualities which make the landed proprietor a blessing or a curse to his humble neighbours. In the more daring and depraved of the population of the rural districts, the severe administration of the game-laws produced a spirit such as was displayed in January, 1816, by the Berkeley poachers, who cried out "Glory! glory!" when they had killed one gamekeeper and wounded six others.†

* Blackstone.

† "Annual Register," 1816—Chronicle, p. 11.



The Royal Exchange in 1817.

CHAPTER V.

Parliamentary Reform taken up by the ignorant and uneducated—Extended circulation of the writings of Cobbett—The Hampden Clubs—The Spenceans—Orator Hunt and the Spafford Meeting—Riot in the City—Meeting of Parliament—Outrage on the Prince Regent—Secret Committees—Habeas Corpus Act suspended, and other stringent measures—Oliver, the spy—The Derbyshire Insurrection—Lord Sidmouth's Circular Letter—Prosecutions for Libel—The Three Trials of William Hone—The Government and the People—Eulogies on Francis Horner in the House of Commons.

THE call for Parliamentary Reform seems to have made itself very feebly heard in the Lower House in the Session of 1816. With the exception of some four or five petitions that produced very slight discussion, it would scarcely be thought, from an inspection of the Parliamentary Debates, that such a question agitated any part of the nation at all. On one occasion, in June, some Members spoke very briefly upon the subject. One complained of the apathy with which the question was regarded in England; another (Mr. Brougham) mentioned the cause as "opposed by some, deserted by others, and espoused by persons whose conduct excited no small degree of disgust out of doors." But from this time the name of Parliamentary Reform became, for the most part, a name of terror to the Government—to the elevated by rank and wealth—to the most influential of the middle

classes. It became fearful from the causes which would have made it contemptible in ordinary times. It was "espoused by persons whose conduct excited no small degree of disgust out of doors." It passed away from the patronage of a few aristocratic lovers of popularity, to be advocated by writers of "twopenny trash," and to be discussed and organized by "Hampden Clubs" of hungering philanthropists and unemployed "weaver-boys."

Samuel Bamford, who thought it no disgrace to call himself "a Radical" — a man of real native talent, and of honest intentions,—says, "At this time [1816] the writings of William Cobbett suddenly became of great authority; they were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts of South Lancashire, in those of Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham; also in many of the Scottish manufacturing towns. Their influence was speedily visible."

Cobbett advocated Parliamentary Reform as the corrective of whatever miseries the lower classes suffered. A new order of politicians was called into action—"The Sunday-schools of the preceding thirty years had produced many working men of sufficient talent to become readers, writers, and speakers in the village meetings for Parliamentary Reform; some also were found to possess a rude poetic talent, which rendered their effusions popular, and bestowed an additional charm on their assemblages; and by such various means, anxious listeners at first, and then zealous proselytes, were drawn from the cottages of quiet nooks and dingles, to the weekly readings and discussions of the Hampden Clubs."* But let it be remembered, that though the Sunday-schools of the preceding thirty years had made some working men readers, writers, and speakers, the mass of the labouring population were in the lowest state of ignorance, and were consequently ready to accept the crude and violent opinions of a few of their own class as the only true maxims of political action. The speakers at the village meetings echoed the strong words of Cobbett, without the qualifying prudence which generally kept that master of our language pretty safe in argument and phraseology. He was not the man to tempt a prosecution by a rash sentence that could have been construed into sedition.

Up to the 2nd of November, 1816, "Cobbett's Weekly Political Register" was a publication not addressed to the "cottage hearth," but to persons who could afford to pay a shilling and a halfpenny weekly for a single octavo stamped sheet, printed in open type. His writings, singularly clear and argumentative, strong in personalities, earnest, bold, never halting between two opinions, powerful beyond all anonymous writing from their rare individuality, would have commanded an extensive influence under any form of publication. But at the beginning of November, he announced his intention to print "The *Twopenny Register*." We see, therefore, why, at the end of 1816, "the writings of William Cobbett *suddenly* became of great authority, and were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts." Never before had any single writer in England wielded such a power. That his cheap Registers gave the discontent of the labouring classes a new direction cannot be doubted; that they did much to repress riot and outrage

* "Passages in the Life of a Radical," by Samuel Bamford, vol. i. p. 8.

may fairly be conceded. But that they were scattering the seeds of a greater danger than the outrage and plunder of infuriated mobs cannot be denied. Their object was suddenly to raise up the great masses of labourers and mechanics into active politicians; to render the most impatient and uncontrollable materials of our social system the most preponderating. The danger was evident; the means of repression were not so clear. The effect of Cobbett's writings may be estimated by the violence of his opponents, as well as by the admiration of his disciples. From the date of his twopenny Registers he was stigmatized as a "firebrand"—"a convicted incendiary." "Why is it that this convicted incendiary, and others of the same stamp, are permitted, week after week, to sow the seeds of rebellion, insulting the Government, and defying the laws of the country? . . . We have laws to prevent the exposure of unwholesome meat in our markets, and the mixture of deleterious drugs in beer. We have laws also against poisoning the minds of the people, by exciting discontent and disaffection; why are not these laws rendered effectual, and enforced as well as the former?"* The answer is very obvious. The laws, as they stood at the end of 1816, when this was written, could not touch William Cobbett. He knew well how to manage his strength. He risked no libels. He dealt with general subjects. He called upon the people to assemble and to petition. He exhorted the people against the use of force. He sowed the dragons' teeth, it is true, but they did not rise up as armed men. They rose up in the far more dangerous apparition of the masses, without property, without education, without leaders of any weight or responsibility, demanding the supreme legislative power—the power of universal suffrage. The idea ceased to be a theory—it became a tremendous reality.

In a Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, presented on the 19th of February, 1817, the Hampden Clubs are described as "associated professedly for the purpose of Parliamentary Reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments;" but that "in far the greater number of them, and particularly in those which are established in the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and which are composed of the lower order of artisans, nothing short of a Revolution is the object expected and avowed." The testimony of Samuel Bamford shows that, in this early period of their history, the Hampden Clubs limited their object to the attainment of Parliamentary Reform—a sweeping reform, indeed, but not what is understood by the term "Revolution." They contended for the right of every male above eighteen years of age, and who paid taxes, to vote for the election of Members of Parliament; and that Parliaments should be elected annually. These demands Bamford describes as "the moderate views and wishes of the Reformers of those days."† He adds, "It was not until we became infested by spies, incendiaries, and their dupes—distracting, misleading, and betraying—that physical force was mentioned amongst us. After that, our moral power waned; and what we gained by the accession of demagogues, we lost by their criminal violence, and the estrangement of

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xvi. p. 275.

† "Passages in the Life of a Radical," vol. i. chap. ii.

real friends." It would appear, however, that in Scotland, at a very early stage of the proceedings of Reform Clubs, that is in December, 1816, the mode in which large masses of men ordinarily look for the accomplishment of political changes was not so cautiously kept out of view.

Of the Hampden Club of London, sir Francis Burdett was the chairman. Vanity, as well as misery, "makes a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows." Bamford, at the beginning of 1817, came to London as a delegate from the Middleton Club, to attend a great meeting of delegates to be assembled in London. The Crown and Anchor Tavern was the scene of these deliberations. There, was Major Cartwright in the chair—a placid enthusiast, sincere in his belief that unmingled good would be the result of the great experiment which he had so long advocated. The chief supporters were Cobbett, with his shrewd self-possession and "bantering jollity;" and Hunt,—“Orator Hunt,” as he was called,—the incarnation of an empty, blustering, restless, ignorant, and selfish demagogue. The great Baronet was absent, and his absence provoked no little comment. But he was accessible in his own mansion. Samuel Bamford was awe-struck by the passionate bellowing of Hunt, frozen by the proud condescension of sir Francis Burdett, but charmed by the unaffected cordiality of lord Cochrane. These were the chief actors in the procession scenes of the popular drama that was then under rehearsal. Other and more important parts were filled quite as appropriately.

The Middleton delegate was introduced, amidst the reeking tobacco-fog of a low tavern, to the leading members of a society called the "Spencean Philanthropists." They derived their name from that of a Mr. Spence, a schoolmaster in Yorkshire, who had conceived a plan for making the nation happy, by causing all the lands of the country to become the property of the State, which State should divide all the produce for the support of the people. Socialism, in its extremest principles, is not a new doctrine. The schoolmaster was an honest enthusiast, who fearlessly submitted his plan to the consideration of all lovers of their species, and had the misfortune to be prosecuted for its promulgation in 1800. In 1816 "Spence's Plan" was revived, and the Society of Spencean Philanthropists was instituted, who held "sectional meetings," and discussed "subjects calculated to enlighten the human understanding." This great school of philosophy had its separate academies, as London was duly informed by various announcements, at "the Cock, in Grafton-street, Soho;" and "the Mulberry Tree, Moorfields;" and "the Nag's Head, Carnaby Market;" and "No. 8, Lumber-street, Borough." At these temples of benevolence, where "every individual is admitted, free of expense, who will conduct himself with decorum," it is not unlikely that some esoteric doctrines were canvassed, such as, that "it was an easy matter to upset Government, if handled in a proper manner."* The Committee of the Spenceans openly meddled with sundry grave questions besides that of a community in land; and, amongst other notable projects, petitioned Parliament to do away with machinery. Amongst these fanatics some dangerous men had established themselves, such as Thistlewood, who subsequently paid the penalty of five years of maniacal plotting; and some, also, who were

* "State Trials," vol. xxxii. pp. 215, 216; Watson's Trial.

clearly in communication with the police, and hounded on the weak disciples of the Cock in Grafton-street and the Mulberry Tree in Moorfields, to acts of more real danger to themselves than to the public safety. If we are to believe the chief evidence in these transactions, John Castle, a man of the most disreputable character, who became a witness against the leading Spencean philanthropists, they had murderous designs of sharp machines for destroying cavalry, and plans for suffocating quiet soldiers in their barracks, destroying them as boys burn wasps' nests; and schemes for taking the Tower, and barricading London Bridge, to prevent the artillery coming from Woolwich.* And there were to be five commanders to effect all these great movements of strategy,—Mr. Thistlewood, Mr. Watson the elder, and Mr. Watson the younger, Mr. Castle, and Mr. Preston, who came the last in dignity "because he was lame." And then there was to be a Committee of Public Safety, who were to be called together after the soldiers were subdued—twenty-four good and true men. And then they calculated at what amount of public expense they could buy the soldiers, by giving them each a hundred guineas; and, upon an accurate computation, it was found that the purchase-money would be somewhere about two millions, which would be nothing in comparison with the national debt, which would be wiped off.† With this preparation, if we may believe the very questionable evidence of Mr. Castle, a meeting was held in Spa-fields on the 15th November.

The district known as Spa-fields, now covered with dwellings of industry and comfortable residences of the middle classes, was, at the beginning of the present century, and for some years afterwards, a large unenclosed space, utterly neglected and useless. A public-house was there, called by the mysterious name of Merlin's Cave; and thither Mr. Hunt came in a chariot with the Watsons and harangued a mob from the chariot roof, attended with a flag and cockades, and "everything handsome." After adjourning the meeting for a fortnight, Mr. Hunt and the chariot went away, drawn by the mob; and the mob running the chariot against a wall, they all got out and walked. So innocently passed the first Spa-fields meeting—innocently, save that at a dinner at Mr. Hunt's hotel in Bouverie-street, where, as he represented the matter, the philanthropists having thrust themselves upon him very much against his will, the betrayer, Castle, gave a toast, which is too infamous to be repeated here, and was threatened to be turned out of the room, but quietly remained, and went into what was described as "a fox-sleep." But the 2nd of December, the day to which the first meeting was adjourned, closed not so peaceably. Mr. Hunt came to town from Essex in his tandem, and, as he passed along Cheapside, at "twenty minutes to one o'clock," he was stopped by Mr. Castle, who was moving along with a considerable crowd; and the worthy man told him that the meeting had been broken up two hours, and that they were going to the Tower, which had been in their possession for an hour. The country squire, to whom "the boisterous hallooing of multitudes was more pleasing than the chinkling of the plough-traces, the bleating of lambs, or the song of the nightingale,"—(in these terms Cobbett

* "State Trials," vol. xxxii. p. 218, &c.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 234.

defended his friend for his aspirations after mob popularity)—was not weak enough to believe the tempter; and his tandem went on to Spa-fields, where the greatest number of people were collected together that he had ever beheld. But more active Reformers were in Spa-fields before Mr. Hunt. The Spencean philanthropists had provided a waggon for their own operations, and arrived on the ground considerably before the appointed hour of meeting, with banners and inscriptions, one of which was, "The brave Soldiers are our Friends!" These men also brought arms and ammunition, which they deposited in their waggon. Mr. Watson the elder commenced a sufficiently violent address, and then his son followed him. The young madman, after declaiming against the uselessness of petition, cried out, "If they will not give us what we want, shall we not take it? Are you willing to take it? Will you go and take it? If I jump down amongst you, will you come and take it? Will you follow me?" And as at every question the encouraging "Yes" became louder and louder, and put down the dissentient "No," he jumped from the waggon, seized a tri-coloured flag, and away rushed the mob to take the Tower. Two resolute men, the chief clerk of Bow-street and a Bow-street officer, had the boldness to attack this mob, and destroyed one of their banners, without any injury to themselves. The work of mischief necessarily went on. The young fanatic led his followers to the shop of Mr. Beckwith, a gunsmith on Snow-hill; and, rushing in, demanded arms. A gentleman in the shop remonstrated with him, and, without any pause, was immediately shot by him. Instantly some compunction seems to have come over this furious leader, and he offered to examine the wounded man, saying he was himself a surgeon. The assassin was secured; but the mob, who destroyed and plundered the shop, soon released him, and proceeded along Cheapside, where they fired their recently-acquired arms, like children with a new plaything. They marched through the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the Lord Mayor, and several were secured. The City Magistrates on this occasion behaved with a firmness which admirably contrasted with the pusillanimity of their predecessors in the riots of 1780. The courage of the Lord Mayor, Alderman Wood, and of Sir James Shaw, is worthy of honourable record; and it shows, not only the insignificance of the so-called conspiracy, its want of coherence and of plan, but the real power of virtue in action to put down ordinary tumult. Sir James Shaw says, "On the 2nd of December last I was at the Royal Exchange at half-past twelve; I saw the mob first in Cornhill; the Lord Mayor and I went in pursuit of them; they crossed the front of the Royal Exchange; we rushed through the Royal Exchange to take them in front on the other side; the Lord Mayor and I having received information of prior occurrences, determined on putting them down. I seized several of them, and one flag of three colours, extended on a very long pole. I did not then perceive any arms. . . The Lord Mayor and I went to meet the mob with Mr. White and two constables; we got five constables in all; the whole party consisted of eight."

Such is the way in which the beginnings of seditions ought to be met. Firmness such as this would have saved Bristol in 1832. After a further plunder of gunsmiths' shops in the Minories, and the summoning of the Tower by some redoubted and unknown champion, who Bamford tells us was

Preston, the insurrection fell to pieces, altogether from the want of cohesion in the materials of which it was composed. The only blood shed was that of the gentleman in Mr. Beckwith's shop, who eventually recovered. A wretched sailor was convicted of the offence of plunder at the shop on Snow Hill, and was hanged. The younger Watson escaped from his pursuers. The elder Watson was tried for high-treason on the 9th of June. The trial lasted seven days. It was memorable from "the eccentric exuberance of sir Charles Wetherell, and the luminous energy of Serjeant Copley,"* who were assigned as counsel for the prisoner. The exposure of Castle, the spy, was so complete, that the jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of Not Guilty. Four other prisoners, who were to have been tried upon the same evidence, were at once acquitted.

On the 28th of January, 1817, the Prince Regent opened the fifth session of the existing Parliament. The speech from the Throne contained the following passage: "In considering our internal situation you will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence. I am too well convinced of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of his Majesty's subjects, to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them; but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected." It would have been difficult to infer from this language that the Government believed that a formidable and widely-organized insurrection was threatening the country, and that the only remedy was a violation of the constitutional safeguards of the liberties of the nation. Attempts to excite a spirit of sedition, amongst a people incapable "of being perverted by the arts employed to seduce them," were subjects for vigilance towards the few, without infringement of the rights of the many. The seconder of the Address in the Commons asserted that the demagogues and their acts would die of themselves. The debate in the Lower House was suddenly interrupted by a message from the Lords. An outrage had been offered to the Prince Regent on his return from opening the Parliament. The windows of the state-carriage had been broken by some missile. The two Houses, after agreeing upon an Address to the Prince Regent on this event, adjourned. Upon the resumption of the debate the next day in the Commons, and upon its commencement in the Lords, the insult to the representative of the sovereign, which was at first asserted to be an attempt upon his life, gave a decided tone to the proceedings of both Houses. In both assemblies the Opposition loudly proclaimed the necessity of a rigid and unsparing economy, and the proposed amendment upon the Address went directly to pledge the most severe reduction of every possible expense. The practical answer to these abortive proposals was the intimation of lord Sidmouth, that in three days he should present a message from the Prince Regent on the subject of the alleged disaffection of large bodies of the people.

On the second night of the debate on the Address, Mr. Canning took a leading part in the proceedings. He had returned from the embassy to

* Lord Campbell's "Chief Justices," vol. iii. p. 220.

Lisbon. An office so below the proper ambition of such a man was to him a degradation. He had been excluded from power for three years. The Government opened the Session of 1816 in the confidence that they could do without "the greatest speaker in either House of Parliament. . . . They wondered what use he could be of."* The ministerial inefficiency in that session was the cause of Canning's recall to jealous colleagues. He became President of the Board of Control. He was now put forward as the eloquent anti-reformer, to deny that the existing state of the representation was a grievance; to confound the most moderate projects of reform with the doctrines of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. It would seem that Reformers of all grades had, in his mind, a family resemblance to the Spenceans. He chose to forget what had been the opinions of his great master, Pitt; maintaining that our representative system "satisfies the wants, the opinions, and the feelings of the great bulk and body of the nation." He asked the moderate reformers in that House if they hoped to guide the whirlwind which they might raise? "Are they not aware that mightier spirits are abroad, who will take that task out of their hands?" † It scarcely needed eloquence like his to call up the ghosts of the French Revolution. The day had dawned; the shadows had lost their midnight terrors.

The message of the 3rd of February announced that the Prince Regent had given orders that there be laid before the Houses, "Papers containing information respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tranquillity, to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects from his Majesty's person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and institutions." In moving the order of the day for the consideration of this message, lord Sidmouth, in the House of Lords, affirmed that the communication was in no degree founded on, or connected with, the outrage upon the Prince Regent on the first day of the Session. The message of the Prince Regent was referred to a Secret Committee in each House, and these Committees made their Reports on the 18th and 19th of the same month. The Spencean Societies, the Hampden Clubs, the Spa-fields Riot, now called conspiracy, formed the staple of these Reports. The objects of the conspirators are described not only to be "the overthrow of all the political institutions of the kingdom, but also such a subversion of the rights and principles of property as must necessarily lead to general confusion, plunder, and bloodshed." Under the influence of these Reports, it would have been impossible to have made such a resistance to the Government as would have prevented the enactment of stringent measures, one of which was decidedly unconstitutional. Bills were brought in and passed by large majorities, to guard against and avert the dangers which had been so alarmingly proclaimed. The first of these renewed the Act for the prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce soldiers and sailors from their allegiance; the second extended to the Prince Regent all the safeguards against treasonable attempts which secure the actual sovereign; the third was for the prevention of seditious meetings;

* Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 137.

† Hansard, vol. xxxv. col. 131.

the last of the four gave to the executive power the fearful right of imprisonment without trial. In common parlance, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, under "An Act to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government." The suspension was, however, in this instance, limited to the ensuing 1st of July.

The Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was passed on the 3rd of March; the Bill for restraining Seditious Meetings did not become law till the 29th of March. Within a week after the passing of the Act for imprisonment without trial, and before the magistrates had received any accession to their powers as to the dispersion of tumultuous assemblies, an occurrence took place at Manchester, which was at once evidence of the agitated condition of distressed multitudes in the manufacturing districts, and of the extreme weakness of their purpose. This was the famous march of the Blanketeers. The Blanket Meeting, which took place in St. Peter's Field at Manchester, was so called because many of the vast body of workmen who attended were observed to have blankets, rugs, or large coats, rolled up and tied knapsack-like, on their backs. Some carried bundles under their arms; some had papers, supposed to be petitions, rolled up; and some had stout walking-sticks. The magistrates came upon the field and read the Riot Act; the meeting was dispersed by the military and constables; three hundred commenced a straggling march, followed by a body of yeomanry, and a hundred and eighty reached Macclesfield at nine o'clock at night. Some were apprehended, some lay in the fields. The next morning the numbers had almost melted away. The avowed Reform-leaders—delegates and Hampden-Club men—were now under perpetual terror. Some wandered from their homes in dread of imprisonment; others were seized in the bosoms of their families. Public meetings were at an end. The fears and passions of large bodies of men had no safety valve. "Open meetings thus being suspended, secret ones ensued; they were originated at Manchester, and assembled under various pretexts. . . . Their real purpose, divulged only to the initiated, was to carry into effect a night attack on Manchester, the attempt at which had before failed for want of arrangement and co-operation."* This scheme was noticed in the Second Report of the Lords' Secret Committee: "It is stated to have been proposed that Manchester should be made a Moscow, for the purpose of strengthening their cause, by throwing numbers of people out of employment."† A little while after this "Moscow" proposal, a co-delegate came to Bamford, to propose the assassination of all the ministers. We know that this scheme smouldered for several years. "The fact was," says Bamford, "this unfortunate person, in the confidence of an unsuspecting mind, as I believe, had, during one of his visits to London, formed a connection with Oliver, the spy; which connection, during several succeeding months, gave a new impulse to secret meetings and plots in various parts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and ended in the tragedy of Brandreth, Ludlow, and Turner, at Derby." This tragedy is the only one of the insurrectionary movements of the manufacturing districts in 1817 that has left any traces of judicial investigation, with the exception of

* Bamford, vol. i. p. 45.

† Hansard, vol. xxxvi. col. 952.

proceedings at York, at which all the state prisoners were discharged by the Grand Jury, or acquitted upon trial. All the persons connected with the Blanket expedition, and the expected risings at Manchester, were discharged before trial.

The Midland Counties of Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, had been in a disturbed state for several years. The habit of daring outrage was familiar to large numbers of the manufacturing population. The course of ignorant and brutal violence, known as Luddism, had revived in redoubled fury. At the Leicester assizes, on the 1st of April, eight men were tried and convicted of the most daring outrages at Loughborough, and six of these offenders were executed on the 17th of the same month. There was not the slightest attempt at this trial to connect the crimes of these men with any political opinions. But amongst a population that for four years had witnessed the night attacks of armed men upon machinery, and with whom some of the leaders of such organized attacks were in habitual intercourse, it is manifest that the materials for political insurrection were abundantly accumulated. It was not the part of a wise and humane government to permit the feeblest spark of excitement from without to approach these inflammable materials. The secret operations of "the Spy System" in the manufacturing districts were first brought to light by the sagacious energy of the late Mr. Baines of Leeds. The circumstances of this discovery are briefly told by his son, to the effect, that Mr. Baines having learnt that a government emissary, named Oliver, had been attempting to entrap Mr. James Willan, a printer, of Dewsbury, to attend a meeting where ten persons had been arrested, thought it his duty to investigate the facts by personal inquiry. Mr. Willan proved that Oliver, who represented himself as a delegate from the Radicals of London, had several times, for the space of two months, endeavoured to seduce him into acts of violence and situations of danger, and that he had especially urged him to attend a meeting of "delegates" at Thornhill-Lees on the previous Friday, at which meeting ten men were arrested by a party of military, under the command of major-general sir John Byng. Willan, who was a conscientious man, and a professor of the principles of the Society of Friends, indignantly repelled every invitation to violence, and refused to attend the meeting. The ten prisoners had been conveyed, with Oliver himself, to Wakefield, for examination by the magistrates; but at that town Oliver was seen at liberty, and in communication with the servant of general Byng. It was further learnt that Oliver had been at general Byng's house at Campsall, a few days before.* Mr. Baines having published a statement of these circumstances in his paper, 'The Leeds Mercury,' the transaction formed the subject of a violent debate in the House of Commons on the 16th of June. In the 'Life of Lord Sidmouth,' this affair has been minutely gone into, for the purpose of justifying the Secretary of State for the Home Department against the imputations which arose out of the employment of such persons as Oliver. "None of them," says the author of the Life, "were employed in the first instance by lord Sidmouth; but themselves sought him out; and if, which is not probable, they, in any instances, instigated the conspirators to crime in order to betray

* "Life of Edward Baines," by his son, Edward Baines, pp. 92, 93.

them, the treacherous act must have been entirely their own, as nothing would have excited more his lordship's indignation than the bare idea of so base a proceeding." * This opinion is supported by a letter of lord Strafford (formerly sir John Byng), written in 1846. Sir John Byng himself was perfectly incapable, as was acknowledged on all hands, of turning the spy into a tempter.

On Sunday, the 8th of June, there was a remarkable assemblage at Pentridge, a village situated some two miles from the Ambergate station on the present North Midland Railway. The village is in the hilly and thinly peopled district to the west of the river Derwent. In the neighbourhood of Pentridge there are several other scattered villages,—all not far removed from a direct road to Nottingham. About a mile from Pentridge, at Butterley, was a large iron foundry. Two men in the employ of the proprietors of this foundry went out into the White Horse public-house at Pentridge, on the morning of the 8th of June, and found a good many persons in the parlour there, "talking about this revolution." There was one amongst them they called "The Captain." He had a map in his hand, and the people came in, and kept asking him questions; and he said, there would be no good to be done except a complete overthrow of the Government. All the country was to rise, all at one time. Many talked thus. They made no secret. They spoke it openly. They did not mind who heard them. They said they had plenty of pikes; and they would go and take Nottingham wholly to themselves; and when they got to Nottingham, every man would have a hundred guineas, and plenty of rum, and it would be nothing but a journey of pleasure. This extraordinary assembly lasted six or seven hours. The two men from the iron works were special constables; but they were afraid to say anything about it. Having agreed to meet on the night of the 9th after dark, the people separated. The Captain with the map in his hand was Jeremiah Brandreth, a frame-work knitter, whose family had received parochial relief. Mr. Denman (who was counsel for the prisoners), after Brandreth had been convicted, compared this man with 'The Corsair' of lord Byron. In spite of Mr. Denman's rhetorical description of the mastery of this leader over his weak followers, we must be content to believe, from the evidence of Brandreth's acts, that he was a frantic enthusiast, goaded to violence by great poverty, by imaginary oppression, and, what is more, by the grossest delusions as to his own power and the strength of his cause. We do not think that he was the less dangerous from his real character and the real circumstances around him; but, we believe, as Mr. Denman came to the conclusion, that, in spite of his influence and command, "he was most clearly himself an instrument wielded by other hands." On Saturday night, the 7th of June, Oliver goes to a meeting at Nottingham, with instructions from sir John Byng "not to conceal anything as to the Yorkshire meeting by which these people could be deceived." On Sunday morning, the Nottingham Captain is heard saying, "All the country is to rise, all at one time." On Monday night he passes the door of a labouring man at South Wingfield, about three miles from Pentridge, in his way to an old barn up in the fields; and he urges the man to come with him, saying that "the countries, England, Ireland, and France, were to rise that night at ten o'clock," and that "the

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 187.

northern clouds, men from the north, would come down and sweep all before them." It is difficult not to regard the language of Brandreth as pure insanity, especially when we contrast it with the sober sense of some around him. "There was an old woman standing by," says the South Wingfield man, "and she tapped him on the shoulder, and said, 'My lad, we have got a magistrate here';"—and the labourer himself "thought he must be drunk or mad to think of such things." But on the madman went. In the old barn at South Wingfield he assembled twenty men, who had pikes and guns, and they went forward, stopping at solitary houses, and demanding guns, and dragging unwilling men out of their beds and hiding-places, and compelling them to march with them. At the farm-house of a widow, who behaved with unflinching courage, Brandreth fired in at a window, and killed one of her servants, upon arms being refused to him. His followers said he should not have shot that poor innocent man; and he replied, it was his duty to do it. Onwards they marched—the volunteers and the conscripts; and the Captain, when they halted at some low dwellings, and met with any one who refused to march, had his ready exhortation, that "a great cloud out of the north would sweep all before them," with the more particular information that "it would not be necessary to go farther than Nottingham, for London would be taken by the time they got there." Some of the pressed men ran away in the darkness; one refused to march in rank, and upon Brandreth swearing he would shoot him in a moment, the bold fellow stepped up to him with his knife, and the Captain turned off from him. During all this march the rain was incessant. By the time they reached the Butterley Iron-works, their numbers amounted to about a hundred. Brandreth was boldly met by Mr. Goodwin, the manager of the works, and, when he demanded men was told, "You shall not have one of them. You are too many already, unless you were going for a better purpose; disperse! depend upon it, the laws will be too strong for you; you are going with halters about your necks." Three men took shelter in the office of the works; one man, Isaac Ludlam, who was afterwards convicted and executed, was exhorted by Mr. Goodwin not to go on; but he answered, much agitated, "I am as bad as I can be; I cannot go back." After a short pause, Brandreth gave the command "March." Soon after, this main body was followed by about fifty other men. On the morning of the 10th of June, Mr. Rolleston, a magistrate, went from Nottingham on the road towards Eastwood, about six miles from Nottingham, and meeting there a considerable body of men armed with pikes, he returned to Nottingham, and procured some troops from the barracks, eighteen privates, commanded by a captain and a subaltern. Upon hearing that the soldiers were coming, the insurgents fled. The captain in command of the Hussars deposed that the military were kept on the alert during the night. He was ordered out with a party, on the road towards Derbyshire, about six in the morning, and approached about sixty men, who fled across the fields. A man in the road tried to form them, but they paid no attention to him. A number of prisoners were taken, and about forty guns and other arms were collected together.

Thus ended "the Derbyshire insurrection." For these offences, three men were executed; eleven were transported for life; four were transported for fourteen years; and five were imprisoned for various terms.

The acquittal of Watson, for high treason, appears to have had no influence on the measures of Government. The second suspension of the Habeas Corpus was passed by large majorities in both Houses; and the Prince Regent, in his Speech closing this Session on the 12th of July, averred, that "a favourable change was happily taking place in the internal situation of the country, which was to be mainly ascribed to the salutary measures which Parliament had adopted for preserving the public tranquillity." The private records of lord Sidmouth's life show that he had no great confidence in the "favourable change." At the end of July, lord Sidmouth established his family at Malvern, intending to remain there a short time himself, "and then back," as he said, "to sedition, and treason again," his under-secretary being left in charge during the interim. Before his lordship's departure, however, as he informed his brother on the 20th, he "revised all the cases of persons committed and detained under the Suspension Act; and the result, he trusted, would be the release of some upon their own recognizance, and increased indulgence to those who could not be released."*

On moving the second reading of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill, lord Sidmouth made the following statement:—"Some noble lords had complained, that prosecutions had not been instituted against the authors, printers, or publishers, of infamous libels; but it was but justice to Government to state, that they had not neglected their duty with regard to these publications. As soon as they reached the hands of ministers, they were transmitted to the law officers of the Crown, who felt that these publications were drawn up with so much dexterity,—the authors had so profited by former lessons of experience,—that greater difficulties to conviction presented themselves than at any former time." Within a month from this declaration, lord Sidmouth entrusted the administration of the law of libel to less scrupulous hands than the law officers of the Crown. On the 27th of March the Secretary of State addressed his famous Circular Letter to the Lords-Lieutenants of Counties, in which, urging the importance of preventing the circulation of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets, he stated that he had obtained the opinion of the law officers, that "a justice of the peace may issue a warrant to apprehend a person charged before him upon oath, with the publication of libels of the nature in question, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge." He called, therefore, upon the lords-lieutenants to communicate this opinion at the ensuing quarter sessions, so that all magistrates might act thereupon. Such a proceeding as this, was, perhaps, the most daring invasion of public liberty that had been attempted since the time of the Stuarts. It called forth from lord Grey, on the 12th of May, one of the most luminous speeches which that statesman ever delivered. By the libel bill of Mr. Fox, he said, it was at last established, that in prosecutions for libel, both the law and the fact were within the province of the jury, and to be determined by them. "But, my lords, what avails this just and beneficent statute,—what security is there either for the freedom of the press, or the liberty of the subject,—if, whilst you have imposed this salutary restraint upon the judges in trials for libels, you give to them, and to justices

* Lord Sidmouth's "Life," vol. iii. p. 196.

of the peace before trial a right to decide that difficult question; and to commit to prison (in many instances, perhaps, to inflict a severer punishment than the Court upon conviction would adjudge), upon a charge which, after all, may turn out to have had no foundation, but in the false interpretation of words perfectly innocent by the justice before whom the charge was brought? . . . If such be the power of the magistrate, and if this be the law, where, I ask, are all the boasted securities of our independence and freedom?" The House of Lords was indifferent to the preservation of these boasted securities. Writing four months after this debate to the bishop of Durham, lord Sidmouth says, "The attempt to check the progress of treason and blasphemy, by apprising the magistrates that they had the power of apprehending and holding to bail the publishers or venders of either, was one of the charges brought against me in the course of the last Session. Such a charge it shall be my constant endeavour to deserve; and I am happy in being able to assure your lordship, that the activity of the itinerant dealers in these articles is materially controlled, and their number greatly diminished."* We apprehend that there cannot be the slightest doubt in many minds, at the present day, that this proceeding of lord Sidmouth was most unconstitutional; and that he speaks and writes in defence of his conduct with all the self-approval of the worst political bigot of the worst periods of tyranny.

It is difficult to imagine a more degraded and dangerous position than that in which every political writer was placed during the year 1817. In the first place, he was subject, by a Secretary of State's warrant, to be imprisoned upon suspicion, under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Secondly, he was open to an *ex-officio* information, under which he would be compelled to find bail, or be imprisoned. The power of *ex-officio* information had been extended so as to compel bail, by an Act of 1808; but from 1808 to 1811, during which three years forty such informations were laid, only one person was held to bail. In 1817 numerous *ex-officio* informations were filed, and the almost invariable practice then was to hold the alleged offender to bail, or, in default, to commit to prison. Under this Act Mr. Hone and others were committed to prison during this year. To complete a triple cord with which the ministers believed they could bind down the "man-mountain" of the press, came forth lord Sidmouth's Circular. The entire course of these proceedings was a signal failure. There was only one solitary instance of success—William Cobbett ran away. On the 28th of March he fled to America, suspending the publication of his 'Register' for four months.

On the 12th of May earl Grey mentioned in the House of Lords that a Mr. Hone was proceeded against for publishing some blasphemous parody; but he had read one of the same nature, written, printed, and published, some years ago, by other people, without any notice having been officially taken of it. The parody to which earl Grey alluded, and a portion of which he recited, was Canning's famous parody, "Praise Lepaux;" † and he asked whether the authors, be they in the cabinet or in any other place, would also be found out and visited with the penalties of the law? This hint to the

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 176.

† *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 345.

obscure publisher against whom these *ex-officio* informations had been filed for blasphemous and seditious parodies, was effectually worked out by him in the solitude of his prison, and in the poor dwelling where he had surrounded himself, as he had done from his earliest years, with a collection of odd and curious books. From these he had gathered an abundance of knowledge that was destined to perplex the technical acquirements of the Attorney-General, to whom the sword and buckler of his precedents would be wholly useless; and to change the determination of the boldest judge in the land to convict at any rate, into the prostration of helpless despair. Altogether, the three trials of William Hone are amongst the most remarkable in our constitutional history. They produced more distinct effects upon the temper of the country than any public proceedings of that time. They taught the Government a lesson which has never been forgotten, and to which, as much as to any other cause, we owe the prodigious improvement as to the law of libel itself, and the use of the law, in our own day,—an improvement which leaves what is dangerous in the press to be corrected by the remedial power of the press itself; and which, instead of lamenting over the newly-acquired ability of the masses to read seditious and irreligious works, depends upon the general diffusion of this ability as the surest corrective of the evils that are incident even to the best gift of heaven,—that of knowledge.

On the morning of the 18th of December there is a considerable crowd round the avenues of Guildhall. An obscure bookseller, a man of no substance or respectability in worldly eyes, is to be tried for libel. He vends his wares in a little shop in the Old Bailey, where there are, strangely mingled, twopenny political pamphlets, and old harmless folios that the poor publisher keeps for his especial reading as he sits in his dingy back parlour. The door-keepers and officers of the court scarcely know what is going to happen; for the table within the bar has not the usual covering of crimson bags, but ever and anon a shabby boy arrives with an armful of books of all ages and sizes, and the whole table is strewn with dusty and tattered volumes that the ushers are quite sure have no law within their mouldy covers. A middle-aged man,—a bland and smiling man,—with a half sad half merry twinkle in his eye,—a seedy man, to use an expressive word, whose black coat is wondrous brown and threadbare,—takes his place at the table, and begins to turn over the books which were his heralds. Sir Samuel Shepherd, the Attorney-General, takes his seat, and looks compassionately, as was his nature to do, at the pale man in threadbare black. Mr. Justice Abbott arrives in due time; a special jury is sworn; the pleadings are opened; and the Attorney-General states the case against William Hone, for printing and publishing an impious and profane libel upon the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, thereby bringing into contempt the Christian religion. "It may be said," argued the Attorney-General, "that the defendant's object was not to produce this effect. I believe that he meant it, in one sense, as a political squib; but his responsibility is not the less." As the Attorney-General proceeded to read passages from the parody upon the Catechism, the crowd in Court laughed; the Bench was indignant; and the Attorney-General said the laugh was the fullest proof of the baneful effect of the defendant's publication. And so the trial went on in the smoothest way, and the case for the prosecution was closed. Then the pale

man in black rose, and, with a faltering voice, set forth the difficulty he had in addressing the Court, and how his poverty prevented him obtaining counsel. And now he began to warm in the recital of what he thought his wrongs; his commitments; his hurried calls to plead; the expense of copies of the informations against him: and, as Mr. Justice Abbott, with perfect gentleness, but with his cold formality, interrupted him, the timid man, who all thought would have mumbled forth a hasty defence, grew bolder and bolder, and in a short time had possession of his audience as if he were "some well-graced actor," who was there to receive the tribute of popular admiration. They were not to inquire whether he were a member of the Established Church or a Dissenter; it was enough that he professed himself to be a Christian; and he would be bold to say, that he made that profession with a reverence for the doctrines of Christianity, which could not be exceeded by any person in that Court. He had his books about him, and it was from them that he must draw his defence. They had been the solace of his life. He was too much attached to his books to part with them. As to parodies, they were as old at least as the invention of printing; and he never heard of a prosecution for a parody, either religious or any other. There were two kinds of parodies; one in which a man might convey ludicrous or ridiculous ideas relative to some other subject; the other, where it was meant to ridicule the thing parodied. This latter was not the case here, and therefore he had not brought religion into contempt. This was the gist of William Hone's defence. To show fully how this argument was worked,—with what readiness, what coolness, what courage,—would be to transcribe the trials of three days;* on the first of which the defendant spoke six hours, on the second seven hours, and on the last eight hours. It was in vain that the Attorney-General urged that to bring forward any previous parody was the same thing as if a person charged with obscenity should produce obscene volumes in his defence. It was in vain that Mr. Justice Abbott repeated his wish that the defendant would not read such things. On he went, till interruption was held to be in vain. It was worse than vain, it was unjust. Truly did Hone reply to Mr. Justice Abbott, "My Lord, your Lordship's observation is in the very spirit of what Pope Leo the Tenth said to Martin Luther,—'For God's sake don't say a word about the indulgences and the monasteries, and I'll give you a living;'—thus precluding him from mentioning the very thing in dispute. I must go on with these parodies, or I cannot go on with my defence." Undauntedly he went on, from the current literature of the time, such as grave lawyers read in their few hours of recreation, to the forgotten volumes of old theology and polemical controversy, that the said grave lawyers of modern days are accustomed to regard as useless lumber. The Editor of Blackwood's Magazine was a parodist,—he parodied a chapter of Ezekiel; Martin Luther was a parodist,—he parodied the first Psalm; Bishop Latimer was a parodist, and so was Dr. Boys, Dean of Canterbury; the author of the "Rolliad" was a parodist, and so was Mr. Canning. Passage after passage did Mr. Hone read from author after author. He thought it was pretty clear that Martin Luther did not mean to ridicule the Psalms; that Dr. Boys did not mean to ridicule the Lord's Prayer; that

* The three trials were printed as separate pamphlets.

Mr. Canning did not mean to ridicule the Scriptures. Why, then, should it be presumed that he had such an intention? As soon as he found that his parodies had been deemed offensive, he had suppressed them, and that he had done long before his prosecution. It was in vain that the Attorney-General replied that Martin Luther was a libeller, and Dr. Boys was a libeller. The judge charged the jury in vain. William Hone was acquitted, after a quarter of an hour's deliberation.

But Guildhall "saw another sight." With the next morning's fog, the Lord Chief Justice rose from his bed, enfeebled by illness, but undiminished in the energy of his talent. He had been deeply mortified by the acquittal of Watson for high-treason. He was now resolved that the libeller should not go unpunished. "He swore," says Lord Campbell, "that at whatever cost he would preside in Court next day himself, so that conviction might be certain, and the insulted law might be vindicated."* With lowering brow lord Ellenborough took his place in that judgment-seat which he deemed had been too mercifully filled on the previous day. The mild firmness of the poor publisher, and his gentlemanly sense of the absence of harshness in the conduct of his first trial, had won for him something like respect; and when on one occasion Mr. Justice Abbott asked him to forbear reading a particular parody, and the defendant said, "Your lordship and I understand each other, and we have gone on so good-humouredly hitherto, that I will not break in upon our harmony," it became clear that the puisne judge was not the man to enforce a verdict of guilty on the second trial. Again Mr. Hone entered the court with his load of books, on Friday, the 19th of December. He was this day indicted for publishing an impious and profane libel, called "The Litany, or General Supplication." Again the Attorney-General affirmed that whatever might be the object of the defendant, the publication had the effect of scoffing at the public service of the Church. Again the defendant essayed to read from his books, which course he contended was essentially necessary for his defence. Then began a contest which is perhaps unparalleled in an English court of justice. Upon Mr. Fox's libel bill, upon *ex-officio* informations, upon his right to copies of the indictment without extravagant charges, the defendant battled his judge,—imperfect in his law, no doubt, but with a firmness and moderation that rode over every attempt to put him down. Parody after parody was again produced, and especially those parodies of the Litany which the Cavaliers employed so frequently as vehicles of satire upon the Roundheads and Puritans. The Lord Chief Justice at length gathered up his exhausted strength for his charge, and concluded in a strain that left but little hope for the defendant: "He would deliver the jury his solemn opinion, as he was required by Act of Parliament to do; and under the authority of that Act, and still more in obedience to his conscience and his God, he pronounced this to be a most impious and profane libel. Believing and hoping that they, the jury, were Christians, he had not any doubt but that they would be of the same opinion." The jury, in an hour and a-half, returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

It might have been expected that these prosecutions would have here ended. But the chance of a conviction from a third jury, upon a third

* "Lives of the Chief Justices," vol. iii. p. 224.

indictment, was to be risked. On the 20th of December lord Ellenborough again took his seat on the bench, and the exhausted defendant came late into court, pale and agitated. The Attorney-General remarked upon his appearance, and offered to postpone the proceedings. The courageous man made his election to go on. This third indictment was for publishing a parody on the Creed of St. Athanasius, called "The Sinecurist's Creed." After the Attorney-General had finished his address, Mr. Hone asked for five minutes' delay, to arrange the few thoughts he had been committing to paper. The judge refused the small concession; but said that he would postpone the proceedings to another day, if the defendant would request the Court so to do. The scene which ensued was thoroughly dramatic. "No! I make no such request. My lord, I am very glad to see your lordship here to-day, because I feel I sustained an injury from your lordship yesterday—an injury which I did not expect to sustain. . . . If his lordship should think proper, on this trial to-day, to deliver his opinion, I hope that opinion will be coolly and dispassionately expressed by his lordship. . . . My lord, I think it necessary to make a stand here. I cannot say what your lordship may consider to be necessary interruption; but your lordship interrupted me a great many times yesterday, and then said you would interrupt me no more, and yet your lordship did interrupt me afterwards ten times as much. . . . Gentlemen, it is you who are trying me to-day. His lordship is no judge of me. You are my judges, and you only are my judges. His lordship sits there to receive your verdict. . . . I will not say what his lordship did yesterday; but I trust his lordship to-day will give his opinion coolly and dispassionately, without using either expression or gesture which could be construed as conveying an entreaty to the jury to think as he did. I hope the jury will not be beseeched into a verdict of guilty." The triumph of the weak over the powerful was complete. "The frame of adamant and soul of fire," as the biographer of lord Sidmouth terms the Chief Justice, quailed before the indomitable courage of a man who was roused into energies which would seem only to belong to the master-spirits that have swayed the world. Yet this was a man who, in the ordinary business of life, was incapable of enterprise and persevering exertion; who lived in the nooks and corners of his antiquarianism; who was one that even his old political opponents came to regard as a gentle and innocuous hunter after "all such reading as was never read;" who in a few years gave up his politics altogether, and, devoting himself to his old poetry and his old divinity, passed a quarter of a century after this conflict in peace with all mankind, and died the sub-editor of a religious journal. It was towards the close of this remarkable trial, that the judge, who came eager to condemn, sued for pity to his intended victim. The defendant quoted Warburton and Tillotson, as doubters of the authenticity of the Athanasian Creed. "Even his lordship's father, the bishop of Carlisle, he believed, took a similar view of the Creed." And then the judge solemnly said, "Whatever that opinion was, he has gone, many years ago, where he has had to account for his belief and his opinions. . . . For common delicacy forbear." "O, my lord, I shall certainly forbear." Grave and temperate was the charge to the jury this day; and in twenty minutes they returned a verdict of Not Guilty.

Lord Campbell has an anecdote of the Chief Justice, which indicates the

struggle he made against any display of his deep mortification at the issue of this prosecution. "Bishop Turner, who was present at the trial, and accompanied the Chief Justice home in his carriage, related that all the way he laughed at the tumultuous mob who followed him, remarking, 'that he was afraid of their saliva, not of their bite;' and that passing Charing Cross he pulled the check-string, and said, 'It just occurs to me that they sell the best red herrings at this shop of any in London; buy six.'"* Lord Campbell adds, "The popular opinion, however, was, that lord Ellenborough was killed by Hone's trial, and he certainly never held up his head in public after." There is a more conclusive evidence of his feelings than popular opinion. On Sunday, the 21st of December, the day after this last trial, lord Ellenborough wrote thus to lord Sidmouth: "The disgraceful events which have occurred at Guildhall within the last three or four days have led me, both on account of the public and myself, to consider very seriously my own sufficiency, particularly in point of bodily health and strength, to discharge the official duties of my station in the manner in which, at the present critical moment, it is peculiarly necessary they should be discharged. . . . I wish to carry my meditated purpose of resignation into effect, as soon as the convenience of Government, in regard to the due selection and appointment of my successor, may allow."†

The proceedings of the Government in the libel matters of 1817 were signal failures. A few miserable hawkers were held to bail, or sent to prison under lord Sidmouth's Circular; some *ex-officio* informations were filed, with only one conviction,—that of a printer in the country, who republished one of Hone's parodies, and was tried before Hone himself was tried. As to the three acquittals we have described, it is perfectly evident that three juries, consisting of respectable London merchants, would have assuredly convicted the defendant, had they not felt that the real sting of the alleged profaneness was the severity of the political satire. Although the indictment stated that these parodies were seditious as well as profane, the sedition was studiously kept in the background. Had they not been really prosecuted for their political doctrines, their unquestionable indecency and impropriety must have carried a verdict against them on the first trial. The second and third trials looked like persecution; and public opinion threw its shield over the offender. There was a feeling, moreover, that political passions were influencing the judgment-seat. The severity of the Lord Chief Justice to the reforming member for Westminster, lord Cochrane, was not forgotten.

When we look back upon this unhappy period, we may honestly infer that the real danger was not so much that the people should be irritated and misled by mob-leaders and unscrupulous writers, as that a general feeling should grow up in the nation that Government was a power antagonistic to the governed—an oppressive and not a protective power—a power of separate interests from the interests of the people. This grew into a very widely-diffused feeling, and was found deeply rooted, long after the first sufferings that attended the transition state of peace had passed away—a

* "Lives of the Chief Justices," vol. iii. p. 225.

† "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 236.

feeling that was far more dangerous to the national welfare than any insurrectionary outbreak of the masses of the working population. Deluded these masses unquestionably were—acted upon by demagogues—ready for riot and violence; capable of serious mischief, but incapable of resisting the law wisely administered. The eagerness of the Government to suspend the constitutional protections for the liberty of the subject; to call for new enactments to repress sedition; to fetter the expression of opinion by rendering the plain-speaking of the public journals very perilous; to employ the spy-system, with the certainty that it would excite the violence which it pretended to discover—these were the causes why the Government had no love from any class; very little respect; intense hate from many; slavish fear from more. A large number, indeed, of the upper and middle classes were alarmed into a prostrate adhesion to the menacing policy of the Government, and were ready with “lives and fortunes” to put down the revolutionary spirit which they were assured was working under the guise of Parliamentary Reform. From this year we may date the retrogression of public opinion on the question of an improved representation of the people. As long as the middle classes were afraid of its agitation, and naturally associated the idea of Reform with the rash movements of the operative classes,—with their violent declamations and their tumultuous meetings,—the differences of principle took the unhappy form of a contest between wealth and poverty, between capital and labour. The humbler classes had been taught by the demagogues that all the evils of civilization are political evils, and that democratic institutions would at once sweep away all social miseries. The upper and middle classes opposed all changes, in the belief that the preservation of existing institutions, however decayed and imperfect, was necessary for the maintenance of the security of property. There were, nevertheless, many of the wealthy and educated classes who, in 1817, thought, as Mr. Wilberforce then thought, when he wrote, “I continue friendly to the moderate, gradual, and almost insensibly operating Parliamentary Reform, which was last brought forward by Mr. Pitt;” * but who, nevertheless, were “adverse to the measure,” on account of the character of its advocates and their followers. The reciprocal distrust of reformers and anti-reformers must have ended in a convulsion, had not alarm and violence gradually shrunk before a growing intelligence. The English mind had been trained by its historical experience to know that all the triumphs of liberty had been won quietly and legally. The time was not far distant when this forbearance would have its reward.

Amidst the democratic agitations of 1817, which necessarily produced a corresponding violence in the tone of political parties, it is pleasant to turn to an “affecting, improving, and most memorable scene” † in the House of Commons, on the 3rd of March. Francis Horner had closed his valuable and blameless life at Pisa on the 6th of February. Lord Morpeth, in moving a new writ for the borough of St. Mawes, in the room of Mr. Horner, delivered what Macintosh describes as “a speech so perfect, that it might have been well placed as a passage in the most elegant English writer.” In

* “Life of Wilberforce,” vol. iv. p. 315.

† Sir James Macintosh—Diary, in his “Life,” vol. ii. p. 339.

the eulogies upon this statesman, so prematurely cut off from that career which opened the widest expectations of his future eminence, the leading men of all parties concurred, in a spirit which was calculated to inspire hope and confidence amidst the fears and doubts of that gloomy time. "Never was so much honour paid in any age or nation to intrinsic claims alone. A Howard introduced, and an English House of Commons adopted, the proposition of thus honouring the memory of a man of thirty-eight, the son of a shopkeeper, who never filled an office, or had the power of obliging a living creature, and whose grand title to this distinction was the belief of his virtue. How honourable to the age and to the House! A country where such sentiments prevail is not ripe for destruction."*

* Sir James Macintosh—Diary, in his "Life," vol. ii. p. 339.



Claremont.

CHAPTER VI.

Death of the Princess Charlotte—Illness of the Regent—Causes of his gloom and irritation—Opening of Parliament—Bill of Indemnity—The Petition of Ogden—Mr. Canning—Sir F. Burdett proposes a plan of Parliamentary Reform—Parliament dissolved—Death of Sir S. Romilly—Death of Queen Charlotte—Evacuation of France by the Allied troops—Meeting of the New Parliament—Duke of York the Custos of the King—Act for Resumption of Cash Payments—Sir James Macintosh's motion on the Criminal Laws—Last efforts of Mr. Grattan for Catholic Emancipation—Agitation for Reform—The Manchester Massacre, so called—The Six Acts—Death of the Duke of Kent—Death of George III.

FORTY-FOUR years ago, "without the slightest warning, without the opportunity of a moment's immediate preparation, in the midst of the deepest tranquillity, at midnight a voice was heard in the palace, not of singing men and singing women, not of revelry and mirth, but the cry, Behold, the bridegroom cometh." * The death of the Presumptive Heiress of the British Crown, on the 6th of November, after the birth of a dead child, was the great event in the domestic history of 1817. Never was a whole nation plunged in such deep and universal grief. From the highest to the lowest, this death was felt as a calamity that demanded the intense sorrow of domestic misfortune. Around every fireside there were suppressed tears and bitter remembrances. The most solemn disclaimer was uttered, through this universal mourning, of the calumny against the people that they were desirous of a vital change

* Robert Hall's Funeral Sermon.

in their laws and institutions. Whatever might be their complaints, they showed, on this occasion, that their attachment to a constitutional monarchy was undiminished by factious contests or real grievances; and that they looked with exulting hopes to the days when a patriot Queen should diffuse the sunlight of just government through every corner of a prosperous and happy land.

The Princess Charlotte seemed born to build up for generations the succession to the British Crown, by calling around her own person the warmest devotion of a zealous but a reflecting people. The nation exulted in the maturity of her person and her mind. She stood, as was hoped amongst her future subjects, a beautiful, an accomplished, a noble-hearted woman. She had wisely asserted her own right to choose for herself in the most important action of her life. The nation hailed and revered her motives. The Prince of her choice brought neither extent of territory nor continental influence; but he brought an active, firm, inquiring mind, and an amiable temper. In the retirement of Claremont, they lived calmly and unobtrusively, in that enviable tranquillity which is so congenial to British feeling. The public sympathy with the husband of the Princess Charlotte upon his great bereavement is well characterized by Southey in a private letter: "The manner in which I have heard Prince Leopold spoken of on the occasion impressed me a good deal. He was called 'poor *man*' and 'poor *fellow*.' His affliction has brought him down to our level, and rank was forgotten in the sympathy of humanity."*

Since the death of the Princess Charlotte, the Prince Regent had been seriously indisposed, and for a short time his life was considered in danger. He was not a hard-hearted though he was a selfish man, and the sudden calamity appears to have had a greater influence upon his health and spirits than might have been expected by those who judged that there had been no great affection between the father and daughter. In the "Autobiography of Miss Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte," there are many curious details of unpleasant passages in the intercourse of the Regent and the Princess, some of which had acquired an awkward publicity at the period of their occurrence. In the unhappy position of the father and the mother of the Princess there was a natural source of irritation; and the restrictions which were placed upon the intercourse of the daughter with the mother were in themselves galling to a young woman of strong affections and high spirit. In the enforcement of these restrictions the public sympathized with the two royal ladies; and manifested little respect for the support which the Prince Regent received when, in 1813, he placed before the Privy Council all the documents relative to the inquiry into the conduct of the Princess of Wales in 1806. He then obtained an opinion, that, with reference to the welfare of the Princess Charlotte and the most important interests of the State, the intercourse between the mother and the daughter should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint. The dissension became serious upon the refusal of the Princess Charlotte to marry the Prince of Orange. The impulsiveness of the Princess Charlotte's character was manifested when, in July, 1814,

* "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton," by Lady Knighton, vol. i. p. 131.

she fled from Warwick House, her own residence, to the house of the Princess of Wales, in the belief that she was about to be subjected to more coercion and to a stricter surveillance than she had yet endured. Miss Knight says, "It is possible that when Princess Charlotte was a child, her temper might have been violent and headstrong, and the world held that opinion when she was grown up. I never saw anything of this violence or obstinacy. Much agitation, nervous uneasiness, and sometimes nervous impatience,—all this I observed, and sometimes to such a degree as to injure her health. As a proof of this, it may be remarked, that she was so much afraid of her father, that when she had seen him, or expected him, she stuttered exceedingly, which she never did at times when there was nothing particular to agitate her."* Placed under happier circumstances by her union with a man of extraordinary good sense and prudence, the nation hoped that, although one cause of previous unhappiness still existed in full force, there would be no manifestation of those dissensions which, in former days, had rendered the position of the sovereign and of the heir-apparent one of mutual misery and of public scandal.

The national expression of feeling upon the death of the Princess Charlotte was termed by lord Dudley "exaggerated lamentation;" and he thought that it "could not but be, from its obvious purport, offensive to the other branches of the Royal family."† It certainly might have been offensive to the Regent; for the strong national expression of hope in a future reign presented a forcible contrast to the small measure of enthusiasm towards him who was in the actual exercise of the sovereign power. But beyond this, there was a more direct cause of the Prince Regent's depression of spirits—the scandals that had reached him respecting the Princess of Wales. The only remedy for his gloom and irritation "was beset with so many difficulties, that his Ministers shrunk from the responsibility of advising it, though he grew daily more urgent for them to attempt it at any risk."‡ On the 1st of January the Prince Regent wrote to the Lord Chancellor, "You cannot be surprised (much difficulty in point of delicacy being now set aside in my mind by the late melancholy event which has taken place in my family), if I turn my whole thoughts to the endeavouring to extricate myself from the cruellest, as well as the most unjust, predicament, that ever even the lowest individual, much more a Prince, ever was placed in, by unshackling myself from a woman who," &c. &c.§ Mr. Fremantle, the gossiping correspondent of the marquess of Buckingham, assigns as a reason for the Regent not opening the Parliament in person, on the 27th of January, "that allusion must be made in the Speech to the death of the Princess Charlotte, which he cannot bear."|| Lord Dudley considered that, in the Speech composed for the Prince Regent, he could distinguish somewhat of that feeling which "the exaggerated lamentation" for the Princess was calculated to excite: "The mention of her is rather dry—sulky rather than sad."

* "Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight," vol. ii. pp. 88, 1861.

† "Letters," p. 195.

‡ Duke of Buckingham—"Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 202.

§ "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 305.

|| "Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 202.

The general tone of the Royal Speech was hopeful and confiding. Improvement in every branch of domestic industry, and the state of public credit, were proofs that the difficulties under which the country had been labouring were to be ascribed to temporary causes. So important a change could not fail to withdraw from the disaffected the principal means of fomenting a spirit of discontent. The peace and tranquillity of the country had been restored. The confidence thus expressed by the Government was supported by the announcement of their intention of bringing in a bill for the immediate repeal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. The chief business of the Opposition was therefore to contend against the mode in which the Ministers had exercised their extraordinary powers, and to argue that no necessity had ever arisen for granting those powers. The discussion on these topics was initiated in both Houses by the Ministers themselves. Papers relative to the recent state of the country were presented on the 2nd of February. Committees were appointed to report upon them, and the Reports of the Lords and Commons were presented towards the end of the month. The Reports went to completely justify the necessity for extraordinary measures, and to prove the discretion and moderation of the Government in the execution of the powers vested in it by the two Acts of the last Session. It was somewhat contrary to the general tenor of these Reports, that they expressed a decided opinion that the great body of the people had remained unsuspected by the designs of the disaffected, even in the most disturbed districts, and at the periods of the greatest distress. The Reports produced little debate, but the discussions were repeated and vehement upon "A Bill for Indemnifying Persons who, since the 26th of January, 1817, have acted in apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in custody, persons suspected of high treason, or treasonable practices, and in the suppression of tumultuous and unlawful assemblies." On the motion for going into Committee on this Bill, Mr. Canning uttered five words, which long had the effect of inducing a belief that he regarded the sufferings of the humble with cold-blooded indifference, and made a jest of their misfortunes. One of three petitioners, who complained of severities which they endured whilst under confinement, was described by Canning as "the revered and ruptured Ogden." In Hansard's Parliamentary Debates the words are given as "the ever to be revered and unhappy Ogden."* There appears to be little doubt, that the words which his enemies ascribed to Canning were the words which he used. But in the same sentence in which he employed the unfortunate alliteration, he exposed the shameful mendacity of the petition which had been got up for Ogden, which affirmed that hernia had been caused by the weight of his irons, when he had suffered from the affliction during eight years, and was cured whilst in confinement, having written to his relatives and friends to express the delight he felt in being made a new man again. Amongst the most virulent of the attacks upon Mr. Canning for his somewhat imprudent expression, was an anonymous pamphlet, "which he considered as suggestive of his assassination," and of which he "was always fully persuaded that Mr. Hobhouse was the author."† A fashion, now happily

* Hansard, vol. xxxvii. col. 1026.

† Stapleton—"George Canning and his Times," p. 346.

past with regard to all classes, was at that time, for men filling the highest offices in the State, to settle attacks upon their personal honour by the arbitrement of a duel. To provoke a duel, Canning wrote to the anonymous author of the pamphlet, "you are a liar and a slanderer, and want courage only to be an assassin." The writer of the pamphlet acknowledged the letter, but declined to remove the mask.

The question of Parliamentary Reform, which had slept for ten years, as far as Parliament was concerned, was revived in the House of Commons by sir Francis Burdett. In 1809 he had proposed that every county should be divided into electoral districts, each returning one member; and that the franchise should be vested in the taxed male population. Fifteen members then supported this motion. In 1818 sir Francis Burdett, in accordance with the views of the Hampden Club, of which he was the chairman, brought forward resolutions for universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments. Sir Francis restricted his proposal to male suffrage, although many of the Reform Associations were composed of women as well as of men. In the session of 1818 the seconder of the resolutions, lord Cochrane, was their only supporter on the division, in addition to the mover. The advocates of Reform out of doors were damaging a cause which had once had the support of Pitt and Fox, of Grey and Erskine. Moderate men had begun to wish that the cause was in better hands than the violent advocates of the same principle that Burdett had announced. Sydney Smith, in 1819, wrote to Francis Jeffrey, "I am doubtful whether it is not *your* duty and *my* duty to become moderate Reformers, to keep off worse." *

In this session messages from the Regent were delivered to both Houses, announcing that treaties of marriage were in negotiation between the duke of Clarence and the Princess Adelaide Louisa Theresa Caroline Amelia of Saxe Meiningen; also between the duke of Cambridge and the Princess Augusta Wilhelmina Louisa of Hesse; also announcing that the Prince Regent had given his consent to a marriage between the duke of Kent and her Serene Highness Mary Louisa Victoria, daughter of the duke of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld, widow of Enrich Charles Prince of Leiningen, and sister of Prince Leopold. There were long debates as to the sums to be voted by Parliament in consequence of these projected alliances. The marriage of the duke of Cambridge was solemnized on the 1st of June; those of the duke of Clarence and the duke of Kent on the 13th of July. The daughter of the fourth son of George III., by his marriage with the sister of Prince Leopold, was born on the 24th of May, 1819. It is a remarkable example of the vanity of human fears, that the people who wept, as a people without hope, for the decease of Charlotte Augusta, should have realized through her premature death precisely such a female reign, of just and mild government, of domestic virtues, of generous sympathy with popular rights, of bold and liberal encouragement of sound improvement, as they had associated with her probable career,—a reign more congenial to the spontaneous love of the people than they could have thought, in that season of disquiet, was a possible blessing to be reached in a few coming years.

* "Memoir of Sydney Smith," vol. ii. p. 181.

On the 10th of June the Prince Regent announced from the throne his intention forthwith to dissolve the Parliament. The word prorogation was not mentioned. At the close of the royal speech the Lord Chancellor in formal terms notified the will and pleasure of his Royal Highness "that this Parliament be now dissolved, and this Parliament is dissolved accordingly." When the Commons returned to their House, Mr. Manners Sutton, the late Speaker, offered to read the speech at the table, as is usual after a prorogation. Mr. Tierney objected to any such proceeding, as implying some approbation of this mode of dissolution, which he considered as an insult to Parliament. Mr. Manners Sutton said that this was a case in which there was no precedent, there having been no such dissolution since that of the Oxford Parliament in the reign of Charles II. The motive for this extraordinary proceeding was, apparently, that no delay should arise in summoning a new Parliament. It had been a stormy session; and it was not desirable in the view of the ministry, that the same Parliament should re-assemble in consequence of the demise of the Crown, which then appeared to be an event very likely speedily to happen. The Proclamation for calling a new Parliament was issued the same day as that on which the dissolution took place. The writs for the new Parliament were made returnable on the 4th of August.

The elections were all over by the middle of July. Sydney Smith wrote to Earl Grey, "I congratulate you on the general turn of the elections, and the serious accession of strength to the Whigs." There probably never was a general election in which there was a more revolting display of the violence which too often attended protracted contests. In Westminster, the government candidate, sir Murray Maxwell, a distinguished naval officer, was nearly killed by the brutality of the mob, who were outrageous that he stood before Burdett on the poll. In this stronghold of popular opinions, it was creditable to the good sense of the middle classes that Romilly was returned with Burdett, and that Hunt, who continued the contest to the end of the fifteen days allowed by law, had only eighty-four votes. Romilly's high character secured him a triumphant return at the head of the poll, though he had not spent a shilling, nor solicited a vote, nor made his appearance on the hustings. He never took that place in Parliament which the reverence of his fellow citizens had awarded him. On the 29th of October he lost his wife, to whom he was most tenderly attached. In a paroxysm of insanity he died by his own hand on the 2nd of November.

On the 17th of November took place the death of Queen Charlotte, at the age of seventy-five. For fifty-seven years she had shared the political anxieties, and watched over the mental aberrations of the King, who had since 1811 ceased to be conscious of the sympathy of wife or child. Under the Regency Bill she was appointed the Custos of the king's person. During the Regency she had presided over the Court ceremonies with the same decorum which she had always maintained, and which did something to preserve the appearance of virtue, however the reality might be sacrificed in royal retreats which her scrupulous eye might not care to explore. Richard Rush, the plenipotentiary from the United States, who was presented to her Majesty in the February preceding her decease, describes her deportment with a strong feeling of respect: "During the whole interview there was a benignity in her

manner, which, in union with her age and rank, was both attractive and touching." *

At the Congress of the Allied Sovereigns and of the ministers of the several powers, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the duke of Wellington, associated with Lord Castlereagh, represented Great Britain. The only object of the Congress was to determine with regard to the continued occupation of the French territory by the troops of the Allies, of which Wellington was generalissimo. On the 2nd of October, the evacuation was unaniously agreed upon. By the Treaty of Paris, the possible occupation had been fixed at five years. The fears of the more timid of the French Royalists inclined the representatives of the continental powers, with the exception of Russia, to prolong the occupation for the whole term. Louis XVIII. and his ministry had more confidence in the security which had been established, during the three years which had sufficed to restrain any attempt to shake the government by popular violence. The duke of Wellington was satisfied with the state of things which he had witnessed during that period. A French historian says that sufficient justice had not been done to the duke, "for the liberal and faithful manner in which he protected the interests of France throughout all the negotiations with foreign powers. . . . He was of opinion that this measure of precaution ought to cease, seeing that France had not only duly discharged her stipulated payments, but that her government appeared to present the character of order and duration." †

The members of the new Parliament having assembled on the 14th of January, and Mr. Manners Sutton having been re-elected Speaker, the Prince Regent's speech was delivered by commission on the 21st. The most important passage in that speech was in connection with the announcement of the death of the Queen:—"His Royal Highness has commanded us to direct your attention to the consideration of such measures as this melancholy event has rendered necessary and expedient with respect to the care of his Majesty's sacred person." This was the preliminary to a Bill appointing the duke of York as a successor to the Queen in the office of the King's Custos. In a committee on the Civil List it was proposed that the sum of 10,000*l.*, which her Majesty had received on account of this office, should be continued to the duke of York. The Windsor establishment was proposed to be reduced from 100,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* The motion of Mr. Tierney, that these charges should be defrayed out of the privy purse, was negatived by a majority of 95. The proposed allowance to the duke of York was the subject of continued and animated debate. The repugnance to this measure was not confined to the ordinary parliamentary Opposition. Lord Grenville thought that there was "something very revolting in paying a sum of 10,000*l.* per annum to superintend the condition of his father, that father being the sovereign of the country." ‡ He was apprehensive that this would be a very general feeling. Sydney Smith did not probably express himself too strongly, after the House, on the 22nd of March, had divided upon the question, that the clause granting 10,000*l.* a year to the duke of York should stand as part of the Royal

* "Residence at the Court of London," p. 134.

† Capefigue—"Histoire de la Restauration," tome i. p. 478.

‡ "Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 316.

Household Bill, and the majority for the clause had been 59:—"You see this spirited House of Commons knows how to demean itself when any solid act of baseness, such as the 10,000*l.* to the duke of York, is in agitation." * Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, in a letter to the marquess of Buckingham, shows that there were other reasons for this measure than the desire to put a large sum into the somewhat empty pockets of the king's son:—"The duke of York's anxious wish was to have avoided the question, by declining all salary; but general Grenville says, 'the Regent compelled him to take it.' And one of the duke's most intimate friends, who came down to vote for him last night, told Phillimore, in confidence, that the answer to the duke's request was, 'So, sir! you want to be popular at our expense.'" †

The state of the currency, and the question of the resumption of cash payments, were subjects of paramount importance in the deliberations of this session. Secret Committees of both Houses had been appointed to inquire into the state of the Bank of England. Early in April both committees presented Reports, recommending that a Bill should be forthwith passed to prohibit the continuance of the payment in gold by the Bank of their notes issued previous to the 1st of January, 1817, in conformity with the voluntary notice to that effect of the directors. The circulation of these notes having been unusually large, and the price of gold being about 3 per cent. above that of paper, six or seven millions had been rapidly withdrawn from the Bank coffers. It was stated in the Reports of the Committees that the measure which they recommended had for its object to facilitate the final and complete restoration of cash payments. Mr. Peel, who had been first returned to Parliament in 1809, and who was now, at the age of thirty-one, member for the University of Oxford, was chosen chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons on the currency question. He then filled no office under government. In the agitation of this question he first signally manifested that remarkable quality of mind which led to the most important results of his statesmanship. Early in February Mr. Wynn wrote, "Peel, who is the chairman of the Bank Committee, professes, I find, to have as yet formed no opinion on the subject, but to be *open to conviction*; and the same is the language of the duke of Wellington." ‡ On the 24th of May the ministerial resolutions were proposed to the House of Commons by Mr. Peel. The Resolution which he had to submit to the House had been adopted unanimously by the Committee. In consequence of the evidence before the Committee, and the discussions upon it, his opinion with regard to this question had undergone a material change. "He was ready to avow, without shame or remorse, that he went into the Committee with a very different opinion from that which he at present entertained; for his views of the subject were most materially different when he voted against the resolutions brought forward by Mr. Horner in 1811, as the chairman of the Bullion Committee. . . . He now, with very little modification, concurred in the principles laid down in the fourteen first resolutions submitted to the House by that very able and much lamented individual. He conceived them

* "Memoir of Sydney Smith," vol. ii. p. 177.

† "Court of England during the Regency," vol. ii. p. 321.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 303.

to represent the true nature and laws of our monetary system." * Founded upon the resolution thus proposed, the Act for the gradual resumption of cash payments, commonly known as Peel's Act, was passed on the 23rd of June. By this measure the restriction upon cash payments was continued until February, 1820; and it was provided that from the 1st of February to the 1st of October, the public should be entitled to demand payment of notes in gold bullion, in quantities of not less than sixty ounces, at the rate of 81s. per ounce; and that the same mode of payment in bullion, at a gradually reduced rate per ounce, should continue till the 1st of May, 1822, after which date current gold coin of the realm might be demanded in exchange for notes. The Bank anticipated this period, resuming the payment of its notes in specie on the 1st of May, 1821.

It was in this Session of Parliament that sir James Mackintosh succeeded to a great trust which devolved upon him by the death of sir Samuel Romilly—the advocacy of amendment in the criminal laws. On the 2nd of March, he moved for a Select Committee "to consider of so much of the Criminal Laws as relates to capital punishment in felonies." He did not propose, he said, to form a new criminal code, nor to suggest the abolition of the punishment of death, nor to take away the right of pardon from the crown; he did not aim at realizing any universal principle. His object was to bring the letter of the law more near to its practice, under which the remission of the law formed the rule and the execution the exception. "It is one of the greatest evils which can befall a country when the criminal law and the virtuous feeling of the community are in hostility to each other. They cannot be long at variance without injury to one, perhaps to both. One of my objects is, to approximate them; to make good men the anxious supporters of the criminal law, and to restore, if it has been injured, that zealous attachment to the law in general, which, even in the most tempestuous times of our history, has distinguished the people of England among the nations of the world." † The proposition of sir James Mackintosh was opposed by the government; but, upon a division, the numbers in favour of the motion were 147; against it, 128. The Report of the Committee recommended the repeal of many capital punishments. Six bills, embodying some of these recommendations, were introduced by Mackintosh in the Session of 1820.

The determination of the Lord Chancellor to stand, without yielding an inch, upon the ancient ways, was put to the test by a remarkable occurrence in 1818. In the Court of King's Bench, in the celebrated case of Ashford and Thornton, an "appeal of murder" was prosecuted, which involved such a "trial by battle" as Shakspere has exhibited between "the armourer and his man." ‡ Lord Campbell says, as regards the appeal of murder in 1818, "I myself saw the appellee, on being required to plead, throw down his gauntlet on the floor, and insist on clearing his innocence by battle—as the judges held he was entitled to do." Lord Campbell adds, that it was the opinion of many great lawyers that this appeal of murder, which might be brought after an acquittal before a jury, and in which the Crown had no power to pardon, was a glorious badge of the rights and privileges of Englishmen. "Yet

* Hansard, vol. xl. col. 677.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xxxix. col. 784.

‡ Henry VI., Second Part, act 2, scene 3.

Lord Chancellor Eldon, to the amazement of the House of Peers and of the public, moved the second reading of a Bill, sent up by the Commons, to reform those practices, which he described as abuses, and, notwithstanding their antiquity, attacked in the most unsparing manner.* The conversion of lord Eldon to the support of any legal innovation was the more remarkable, inasmuch as he was opposed to a great popular authority, the Common Council of the City of London, who petitioned Parliament that the people might not be deprived of their ancient and undoubted right of appeal in criminal cases.

In this session, the question of Parliamentary Reform was again agitated by sir Francis Burdett. He proposed that, early in the next session, the House should take into its consideration the state of the representation. The occasion was remarkable for the first declaration of the opinions of lord John Russell, who had entered the House of Commons in 1813, at the age of twenty-one. Lord John did not agree with those who opposed all and every system of Reform. He agreed in the propriety of disfranchising such boroughs as were notoriously corrupt; he would restrict the duration of Parliament to three years. "He could not, however, pledge himself to support a measure that went the length of proposing an inquiry into the general state of the representation, because such an inquiry was calculated to throw a slur upon the representation of the country, and to fill the minds of the people with vague and indefinite alarms." † At the close of the session, lord John Russell announced his intention, on the next meeting of Parliament, to propose the disfranchisement of Grampound, the corruption of which borough had become notorious. He intimated that he should propose also to adopt the principle which had not yet been recognized by the House—the principle of admitting the unrepresented large towns into a share of the representation. In the session of 1820, these proposals were brought forward by him in certain resolutions, which were met in a conciliatory spirit by the government. Eventually Grampound was disfranchised in 1821, and it was agreed by the Commons that the two vacant seats should be given to the town of Leeds. The Lords, however, rejected this extension of the representation to great towns, and assigned two additional members to the county of York. The moderate Reformers had become hopeful, when lord Castlereagh gave his assent to lord John Russell's motion in 1820. Sydney Smith writes to earl Grey, expressing his opinion that this assent "includes every thing that is important; that a disfranchised borough may be taken out of the surrounding hundred and conferred elsewhere; or rather, that it need not necessarily be thrown into the surrounding hundred." ‡

On the 3rd of May, the fervid eloquence of Mr. Grattan was heard for the last time in the House of Commons in support of the measure nearest his heart, that of Catholic Emancipation. He moved, that the state of the laws by which oaths or declarations are required to be taken as qualifications for the exercise of civil functions, as far as affected His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, should be taken into consideration by a Committee of the

* "Lives of the Chancellors," chap. 203.

† Hansard, vol. xl. col. 1496.

‡ "Mecnoir," vol. ii. p. 192.

whole House. After the speech of Grattan, the House was impatient to divide. The numbers were, 241 for the motion; 243 against it. In the new Parliament, on the 28th of April, 1820, sir Henry Parnell gave notice that Mr. Grattan would, on the 11th of May, submit to the House a motion for the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities. The great Irish orator had arrived in London in a state of much debility, and his friends remonstrated that the exertion that he contemplated would be attended with serious injury to his feeble health. His answer was, "I should be happy to die in the discharge of my duty." He died on the 14th of May, at the age of seventy.

On the 13th of July, Parliament was prorogued by the Prince Regent in person. There was a passage in the Royal Speech calculated to renew the alarm that appears to have subsided at the beginning of the year, when the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act had been deemed no longer necessary. The Prince Regent now said, "I have observed with great concern the attempts which have recently been made in some of the manufacturing districts to take advantage of circumstances of local distress, to excite a spirit of disaffection to the institutions and government of the country." There had been considerable interruption to the prosperous state of trade from February to July. The number of bankruptcies was unusually great; credit was very generally impaired; the demand for labour was of course proportionably affected, and the rate of wages was necessarily lower. At the same time the price of food had been steadily advancing. There had been meetings of the operative classes in Lancashire and at Glasgow, to consider the low rate of wages, and to appeal to public sympathy upon their distressed condition. Gradually, however, at these meetings the peaceably disposed were borne down by the turbulent, and the speeches assumed that character of political violence that justified the terms of the Prince Regent's speech. Parliament, however, separated without any expectation that serious mischief was at hand. Many of the members of the Cabinet were seeking a temporary repose from their official labours. The Lord Chancellor, perplexed by events which we shall now have to describe, writes to his brother in August, "Your exhortations to the King's servants, I doubt, can't reach many of them, for, with exception of Liverpool, Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Wellington, Van, and myself, they are all, eight in number, in different parts of Europe." *

At a great open-air meeting at Stockport on the 28th of June, sir Charles Wolseley, bart., was the chairman, there commencing a career which ended in the jail, and might have ended on the scaffold. He told his audience that he was one of those who had mounted the ramparts of the Bastille at the commencement of the French Revolution, and he would never shrink from attacking the Bastilles of his own country. On the 12th of July, at a meeting held at New Hall Hill, near Birmingham, sir Charles Wolseley was elected "legislatorial attorney and representative" for that town. The government naturally became alarmed, and caused sir Charles Wolseley, and a dissenting preacher, to be indicted for seditious words spoken by them at the meeting at Stockport. Wolseley was arrested at his own house, Wolseley Park, in Staffordshire. At a great assembly in Smithfield, where

* "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 336.

Hunt presided, Harrison was arrested; and on being conveyed to Stockport, the constable who arrived there with him was attacked and shot. These events produced great alarm. Lord Sidmouth, in a private letter of the 15th of August, expressed his opinion that "the laws were not strong enough for the times, but that they must be made so." Nevertheless, he thought the plentiful season was unfavourable for sedition, and that at Manchester there was happily an increased demand for labour.* The attention of the Home-office had naturally been directed to Manchester with some anxiety, for a public meeting had been called by the Reformers, who had now taken the name of Radicals, for the 9th of August, to elect a "legislatorial attorney" as representative of that place. The magistrates, in consequence, issued a notice declaring such a meeting to be illegal, and requiring the people, at their peril, to abstain from attending it. The design was relinquished; and another meeting was advertised to be held in St. Peter's Field, in Manchester, for the purpose of petitioning for a Reform of Parliament. One great cause of alarm at the beginning of August was derived from representations made to the Lancashire magistrates, that in the neighbourhoods of Bury, of Bolton, and of Rochdale, there were nightly assemblies of great numbers of men, who met together for the purpose of learning and practising military training. There is no evidence that these meetings for drill had been long continued, or that there had been any attempt to conduct the drillings in secret. A very plausible reason for this practice, at this particular period, is given by one who was freely admitted to all the councils of the Reformers, and as freely differed from them when they contemplated any resort to physical force. Bamford says, that the Reformers had been frequently taunted by the press with their ragged dirty appearance at their assemblages, with the confusion of their proceedings, and the mob-like crowd in which their numbers were mustered. In preparation for the great meeting of the 16th of August, the Committees issued injunctions for a display of cleanliness, sobriety, and order. He adds, "order in our movements was obtained by drilling," and "peace," according to a subsequent injunction of the Committees, was to be secured "by a prohibition of all weapons of offence or defence; and by the strictest discipline of silence, steadiness, and obedience to the directions of the conductors." Nothing can look more harmless, and even poetical, than Bamford's description of the evening drills. They were, he says, "to our sedentary weavers and spinners, periods of healthful exercise and enjoyment; our drill masters were generally old soldiers of the line, or of militia or local militia regiments. They put the lads through their facings in quick time, and soon learned them to march with a steadiness and a regularity which would not have disgraced a regiment on parade. When dusk came, and we could no longer see to work, we jumped from our looms, and rushed to the sweet cool air of the fields, or the waste lands, or the green lane-sides. We mustered, we fell into rank, we faced, marched, halted, faced about, countermarched, halted again, dressed, and wheeled in quick succession, and without confusion; or, in the gray of a fine Sunday morn, we would saunter through the mists, fragrant with the night odour of flowers and of new hay, and ascending the Tandle hills, salute

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 249.

the broad sun, as he climbed from behind the high moors of Saddleworth." * Nevertheless, although there were no armed meetings and no midnight drillings, we can understand the fears of one of the Manchester magistrates, who deposed that "when he saw the party with the blue and green banners come upon the field in beautiful order, not until then did he become alarmed."

It was announced that at the meeting of the 16th of August, Mr. Hunt would take the chair. The arrival of the hero of the day, preceded by flags flying, and a band of music, was hailed by a shout from eighty thousand persons. The greater part of this vast assemblage was not composed of the operatives of Manchester. Detachments, each of several thousand persons, came from the neighbouring manufacturing districts, most of these bodies arriving in that military order for which they appear to have had a considerable aptitude. Bamford was himself the conductor of the procession of his fellow-townsmen of Middleton, who marched five abreast, every hundred having a leader distinguished by a sprig of laurel in his hat, and these leaders being directed by superior officers. The Middleton band had two silk flags, on which were inscribed, 'Unity and Strength, Liberty and Fraternity,' 'Parliaments Annual, Suffrage Universal.' They also bore a crimson velvet cap of Liberty. The number of the Middleton men was three thousand; and they were joined by a similar number of the Rochdale people. As they entered Manchester, they found that many other parties had preceded them, including that of the Leeds and Saddleworth Union, bearing a black flag, with the words in white letters, of 'Equal Representation or Death.' It would appear that these ominous words were little in accordance with the loyal spirit of the populace, who are stated to have very generally taken off their hats when the band played 'God save the King.' Mr. Hunt arrives; he mounts the hustings: he has his distinguishing white hat in his hand as he bows to the people; he begins to address the assembly amidst a profound silence. After a few sentences he pauses; there is a pressure from the verge of the field towards the hustings; a body of cavalry is striving to make way through the terrified multitude.

From the exaggerated contemporary accounts, it is difficult to derive a clear and connected retrospect of the causes which led to such an onslaught upon a peaceable assemblage, as would justify history in continuing to designate it by its original name, 'the Manchester massacre.' To obtain an impartial view of the circumstances we must refer to the statements of the Lancashire magistrates in the papers laid before parliament; to the evidence upon the trial of Hunt and his associates; and to narratives of individuals which have appeared in more recent times. Twenty-five years after these occurrences, sir William Jolliffe supplied to the biographer of lord Sidmouth a circumstantial narrative of the events which he had himself witnessed on the 16th of August, when acting as a lieutenant in the 15th Hussars. His regiment had been quartered in Manchester about six weeks. It was his first acquaintance, he said, with a large manufacturing population; he had "little knowledge of the condition of that population; whether or no a great degree of distress was then prevalent; or, whether or no, the distrust and bad feeling which appeared to exist between the employers and employed was wholly or

* "Passages in the Life of a Radical," vol. i. p. 178.

in part caused by the agitation of political questions." * There was an ample military force of the regular army, who were stationed in Manchester; and some companies of the 88th regiment, and of the Cheshire Yeomanry, had also been brought into the town. Sir William Jolliffe adds, "there was a troop of Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, consisting of about forty members, who, from the manner in which they were made use of (to say the least) greatly aggravated the disasters of the day. Their ranks were chiefly filled by wealthy master manufacturers; and, without the knowledge which would have been possessed by a (strictly speaking) military body, they were placed, most unwisely as it appeared, under the immediate command and orders of the civil authorities." † The magistrates had been taking depositions, and deliberating upon some course of action, through the Saturday and Sunday which preceded the meeting. They had been in communication with Lord Sidmouth, who had told them "that he expected occasion to arise for their energy to display itself, and that they might feel assured of the cordial support of the government." Mr. Bond, the London Police Magistrate, had at this time observed to lord Sidmouth that, "in periods of disorder and approaching insurrection, the most difficult and important point is to ascertain to what extent you shall allow the evil to proceed: for unless there is enough done to indicate great and threatening danger, the better classes will not be convinced of the necessity of interference. You can never, therefore, call the law into execution with any good effect before the mischief is in part accomplished." ‡ Upon this equivocating and most dangerous principle the Lancashire magistrates appear to have acted. They had a warrant ready for the arrest of the leaders of this meeting. They delayed its execution till Hunt and the others to be arrested were surrounded by a multitude, equal in number to one-half of the entire population of Manchester and Salford at that period. This multitude was wedged together in the narrow area of St. Peter's Field, now built over, but then an unenclosed space of about three acres, approached by several principal streets. A small body of constables were stationed close to the hustings, and a continued line of the same civil force maintained a communication with the magistrates, who were assembled at a private house on the south side of the Field. The distance from the hustings to this house was about three hundred yards. The Manchester Yeomanry were stationed in Mosley-street. Two squadrons of the 15th Hussars were in waiting, dismounted, in a street to the north of the Field, at a distance from it of about a quarter of a mile. In this position—the Reform orators ready to begin, the populace eagerly waiting, the cavalry and yeomanry at hand, the magistrates in full conclave—the warrant for the apprehension of the leaders was given to Nadin, the chief constable of Manchester, to execute. He could not carry his orders into effect, he declared, with the civil power at his command. It was immediately determined that the chief constable should have military aid. Bamford, having seen Hunt taking off his white hat, and beginning to address the people, very wisely went out of the crowd to obtain some refreshments after his long march. He heard a noise and strange murmur arising, and "saw a party of cavalry in blue and white uniform come trotting, sword in hand, round the corner of

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 253. † *Ibid.*, p. 254. ‡ *ibid.*, p. 250.

a garden wall, and to the front of a row of new houses, where they reined up in a line." The men in blue and white were the Yeomanry. He went back nearer the hustings to see what this movement meant. The mounted troops were received with a shout which Bamford understood as one of good will. The military shouted again, and dashed forward. There was a general cry in the quarter where he stood, of 'Stand fast.' "The cavalry were in confusion: they evidently could not, with all the weight of man and horse, penetrate that compact mass of human beings; and their sabres were plied to hew a way through naked held-up hands and defenceless heads; and then chopped limbs, and wound-gaping skulls were seen; and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion." * According to the narrative of sir William Jolliffe, some one, who had been sent from the place of meeting to bring up the four troops of the 15th Hussars, led the way through a number of narrow streets, and by a circuitous route, to the south-west corner of St. Peter's Field. Without a halt or pause, the commands 'front and forward' were given. Their line extended quite across the ground, which in all parts was so filled with people that their hats seemed to touch. The lieutenant of Hussars saw the Manchester troop of Yeomanry "scattered singly or in small groups over the greater part of the field, literally hemmed up and hedged in by the mob, so that they were powerless either to make an impression or to escape." Mr. Hulton, the chairman of the magistrates, states that when the Hussars arrived, colonel L'Estrange, their commander, asked him what he was to do? "Good God, sir," exclaimed Mr. Hulton, "do you not see how they are attacking the Yeomanry? Disperse the crowd!" The panic-struck magistrate's order was obeyed. The trumpet sounded the charge. The Hussars swept the mingled mass of human beings before them. "People, yeomen, and constables, in their confused attempts to escape, ran one over the other; so that, by the time we had arrived at the end of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the ground." † According to sir William Jolliffe, the Hussars drove the people forward with the flats of their swords; but, as was inevitably the case in such a situation, the edge was also used. He considers that it redounds highly to the forbearance of the men that more wounds were not received, when the vast numbers are considered with whom they came into hostile collision. "In ten minutes," says Bamford, "from the commencement of the havoc, the field was an open and almost deserted space. The sun looked down through a sultry and motionless air. . . . The hustings remained, with a few broken and hewed flag-staves erect, and a torn and gashed banner or two dropping; whilst over the whole field were strewed caps, bonnets, hats, shawls, and shoes, and other parts of male and female dress; trampled, torn, and bloody." ‡ In the evening the people assembled in great numbers at the end of Oldham-street, using menacing language. Two companies of the 88th regiment of foot and a squadron of Hussars, being stationed there as a night piquet, were assaulted with stones as the darkness came on. A magistrate having read the Riot Act, about thirty shots were fired by the 88th, wounding three or

* "Passages in the Life of a Radical," p. 207.

† Sir W. Jolliffe's account.

‡ Bamford, p. 208.

four persons. The number of those killed on this unhappy day did not exceed six, of whom one was a special constable, and another one of the Manchester Yeomanry, who was struck off his horse by a brick-bat. About seventy persons were received in the Infirmary, suffering from sabre wounds, fractures, or contusions. Many more are supposed to have returned to their homes without proclaiming their injuries.

Hunt, and eight or ten of his companions, having been seized upon the hustings, were brought before the magistrates upon a charge of high treason. The government having abandoned that charge, they were held to bail, or detained for the want of bail, to be tried for a misdemeanour, upon the charge of having conspired to alter the law by force and threats. The Lord Chancellor had urged upon the Cabinet that the persons arrested should be indicted for high treason. The law officers had recommended that they should be indicted for misdemeanour; and lord Eldon asks, "Who will be bold enough to command them to institute prosecutions, such as they think they can't maintain? Without all doubt, the Manchester magistrates must be supported; but they are very generally blamed here. For my part, I think if the assembly was only an unlawful assembly, that task will be difficult enough in sound reasoning. If the meeting was an overt act of treason, their justification is complete. That it was such, and that the Birmingham meeting was such, is my clear opinion."* The Manchester magistrates were "supported;" and although they were "very generally blamed here," lord Sidmouth addressed letters to the lord-lieutenants of Lancashire and Cheshire, expressing, upon the special authority of the Prince Regent, "the great satisfaction derived by his Royal Highness from their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity."

However great might have been the satisfaction of the Prince Regent at "the conduct of the magistrates and civil authorities of Manchester, as well as of the officers and troops, both regular and yeomanry cavalry," † there was a very widely spread feeling of indignation, both against magistrates and military, in every part of the kingdom. Strong resolutions and addresses were adopted in public meetings of boroughs, and cities, and counties, little heeding a rough reply which the Prince Regent made to the Address of the Common Council of the City of London at the beginning of September. In populous counties and in moderate sized towns the excitement was equally great. Twenty thousand persons assembled at a county meeting at York, called by the high sheriff upon the requisition of many influential freeholders. Amongst these requisitionists was earl Fitzwilliam, who, for this offence, was summarily dismissed from his office of lord-lieutenant of the West Riding. In the south as well as in the north, the excitement was equally great. In the town-hall of Reading we ourselves heard an harangue of remarkable eloquence from a young native of that town; and when he exclaimed,

"We must be free, or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakspeare spake,"

a shout went up from his fellow-townsmen that he must have well remembered in the merited success of his after life. That young man was Thomas Noon-Talfourd.

* "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. pp. 338, 339.

† Letter of Sir B. Bloomfield to Lord Sidmouth.

The government alarmists of that period were in a condition of almost helpless terror. Eldon described the people of this country as divisible into two classes,—the one class insane, who manifested their insanity in perfect apathy, eating and drinking, as if there was no danger of political death, yea, even to-morrow; contrasted with the other class, in which he included the Cokes and Bedfords, who hallooed on an infuriate multitude to acts of desperation. “The country,” said the Chancellor, “must make new laws to meet this state of things, or we must make a shocking choice between military government and anarchy.”* Parliament was called together, with the very unwilling assent of lord Liverpool, to make these new laws, which were known as the Six Acts. They were Acts to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour; to prevent the training of persons in the practice of military evolutions; to authorize justices of the peace to seize and detain arms; to more effectually prevent seditious meetings and assemblies. These four had especial reference to the disturbed districts, though they applied to the whole kingdom. The two other Acts were for the prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libel, and to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers. These measures were eventually passed, although resisted at every stage. The Houses adjourned on the 29th of December. Lord Campbell describes “the unconstitutional Code called the Six Acts,” as “the latest violation of our free Constitution.” The old spirit of liberty would appear to have departed from England when public meetings could not be held without the licence of magistrates; when private houses might be searched for arms; and when a person convicted a second time for publishing a libel might be transported beyond the seas. And yet the measures of ministers hardly came up to the expectation of the ultra-Tories of that day. The temper of some who belonged to the parliamentary majority may be estimated from the tone of two letters addressed to lord Colchester. Mr. Bankes highly approved of the measure for compelling printers to enter into recognizances, and for banishing for an indefinite term of years for a second offence for libel. “My only doubt is whether we have gone far enough in our endeavour to restrain and correct the licentiousness and abuse of the press; it is a tremendous engine in the hands of mischievous men, of which the crop never fails; and the universal rage for spreading education among the poor renders them more exposed to ill impressions, through that medium, than they were in our younger days.”† Lord Redesdale is for root-and-branch work that would have been worthy of the French reign of terror: “There is a very bad spirit abroad, but I think it will be kept under. I doubt whether it would not have been fortunate for the country if half Manchester had been burned, and Glasgow had endured a little singeing. We shall again only scotch the snake, not kill it. So we did in 1794. I would have permitted the National Convention at that time to have met, but the ministers did not dare to hazard the consequences. Actual rebellion is generally subdued. Smothered rebellion lurks long under the ashes.”‡ Moderate Whigs, such as Sydney Smith, thought that with an administration determined to concede nothing,

* “Life of Lord Eldon,” vol. ii. p. 340.

† “Diary of Lord Colchester,” vol. iii. p. 104.

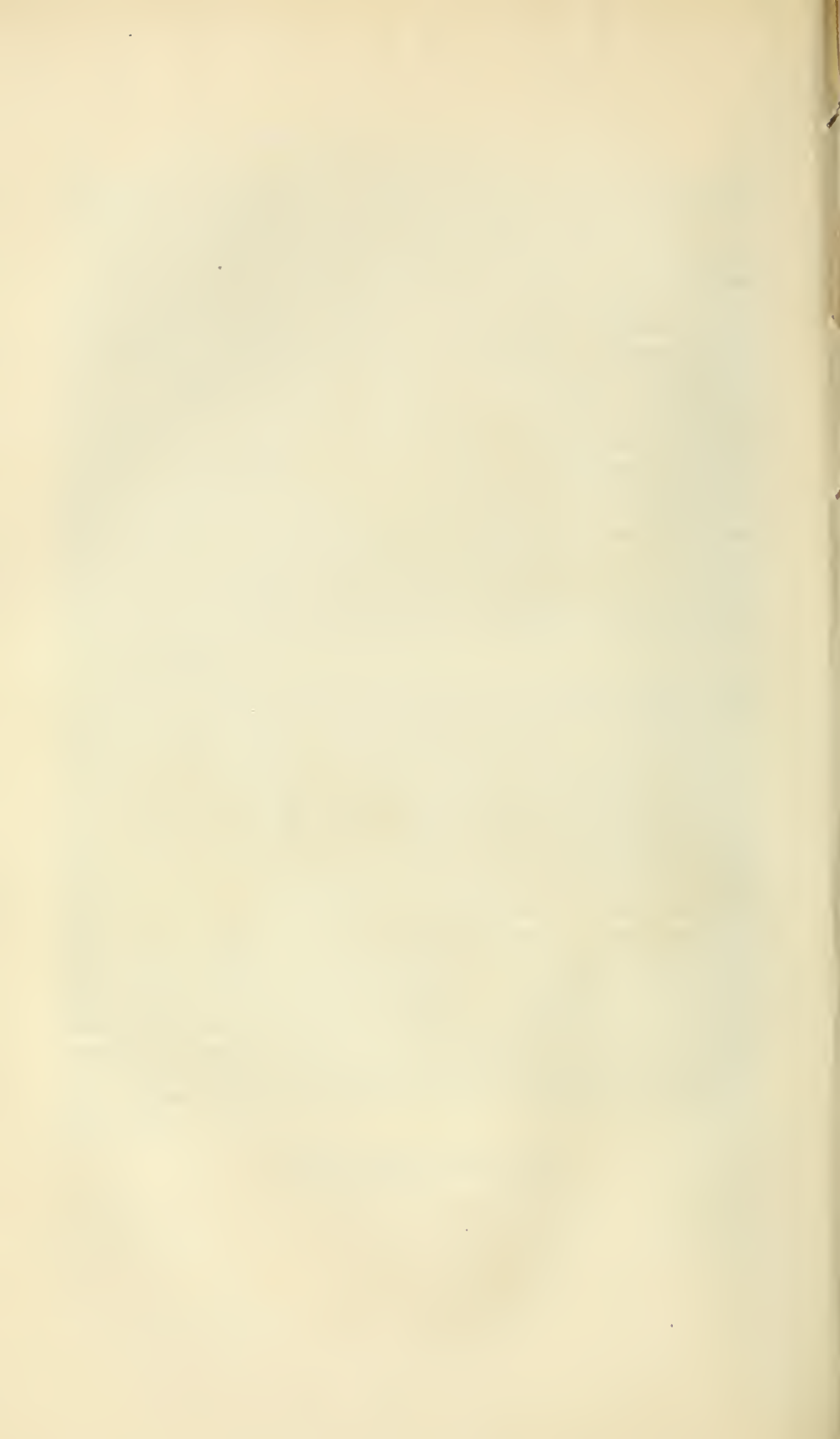
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

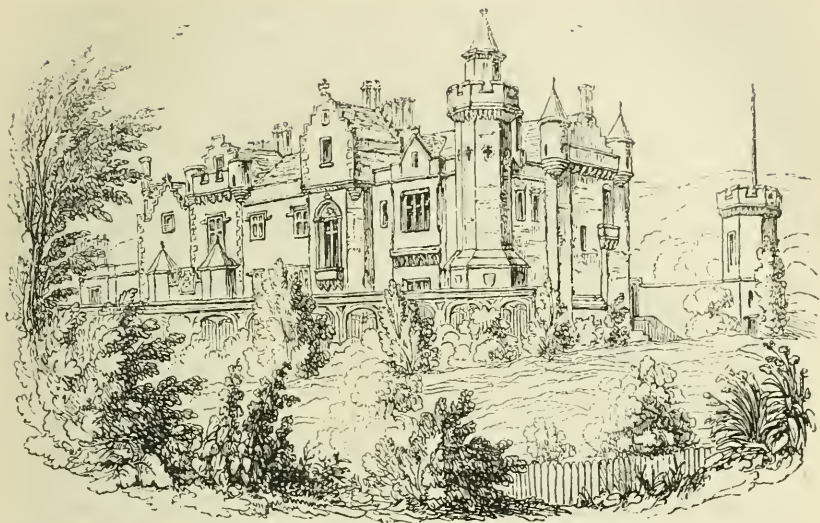
there would be a struggle which would end, not in democracy, but in despotism. "In which of these two evils it terminates, is of no more consequence than from which tube of a double-barrelled pistol I meet my destruction." *

Parliament had adjourned to the 15th of February, 1820. An event, not unexpected at any time during the last year or two, called the Houses together at an earlier period. George the Third died at Windsor Castle on the evening of the 29th of January. Six days before the death of the king, his fourth son, the duke of Kent, expired at Weymouth. This was a sudden event. The father had for nine years been secluded from the world, a sufferer under the most fearful of human infirmities. He lived on to his eighty-second year. The son, of robust constitution, had braved, in his habit of regular exercise, the pelting rain of a wintry morning; on his return from his walk, had remained in his wet boots; was attacked by feverish symptoms, and died in three days. The duke of Kent's infant daughter was then eight months old. The prince of Wales and the duke of York had no child to succeed. To the duke of Clarence had been born a daughter on the 27th of March, but the infant had died on the day of its birth. It seemed probable that Alexandrina Victoria might wear the crown; and on this probability those who knew the admirable qualities of the duchess of Kent felt hopeful and confident that the nurture of the royal child would fit her for her high destiny.

The last night of the Regency passed into the first morning of the reign of George the Fourth, as an event that would be scarcely marked as an epoch in English history. With one exception, that of the position of the Queen, it would be productive of no political vicissitudes; it would excite no hopes and no fears in the public mind. After a formal meeting, there would be a new parliament; and the statutes of the existing parliament would have a new title-page. Few then living would remember the very different feelings with which the transition from George the Second to George the Third was regarded. But the young as well as the old would be impressed with the fact that there had been only one king of Great Britain and Ireland during sixty years. The slightest historical knowledge would attest that these sixty years would be for ever memorable as an era of vast change and tremendous struggle, in which all that constituted the greatness and glory of our country might have been overwhelmed if the nation had not been heart-whole. The old king who was gone had plunged the country into difficulty and danger by his unyielding will at one period; but he had well sustained the national spirit by the same quality of mind during another crisis of greater peril. He had passed away, and his people looked back with reverence upon his private virtues, and were willing to forget his kingly faults.

* "Memoir of Sydney Smith," p. 185.





Abbotsford.

CHAPTER VII.

English Literature in the three latter decades of the reign of George III.—The Poets : Cowper—Crabbe—Burns—Darwin—Wordsworth—Southey—Coleridge—Scott—Byron—Shelley—Keats—Narrative character of Poetry—Campbell—Rogers—Leigh Hunt—Moore—Crabbe's latter delineations of manners—More evangelical spirit in the body of the people—Theological Literature—Writers for the Stage—The Novelists—Godwin—Holcroft—Dr. Moore—Burney—Scott; the Waverley Novels—The Edinburgh Review—The Quarterly Review—Blackwood's Magazine—Essayists—Wilson—Lamb—Hazlitt—Leigh Hunt—De Quincey—Political Economists—Scientific Discovery—Herschel—Davy—Dalton—Wollaston—Travellers—Two great mechanical inventions of the Steam-boat and the Printing Machine—Chronological Table of British Writers.

THE termination of a reign, even under the circumstances which rendered the change of sovereignty from George the Third to George the Fourth merely nominal, nevertheless offers a fit resting place, at which we may pause in the narrative of public events, and look back upon matters which belong as essentially to the life of a people as their political condition.

The great outburst of the French Revolution has always been associated with the Literature which preceded it. This Literature, like that of every other period in which Literature has a marked distinctive character, was the reflection of the thoughts that were seething in the minds of men. It took the form of a fanatical and intolerant irreligion. It gave expression to the belief that existing principles and forms of government were ill-adapted to promote the welfare of the governed, and that worn-out institutions must be replaced by others endowed with a new vitality. The whole spirit of political opposition excited by the corruption of the government, not being able to

find a vent in public affairs, had taken refuge in Literature. As irreligion in France had become a general passion, the writers, one and all, stimulated the prevailing unbelief in Christianity, under the false conviction that political society and religious society were regulated by analogous laws.* The revolutionary doctrines thus propagated by the most subtle and the most eloquent of writers very largely influenced, if they did not produce, the great convulsion upon which Europe looked with fear and wonder.

The religious liberty of Protestantism, and the political liberty of representative government, however impaired and inefficient, as many held, whilst they permitted the extremest differences of opinion, saved England from the excesses which saw no remedy for the canker of institutions but the destruction of the institutions themselves. English Literature, reflecting the general public opinion, received but a very feeble infusion of the destructive force that had rent the French people and the French Church and State asunder. Yet such an upheaving of the whole crust of society; such an armed contest as succeeded between republican licence and monarchical despotism; such a war into which we were plunged, finally to become a struggle for national existence, producing a real heroic time, and stirring up depths of thought which had been stagnant during a long period of tranquillity, or of mere party agitation,—these circumstances, unprecedented in their conjunction, had a manifest effect upon our Literature.

“ Oh, not alone when life flows still do truth
And power emerge.”†

A new power and a wider truth were especially marked in the highest expression of ideas, that of Poetry. This outpouring of verse constitutes, in itself, a literary era as remarkable as that of the age of Elizabeth. During the latter three of the six decades of the reign of George the Third, there had been also a vast increase of the number of readers in our country, with a correspondent extension of periodical writing—that form of literature which is the surest indication of a larger public to be addressed. If we adequately bear in mind the expansion of thought that was coincident with the great events of this remarkable period, and trace also the rapid growth of an influential body of readers beyond the narrow circles of the learned and the fashionable, to whom nearly all writers had addressed themselves in the first three decades of this reign, we may find two links by which to connect the rapid and imperfect notices which we now propose to offer, without any attempt at minute criticism, of what is generically termed The Press.

About the time when Samuel Johnson died,‡ there appeared a writer who suddenly emerged from a provincial life of sickness and seclusion, after having passed his fiftieth year, to become “the most popular poet of his generation.”§ William Cowper was the precursor of the poetical school that sprang up amidst the excitement of the French Revolution. He had many distinctive qualities essentially different from the leaders of that school. He

* See De Tocqueville, “Society in France before the Revolution,” chap. xiv.

† Browning—“Paracelsus,” I.

‡ See *Ante*, vol. vii. chap. v.

§ Southey, *Life of Cowper in Collected Works*, chap. i.

was unfamiliar with German modes of thought, and German models of composition. With the exception of one humorous poem, his writings did not assume the narrative form, which was so marked a characteristic of the next period. His first volume, published in 1784, contained the didactic poems, which may almost be termed satires, of *Table Talk*, *The Progress of Error*, *Truth*, *Expostulation*, *Hope*, *Charity*, *Conversation*, *Retirement*. Cowper's poetical talents were known to his intimate friends, and he had previously published the *Olney Hymns*. But when Mrs. Unwin urged upon him, as an employment that might divert him from thoughts under which his mental powers too often broke down, to produce a work of magnitude, she little expected that some six thousand lines would have been written in a time scarcely exceeding three months. The peculiar character of this first volume was scarcely calculated to win for it a sudden popularity. It was not till after the publication of his second volume, in 1785, containing *The Task*, that the strong sense, the high morality, the earnest piety, the love of nature, the depth of the home affections, which characterize these poems, began to be fully recognized and duly appreciated. The conventionalities of most of the poets who had preceded Cowper were to be cast aside and forgotten in this manifestation of the power of earnestness and simplicity. The popularity which, with some persons, must have been at first retarded by the strong religious feeling of these poems, was ultimately increased, in what has been denominated "the great religious movement of the end of the last century."

Cowper died in 1800; but as a painter of manners he represents the fashions and classes before the French Revolution. Some of the satire belongs to no especial generation. The waste of time in cards and dice; the rank debauch, which suits Clodio's filthy taste, who can "drink five bottles, and bilk the score"—Gorgonius the glutton, "abdominous and wan"—these are general portraits. The novelists

"Whose corresponding misses filled the room
- With sentimental frippery and dream,"

will possibly never be extinct. The *petit maître* parson in Cowper's admirable portraiture is a successor of the gross Trulliber of a former age. Fielding probably never saw the preacher who brings forth the pocket mirror in the pulpit, or with opera-glass watches the slow retiring fair. He might have seen the court chaplain

"Frequent in Park, with lady at his side."

But the churchmen generally of his time were marked by the slovenly neglect and rustic coarseness, which Cowper preferred to the affectation of the clerical coxcomb of his satire. The political profligacy of those times was never more strongly painted than in the picture of the country gentleman, who, having expended his wealth in gaming or building, burns to serve his country, and receives the price of his vote from ministerial grace or private patronage. The venal senator, and the remorseless highwayman, each belong to those good old times:—

"Oh, innocent! compared with arts like these,
Crape and cock'd pistol, and the whistling ball
Sent through the traveller's temples!"

In those days public corruption and private immorality filled the thinking with apprehension:—

“ ’Tis therefore, sober and good men are sad
For England’s glory, seeing it wax pale
And sickly, while her champions wear their hearts
So loose to private duty, that no brain
Healthful and undisturb’d by factions fumes,
Can dream them trusty to the general weal.”

Cowper believed that the public men of his time had grown degenerate—“ the age of virtuous politics is past.”

In such a brief view of literary progress as we are now attempting to give, it appears to us important to divide our subject into two periods of very moderate extent. In his great work on the Literature of Europe, Mr. Hallam gives the leading writers in various periods of half a century each. Although such a division has the apparent inconvenience of making a somewhat too distinct line of separation in the works of the same author (as in the case of Shakespere, who wrote at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th), it is far more satisfactory than the plan pursued by an eminent historian of our own time. It is somewhat embarrassing to our chronological notions when we find Rogers and Tennyson in the same chapter of poets, Sharon Turner and Macaulay of historians, and Miss Edgeworth and Thackeray, of novelists.* The convenience, if not the necessity, of adopting more manageable eras, and even of dividing in some cases the productions of one man into two eras, may be estimated by reference to the cases of Rogers and Crabbe. The author of the “ Pleasures of Memory ” published his “ Ode to Superstition, and other Poems,” in 1786. Crabbe’s early poems, “ The Library,” “ The Village,” and “ The Newspaper,” appeared from 1781 to 1784. The “ Italy ” of Rogers did not appear till 1822; Crabbe’s “ Tales of the Hall ” appeared in 1819. In their early career, Rogers and Crabbe belonged to the generation of Cowper and Burns; in their latter period they belonged to the same age as Byron and Moore.

Crabbe, more than any other poet of either of the periods to which he belongs, is a painter of manners. It has been observed by a critic of no common order, that “ with all its originality, the poetical genius of Crabbe was acted upon and changed by the growth of new tastes and a new spirit in the times through which he lived. . . . As he lived, indeed, in two eras, so he wrote in two styles.”† His early poems, which are essentially didactic, contain little of the poetical element which is to be found in the strong and impassioned narrative of his later years. “ The Library ” and “ The Newspaper ” necessarily deal with the subjects of our own present chapter.

The age of great books was gone,—the age when an author wrote his one folio, bepraised by poetic friends; when the ponderous gift was accepted by princes; and when

“ Ladies read the work they could not lift.”

The age of abstracts, and abridgments, and pamphlets was come,—the age of

* So in Alison, “ Europe from the Fall of Napoleon,” vol. i. chap. 5.

† “ History of English Literature,” by George L. Craik, LL.D., 1861, vol. ii. p. 485.

“a folio *number* once a week.” In “The Library” the “Ancient worthies of Romance” are in disgrace; the giants, the knights and the magicians are gone. The Poet accurately describes the quality of the fiction which had succeeded to the “brood of old Romance.” The novels of the Sentimental School were in fashion, as well as the Sentimental Comedy. These mawkish productions were “stories of repentant rakes wooing humble nymphs;” or of “virtue going to midnight masquerade on purpose to be tried;” or, the letters of the tender Delia to the sympathizing Lucinda. Crabbe’s novel-reading experience is also given as a reminiscence of his later period. “Wanderings of the Heart;” “Confessions of a Nun;” “Tales of Winters, Summers, Springs, at Bath and Brighton,” in which “all was love and flight to Gretna Green;” these were the staple of the Circulating Libraries, then recently called into existence.

“The Newspaper” describes that great province of the realms of print as it existed four or five years before the French Revolution. At the date of Crabbe’s poem, there were seventy-nine newspapers published in Great Britain and Ireland. Seven years before, there were seventeen in London, of which seven were daily, and one of once a week. The name of Sunday paper was eschewed till “Johnson’s Sunday Monitor” appeared, which Crabbe not unjustly satirizes for “the moral essays on his front, and carnal business in the rear.” Flourishing with morning papers and evening papers, there were papers of thrice a week and twice a week. Crabbe gives the titles of some members of the literature which he holds in contempt as “those vapid sheets,”—Ledgers, Chronicles, Posts, Heralds. One paper, which appeared a year after his poem, “The Daily Universal Register,” is remarkable as having been printed and published by John Walter, Printing House Square. The name of that journal, in 1788, was changed to “The Times.” Crabbe had no taste for newspapers. In their politics they were “fickle and false;” they were “the poisoned springs from learning’s fountain;” “blind guides,” “anonymous slanderers.” The newspaper editors were “mutual thieves from each brother’s hoard;” “what you read in one you read through all.”

“Their runners ramble day and night,
To drag each lurking deed to open light;
For daily bread the dirty trade they ply,
Coin their fresh tales, and live upon the lie.”

Some of this satire was no doubt poetical exaggeration; but at that period newspapers had no high character to sustain. The government dreaded and despised them; they were in perpetual conflict with the Parliament about privilege; their contributors were ill-paid; their proprietors and editors had little social respect. How great has been the change! It was during the war that newspapers, such as the Morning Chronicle, became valuable properties. James Perry, the proprietor of that paper, was originally a reporter at a guinea a-week. A payment of this amount for his weekly services was refused by one whose presumption was thus described by one of the most energetic of the newspaper producers:—“We hear much of purse-proud insolence, but poets can sometimes be insolent on the conscious power of talent, as well as vulgar upstarts can be on the conscious power of purse. . . . It would surely have been a more honourable employment than

that of an excise-gauger." We turn from the "base ephemera" of past journalism to Robert Burns "the excise-gauger," the greatest name in that era of our literature that immediately preceded the French Revolution.

From the first publication in 1786 of a volume of Poems, chiefly in the Scottish dialect, by Robert Burns, which was printed in the town of Kilmarnock, Scotland felt that a great spirit had arisen to shed a new lustre on the popular language and literature. The immediate and wide-spreading reputation of Burns was produced by something much higher than the wonderment that an unlettered ploughman should have been able to produce verses not only of such commanding strength, but of such unlaboured refinement. The Scottish dialect which, to a certain extent, was almost obsolete for the purposes of literature, became, in the hands of this peasant, the vehicle of thoughts and descriptions which, whether impassioned or humorous, tender or satirical, received a new charm from the simplicity of the language whose ordinary use was vulgarized by the illiterate. Burns had not the creative power of the highest order of poets; but in describing his own emotions with a warmth equal to the energy with which he plunged into his loves or friendships; in delineating with the frankest unreserve the errors from which his manly sense and his natural veneration for what is of good report could not preserve him; in painting with the most admirable truth the appearances of nature or the social characteristics which presented themselves to his observation,—few poets have approached him. In his occasional impurities of thought and diction, which were the outbreak of a reckless levity, we always see a noble nature beneath the display of the wildest licence. The mode in which Burns "unlocked his heart" has nothing in it of that inordinate self-love which exhibits itself in touches of glaring vanity or affected modesty, each intended to challenge admiration. In his manly pride there is no peevish misanthropy. In his violations of decorum there is no desire to make proselytes to immorality. The egotism of Burns may be compared with the egotism of the most popular English poet of the succeeding generation. In the morbid introspection and the capricious hatreds of him who "woke one morning and found himself famous," we look in vain for the innate nobleness of character of the rustic, who, having gone from his plough to become the spoiled child of Edinburgh society, fell afterwards into habits of intemperance, and yet, in the grossest errors of his life, never exhibited a mean spirit. What Burns produced under all the disadvantages of imperfect education, of continuous labour, of uncongenial employment, of corrupting society, made him emphatically the national poet of Scotland in the twelve years which were allotted to his life after his first publication. It has been affirmed—and we are not disposed to question the truth of the opinion—that the influence of Burns upon the popular mind of Scotland "has been all for good, enlarging, elevating, and refining the national heart, as well as awakening it. The tendency of some things, both in the character of the people and their peculiar institutions, required such a check or counteraction as was supplied by this frank, generous, reckless poetry."*

Whilst Scotland is producing her Burns, whose inspiration was the bracing air of his own rivers and hills, and whose imagery was derived from the

* Craik "English Literature," vol. ii. p. 424.

living or inanimate nature around him, England has her Darwin, who deemed it the office of a poet to penetrate beneath the surface of natural appearances, and to exhibit the mysteries of physiology in sonorous rhyme. The physician of Derby is almost forgotten. "The Loves of the Plants" are less popularly known than Canning's imitation, "The Loves of the Triangles." The attempt of Darwin to marry Science to Poetry was the mistake of a man of real talent and knowledge. The material spirit of his age pressed heavily upon him. The applications of scientific discovery to the great works of industry filled his fancy with incongruous imagery. He saw in Physics a world of grandeur and beauty not yet appropriated by Imagination; and he contrived that unnatural alliance of Fact and Fiction which, however admired in his own day, has made his analogies and similes now appear simply ludicrous. The fantastic machinery by which he attempts to connect the laws of vegetable and animal life, and the operations of art, with the presence of invisible beings, is to make the sylphs, which hovered round Pope's Belinda in their tricky beauty, very poor substitutes, in Darwin's hard unrealities, for human interests. Poetry has better materials to work upon, even in the mortal toilers by the side of the steam-engine, than the "Nymphs," who "in simmering cauldrons played." Darwin is poetical when he becomes prophetic :

"Soon shall thy arm, unconquered Steam, afar
Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car."

The prophecy is accomplished. But steam has another work to do :

"Or, on wide waving wings expanded bear
The flying chariot through the fields of air."

The specific levity of air, he explains, being too great for the support of great burdens by balloons, "there seems no probable method of flying conveniently, but by the powers of steam, or some other explosive material, which another half-century may probably discover." The aerial journey in the steam-car is to be not only safe but joyous; there will probably be an intended emigration to the moon, when

"Fair crews triumphant, leaning from above,
Shall wave their fluttering kerchiefs as they move."

A poetical revolution was at hand. A little before the beginning of the convulsions of France, and during the first year or two of the war, there was a swarm of gaudy insects fluttering in the sunshine of fashion, whose painted wings, bearing them from flower to flower, were more admired than the "ample pinion" of the true Poet. This school, called Della Cruscan, originated with an English coterie at Florence. The sonnets, canzonets, elegies, epigrams, epistles to the Anna Matildas, Laura-Marias, Orlandos, Cesarios, were long poured out unceasingly. William Gifford, who destroyed the tribe by his "Baviad" and his "Mæviad," says "the epidemic malady was spreading from fool to fool;" and "from one end of the kingdom to another all was nonsense and Della Crusca." Gifford not improperly lauds the work which he had done in clearing the gardens of the Hesperides from this deadly blight. "Pope and Milton resumed their superiority." He might have added that he did something to make room for another school,—for Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey. In spite of the "This will never do" of the great

northern critic, the Lake School, so called, which this illustrious trio founded, has survived, and will survive.

If the estimates of writers by their contemporaries are not always true, they are at least curious as illustrations of the prevailing taste. In 1809 there appeared a satire, by an anonymous author, entitled "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." Some of this early production of Lord Byron is personal spite, and much is false criticism. In after years he suppressed the poem, having moderated his anger and matured his judgment. Yet, if the poetical critic had not, to some extent, reflected the popular opinion, he would not have described "the simple Wordsworth,"

"Who, both by precept and example, shows
That prose is verse, and verse is merely prose ;"

nor characterized "gentle Coleridge "

"To turgid ode and tumid stanza dear."

Southey comes off better :

"Let Southey sing, although his teeming muse,
Prolific every spring, be too profuse."

It may be consolatory to neglected poets to know, that the two greatest of the Lake Poets have won their freshest laurels from a generation that succeeded the doubters and scoffers of their early period. It was not merely the dull and the acrimonious who spoke slightly of Wordsworth and Coleridge, even as recently as 1811. Leigh Hunt, in most cases a generous critic, in his "Feast of the Poets" makes Apollo look pleased upon "Bob Southey ;" but Apollo "turned without even a look" for the "three or four others" who had entered with him :

"For Coleridge had vexed him long since, I suppose,
By his idling, and gabbling, and muddling in prose ;
And as to that Wordsworth ! he'd been so benursted,
Second childhood with him had come close on the first."*

Apollo having cried, "Laurels for four," the honoured guests of the God are Campbell, Southey, Scott, and Moore. Crabbe is to be recreated "downstairs :"

"And let him have part of what goes from the table."

Wordsworth had appeared as a writer of verse in 1793. The first volume of the "Lyrical Ballads" was published in 1798. In the second volume, published in 1800, he was associated with Coleridge. Of "Joan of Arc," the first poem which Southey gave to the world, in 1796, a portion was contributed by Coleridge. The relative value of the three friends, as poets, has been somewhat differently adjudged in the present time from the early estimate of their peculiar powers. Southey, the most voluminous, is now little read, and has certainly not produced an enduring influence upon our poetical literature. Coleridge, who, of the trio, has written the smaller amount of verse, is generally held to be the most exquisite artist, although least fitted to be popular. Wordsworth—described by Hazlitt as the most original poet living ; but one whose writings were not read by the vulgar, not understood by the learned, despised by the

* We quote from the first edition of this clever poem, published in "The Reflector."

great, and ridiculed by the fashionable—lived to see his writings universally read by learned, great, fashionable, and even “the vulgar.” His power was slowly won, but it was enduring; for he looked beyond the classes that were once deemed to be alone sufficiently elevated for the purposes of didactic or descriptive verse. The great objection to his writings was, “the wilfulness with which he persists in choosing his examples of intellectual dignity and tenderness exclusively from the lowest ranks of society.” The Edinburgh Reviewer wanted Mr. Wordsworth, “instead of confining himself almost entirely to the society of the dale-men, and cottagers, and little children, who form the subjects of his book, to condescend to mingle a little more with the people who were to read and judge of it.”* The poet had his reward in the fact that the exceptional class of the lower ranks became his readers and admirers. He survived till the era of diffused education.

It was the complaint of the author of “English Bards,” that a new reading public had arisen to buy books according to their own tastes.

“Each country book-club bows the knee to Baal,
And, hurling lawful genius from the throne,
Erects a shrine and idol of its own.”

It was a grievance, that out of this new demand authors were to be paid at a rate far beyond that of the exclusive periods of the commerce of literature. For this was Byron indignant in his days of innocence, when he could spurn Scott as “Apollo’s venal son,” deeming it a sin against the dignity of verse that the booksellers had agreed to pay for “Marmion” at the rate of “half-a-crown a line.” In a year or two Byron was as greedy a worshipper of “stern Mammon” as any “hireling bard.” The Circulating Library and the Book Club had, to some extent, superseded the comparatively small number of private book-buyers. To this more numerous body of readers did the publishers of “The Lay of the Last Minstrel,” of “Marmion,” of “The Lady of the Lake,” and of Scott’s other romances in verse, address themselves, when they reprinted his inconveniently splendid and dear quartos in more modest and cheaper octavos. “The Lay of the Last Minstrel” was published in 1805, and “Marmion” in 1808. Byron designated these poems as “stale romance.” With them commenced the new era of narrative poetry, which has almost wholly superseded the merely didactic and descriptive orders of verse, and which is not incompatible with the most refined and most subtle revelations of poetical feeling. Never was a greater mistake than the designation of Scott’s narrative poems as “stale romance.” He had the most ample knowledge of all the romances of chivalry, and especially of the legendary lore of his native land. His critical devotion to this most seductive of the pursuits of antiquarianism was exhibited in his “Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,” originally published in 1802 and 1803. The young Edinburgh Advocate had previously cultivated an acquaintance with the Literature of Germany, of which new well of thought and diction other poets were drinking so freely. But he saw at home a waste ground of imagination ready for his profitable culture. The quaint and sometimes tedious simplicity of the old romance was to be superseded by a rush of easy and glowing narrative which the imperfectly cultivated mind could enjoy; and of which

* Jeffrey’s “Essays,” vol. ii. p. 502.

the critical faculty could scarcely deny the charm, however it might sneer at mountain spirits and river sprites, the goblin page and the wizard's grave. There are two critical notices of Scott's Poems, reprinted in juxtaposition by their accomplished author, which sufficiently indicate the triumphs which Scott had achieved in a few years. That on "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," written in 1805, concludes thus: "The locality of the subject is likely to obstruct its popularity; and the author, by confining himself in a great measure to the description of manners and personal adventures, has forfeited the attraction which might have been derived from the delineation of rural scenery."* The critique on "The Lady of the Lake," written in 1810, opens thus: "Mr. Scott, though living in an age remarkably prolific of original poetry, has manifestly outstripped all his competitors in the race of popularity, and stands already upon a height to which no other writer has attained in the memory of any one now alive." †

The popularity of Walter Scott as a narrative poet was equalled, if not exceeded, by that of lord Byron, when he reluctantly turned from satire and the comparatively tame Cantos I. and II. of "Childe Harold," to write verse Romances, of which the scenes were Oriental, and the heroes were modelled from his own likeness. Byron was almost universally held as the first of living poets. There were some, it is true, who doubted the reasonableness of the universal homage; some who ascribed his extraordinary fame to causes of a more temporary and artificial nature than the power of his genius; who thought that the multiplication of his own portrait was no indication of a real knowledge of the human heart; who upheld the faith that a truly great poet could not be impressed with the grandeur and beauty of the external world without an abiding sense of the Creator's presence, nor could survey mankind in the spirit of an insane contempt of his country, and of malignant hatred of classes and individuals amongst whom he had lived. In the poem which, considered in a merely literary point of view, is his greatest production, "Don Juan" is the intensification of the sensual attributes of the poet's own character, dressed up with marvellous ability for no other end than to dazzle and corrupt. A higher taste, and a more prevalent sense of decency, has done more to consign this poem to partial neglect than Lord Eldon's refusal to give it the protection of the law of copyright. One of the most popular of our living novelists has depicted an East Indian officer, who, having returned, after long absence to his native country, quite unfamiliar with the more recent judgments of English society on matters of literature, is scandalized at the critical opinions of his son's friends—opinions which were not of Colonel Newcome's time. What! Lord Byron not one of the greatest poets of the world! Sir Walter a poet of the second order! That reverence for Mr. Wordsworth, what did it mean? Mr. Keats, and the young Mr. Tennyson of Cambridge, the chief of modern poets! Such were the mutations of opinion between the last years of King George III. and the first years of Queen Victoria.

Whilst Byron was in the full blaze of his reputation, and Wordsworth was slowly establishing an enduring influence upon the popular mind, two young poets appeared, who, for a time, had to endure as much obloquy and

* Jeffrey's "Essays," vol. ii. p. 236.

† *Ibid.*, p. 237.

neglect as ordinarily falls to the lot of intrusive mediocrity. In 1812, at the age of twenty, Shelley printed his "Queen Mab." In 1821, he was drowned in the Mediterranean. In these ten years of a feverish and often unhappy existence, he produced a body of poetry "remarkable for its quantity, but much more wonderful for the quality of the greater part of it."* Few were his contemporary admirers. He was denounced and dreaded. At war with many of the institutions of society; an unbeliever in Christianity, but with a vague belief of an over-ruling power, and of the soul's immortality; his rash opinions, confirmed by something like persecution; it was reserved for another age to understand the rare qualities of his genius. Shelley has been called "the poet of poets." His highest excellences are scarcely capable of rousing enthusiasm in ordinary readers, now that he is read. Keats published two volumes of Poems in 1817; his third volume appeared a few months before his death in 1821. The inspiration of Keats, like that of Shelley, was fitted to attract fervent votaries, but only amongst a comparatively small class—those "of imagination all compact." The narrative facility of Scott, the splendid declamation of Byron, were elements of popularity which were wanting in these masters of a subtler art.

The narrative character, by which a great portion of the verse of this period had established its hold upon the popular mind, was now adopted by writers whose earlier productions were more in conformity with the tastes of a generation passing away. Campbell had a wider reputation than any contemporary at the beginning of the century, created by his "Pleasures of Hope" and his noble lyrics. In 1809, he produced "Gertrude of Wyoming." Rogers appeared to revive from a sleep of twenty years, when, in 1814, he published "Jaqueline," in conjunction with the "Lara" of Byron. His "Pleasures of Memory" appeared in 1792. He returned to his characteristic style in the "Italy" of 1822. Leigh Hunt, whose Juvenile Poems appeared in 1802, and whose poetical faculty had been subsequently displayed in graceful verse, light or serious, in 1816 took his place amongst the narrative poets by his "Story of Rimini." Moore, the wittiest of satirists, the most elegant of song-writers, published "Lalla Rookh" in 1817. Crabbe,—who, when he published a volume of "Poems" in 1807, was hailed "with the same sort of feeling that would be excited by tidings of an ancient friend, whom we no longer expected to see in this world,†—in that volume reprinted "The Village." His new productions, which included "The Parish Register," were principally of a narrative character. In 1810 came "The Borough," with the same marked feature of the recent poetical school; in 1812, "Tales;" and in 1819, "Tales of the Hall." It is in these novelets in verse of Crabbe that we must look for such occasional delineations of manners as have made the prose novels of Fielding and Smollett most valuable studies of the times in which they flourished. The life of the country town and its neighbourhood, half a century ago, has coarser and harder features than would now offer themselves, even in the least refined classes. The sea-going population of the "Borough" are "a bold, artful, surly, savage race,"—smugglers, wreckers, bribed electors. They dwell where there are dung-

* Craik, "English Literature," vol. ii. p. 496.

† "Edin. Review," April, 1808.

heaps before every door, in the "infected row we term our street." There "riots are nightly heard." Within their hovels all is filth and indecency. Books there are none, but ballads on the wall, abusive or obscene. Aldborough was then a watering-place,—and had a "Season." There are few of its visitors now who would be content with

"The brick-floor'd parlour which the butcher lets."

The Mayor of the Borough, a prosperous fisherman, did not know in the painful accumulation of wealth, that money would multiply at interest. He was not alone in his ignorance. The race of hoarders was common in every district at the beginning of the century. The neighbouring Squire comes once a month to the "Free and Easy Club," to be the hero of the night. The rector, doctor, and attorney meet, in pleasant conviviality, to talk over parish affairs and politics,—election zeal, and

"The murmuring poor who will not fast in peace."

In such meetings there was ever a dictator,—a "Justice Bolt,"—whose passion was that of "teaching"

"Those who instruction needed not, or sought;"

—in more recent times a malady most incident to Scots. The attorney then thought that he could best thrive in encouraging litigation. The apothecary, "all pride and business, bustle and conceit," was protected in his neglect of the poor by a "drowsy bench." The parish priest, who heeded not the summons to a pauper's bed,* had not yet been roused out of his indifference by the presence near his church of "Sects in Religion." Romanists, Baptists, Swedenborgians, Universalists, Jews, were found in the country town; but most prevailing were the "Methodists, of two kinds, Calvinistic and Arminian."

"Sects in Religion? Yes, of every race
We nurse some portion in our favoured place;
Not one warm preacher of one growing Sect
Can say our Borough treats him with neglect;
Frequent as fashions, they with us appear,
And you might ask, 'how think we for the year?'"

In the "Edinburgh Review," of 1816, Jeffrey attributed the creation of an effectual demand for more profound speculation and more serious emotion than were dealt in by the writers of the former century, to the agitations of the French revolution, the impression of the new literature of Germany, and "the rise or revival of a more evangelical spirit in the body of the people." † The direct relations of this "more evangelical spirit" to our lighter literature are not very manifest; but its indirect effect may be traced in the general abandonment in prose works of fiction of the grossness which still lingered in the delineations of social life which came after those of the great humourists who were passing away when George III. ascended the throne. This may be partly attributed to the reformation of manners, which had unquestionably been produced by the same religious influences steadily

* The picture of "the jovial youth" who thought his duty was comprised in his "Sunday's task," is found in Crabbe's early poem of "The Village."

† "Essays," vol. i. p. 167.

working amongst a portion of the upper and middle classes. In 1787, Wilberforce entered in his Journal a solemn record of what he deemed one of the great objects of his life: "God has set before me the reformation of my country's manners." His other great object, the abolition of the Slave Trade, had been accomplished; and a visible change had taken place in the general aspects of society—in all of the community except some of the very high, and many of the very low—before the close of his career of practical benevolence in 1833. The "more evangelical spirit"—which many good and earnest men condemned as sectarian, had penetrated into the Church. A writer who has described the various phases of this transition period of religion, with a natural affection for the somewhat exclusive society amidst which he was reared, but with a generous catholicity of mind, has shown the difficulty of discriminating between the senses of two appellations, "Orthodox" and "Evangelical." He says, "The knot would perhaps have been best cut, by defining an Orthodox clergyman as one who held, in dull and barren formality, the very same doctrines which the Evangelical clergyman held in cordial and prolific vitality."* The "prolific vitality" fortunately took the form of association. Societies were formed for grappling with open immorality, and for mitigating some of the more obvious evils of vice and ignorance. The Theological Literature of this awakening period presented a novel aspect. The spirit of polite unbelief, which England had imparted to France in the beginning and middle of the eighteenth century, had travelled back from France to England towards the end of that century, in the grosser forms of denunciation and ribaldry. Dignitaries of the Church applied themselves to put down "The Age of Reason" with gentle argument—apologetical rather than confiding. The great and fashionable, who shuddered at the notion that those beneath them should have their faith shaken and their morals corrupted by atheistical and licentious writers, did not wholly stand on the outside of the circle to whom the Royal Proclamation of 1787 against Vice was addressed. The private offences, in the support of whose official interdiction Wilberforce founded a society, were, profanation of the Lord's Day, swearing, drunkenness. The great gave their Sunday card parties, and Sunday concerts, long after Hannah More published, in 1796, her "Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World," and Wilberforce, in 1797, his "Practical Christianity." "The Clapham Sect" strove manfully against these anomalies, amidst hypocritical assent and covert ridicule. Some of this ridicule was deserved. It has been candidly acknowledged that "the spirit of coterie" was amongst them. They "admired in each other the reflection of their own looks, and the echo of their own voices."† It is this quality that now renders "Cælebs in Search of a Wife"—one of the most popular books of the class of religious novels, of which this production of Hannah More was the first example—the most tedious of homilies pretending to be amusing. What has been called "the unquenchable thirst for spiritual excitement" exposed well-meaning crowds, who had a perpetual craving for the fountains of platform eloquence, to manifest a spirit of intolerance and exclusiveness which detracted largely from their honest

* Sir James Stephen, "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography," vol. ii. p. 155.

† *Ibid.*, p. 307.

enthusiasm for schemes of benevolence. Advertisements in Magazines of Sectarian doctrines, announcing the establishment of a Margate Hoy, set on foot for the accommodation of religious characters; of an eligible residence, in a neighbourhood where the Gospel is preached in three places within half a mile; and of a serious man-servant wanted who can shave;—such announcements as these, with which half a century has made us more familiar, were new and strange objects of ridicule in 1808.* Mackintosh, who looked with a real satisfaction at the public religious advocacy of such measures as the removal of slavery, the amendment of the criminal laws, and the general circulation of the Bible—himself a frequent speaker at Anniversaries of Bible Societies—was fully alive to the mistake of these pretensions to peculiar sanctity which have operated so injuriously on the true interests of religion. He thus makes a note in his Diary of 1818: “They have introduced a new language, in which they never say that A. B. is good, or virtuous, or even religious, but that he is an Advanced Christian.” †

The orthodox Divinity of this period was distinguished for its scholarship and speculative ability rather than for the spiritual gifts claimed for another school. Of those who maintained the intellectual reputation of the English Church, Paley was the foremost. Of pulpit orators, England could claim no one supreme. Chalmers, whose oratorical powers commanded the admiration of our most accomplished parliamentary speakers, was also the most admired, and deservedly so, of those who committed their eloquence to the calm judgment of the closet. His “Astronomical Discourses,” published in 1816, rivalled the novels of Walter Scott in their fascinations for all readers. Scotland produced another writer of Sermons, Hugh Blair, whose popularity for a while was far greater than that of any modern divine of the Church of England. Feeble and elegant, they excited no profound emotions; but were generally welcomed as agreeable reading for family Sunday evenings. Of a very different character was the preaching of Robert Hall, the Baptist minister,—a man who redeemed Dissent from the imputation of ignorance and vulgarity that attached to pulpits filled by uneducated men, who left their proper vocations to be gospel lights. Sound thinkers such as Robert Hall were calculated to shame the orthodox divines who, in too many instances, were opposed to the spread of Education. In a sermon, preached in 1810, on “The Advantages of Knowledge to the Lower Classes,” he says, “If there be any truth in the figure by which society is compared to a pyramid, it is on them its stability chiefly depends; the elaborate ornaments at top will be a wretched compensation for the want of solidity for the lower parts of the structure.”

It was one of the objects of the crusade against “Vice” carried on by the school of “Advanced Christians,” to imitate the old Puritans in their indiscriminating hatred of the Stage. This hatred was a little out of season, for Comedy, happily ceasing to reflect the worst private manners, had become decorous. The goddess of dulness had driven the imps of licentiousness off the boards; although their unholy revels were encouraged in the saloons. This shamelessness was certainly enough to make good men sometimes regard the theatres as dangerous for their sons. But it was scarcely sufficient to justify

* “Edinburgh Review,” vol. xi. p. 351.

† “Life of Sir James Mackintosh,” vol. ii. p. 353.

that tasteless hatred of all theatrical representations, which equally proscribed "Hamlet" and "Tom and Jerry," and thought that there would be contamination in beholding the sublime impersonations of Mrs. Siddons, or in listening to the majestic rhetoric of John Kemble. Their proscription of the stage was not lessened when Miss O'Neil and Edmund Kean came to maintain the succession of great tragedians. It is remarkable that, with such actors as the patent theatres possessed in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and with all the affluence of the poetry of that era, no original tragedy was produced that could hold its place, even by the side of the still popular scenes of Rowe and Otway. The poetical tendencies of the age were not dramatic; the most popular of its poets wrote many tragedies; but "it may be doubted whether there is, in all lord Byron's plays, a single remarkable passage which owes any portion of its interest or effect to its connection with the characters or the action."* The same may be said of the dramas of Coleridge. Scott's three attempts at poetical dialogue were utter failures. The poets who wrote plays did not conceive them in the spirit of plays to be acted. Mr. Milman's "Fazio," which was not written for the stage, was better adapted to the stage, and had a greater success than any other works of a living poet, in the hands of the actors, who seized upon it before the existence of the law of dramatic copyright. In the same era, when manners were sufficiently marked to offer valuable studies of the social life of the upper classes, there was no worthy successor to Sheridan. Had there been a comic writer who could have carried forward some portion of the brilliant wit of "The School for Scandal," to have shown us the "dandies" of the Regency—a race whose foppery was not less intellectual than that of the sparkling heroes of Congreve and Vanbrugh—we might have had preserved to us a picture of manners which have wholly departed in the lazy affectation of the exclusive class in more recent days. The manners which the stage presented were made up of traits of character derived from the peculiar aptitudes of the comic actors—the Irishman, the Yorkshireman, the rakish right-honourable, the sentimental tradesman—all drawn to a pattern of the most approved mode of flattering the honest, patriotic, and somewhat obtuse middle class, who were the great supporters of the theatre. John-Bullism was in the ascendant; and there was no surer way to an Englishman's heart than to stimulate his national pride, and represent his fireside as the seat of all the virtues.

If the classic Comedy had passed away,—if Apollo, coming to the "Feast of the Poets," mistook "Reynolds and Arnold, Hook, Dibdin and Cherry," for "the waiters"—the Novel, at the beginning of the century, was beginning to assert its legitimate claims to be the reflector of manners as well as "the mender of hearts." The prose fictions of Godwin and Holcroft were written for the development of political doctrines. "Caleb Williams" is not a fiction of actual life; although a most forcible protest against some of the grosser forms of injustice and oppression which prevailed in a social state professing to be based upon the legal rights of all conditions of men. "Hugh Trevor" is a mild infusion of the principles that placed its author in a dangerous position, from which he was saved by the eloquence of Erskine

* Macaulay, "Essays," vol. i. p. 346.

The "Zeluco" and other novels of Dr. Moore were of the same semi-didactic character. Fanny Burney was a delineator of fashionable life; but there is nothing half so real in "Evelina" and "Cecilia" and "Camilla," as her pictures of the dull court of George III. at Windsor, with the equerries standing for two hours in an outer room to hear the evening concerts. The ordinary routine of the upper slaves of Royalty, described by one of the victims as "riding and walking, and standing and bowing" in dutiful attendance, and their highest accomplishments, to walk out of a room backwards and never to cough or sneeze—these courtly attributes are eminently suggestive of the contrast between the life in the Lodge at Windsor in 1786, and the life in the Pavilion at Brighton thirty years later. George III. asking wise questions of men of science that were admitted to the Queen's tea-table—Dr. Herschel, Mr. Bryant, and Mr. De Luc;—and the Regent assuring Mr. Wilberforce that if he would come to dine with him his ears should not be offended—"I should hear nothing in his house to give me pain, that even if there should be at another time, there should not be when I was there:"* George III. reading his despatches before his eight o'clock chapel; tramping over his farm or following his harriers till his one o'clock dinner,—and George IV. remaining in his *robe de chambre* all the morning, either to receive his ministers, or lecturing his tailor on the cut of his last new coat,†—although these may be traits of individual character, they are nevertheless to be associated with marked changes in the general tone of society. The "plain living" was gone. The "high thinking" might have also been "no more," had not a change come over the manners of the great, and had not the middle classes been raised and refined by a nobler order of literature. It was in 1802 that the despairing poet complained,—

"No grandeur now in nature or in book
Delights us."

The age of epics was past; but the charms of poetical or prose narrative were to impart higher pleasures than those of luxurious indulgence to a new race of readers. Looking back upon the real dangers, the vain fears, the party distractions, of the beginning of the century, it was a substantial blessing to the boy growing into manhood that such rich stores of pleasurable emotion were spread before him by the imaginative writers who were then developing their riches. The young student of that time might say,—

"Much have I travelled in the realms of gold;"

but never with such joyous feelings as in these days of new poets and new novelists that may aspire to rank with the immortals.

It is difficult to convey to a reader of a later time an adequate notion of the interest excited by the rapid appearance of that series of novels, of which "Waverley" was the first that surprised the world into a new source of delight. Scott has attributed his desire to introduce the natives of his own country to the sister kingdom, as having been partly suggested by the well-merited fame of Miss Edgeworth, whose Irish pictures had made the English familiar with the character of their gay and kind-hearted neighbours.

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. iv. p. 277.

† "Raikes's Diary," vol. iii. p. 56.

Admirable in their truth as are those novels of Miss Edgeworth, in which she delineates the virtues and the foibles of the Irish of her day; skilful as she was in the management of some of her stories; always using her powers in the cause of an honest patriotism, and in the exposure of social abuses—they had the attraction of faithful representations of existing manners, but wanted that charm of romantic indistinctness which belongs to novels founded upon “chronicles of old.” They have now an historical value which the contemporaries of the accomplished authoress would have scarcely acknowledged. But the author of “Waverley,” who lived essentially in the past, although professing to have derived his impulse to paint the Scottish character from “the rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admirable tact” of Miss Edgeworth, never attempted the picture of the Scot of his own day. “The ancient traditions and high spirit of a people who, living in a civilized age and country, retained so strong a tincture of manners belonging to an early period of society,” were suited to a new form of romance in which the picturesque and the literal might be happily blended. How great was the ultimate success of this experiment it is needless to trace; or how Scott’s original scheme expanded into tales of “fierce wars and faithful loves,” common to various climes and eras of chivalry and feudalism. The success of the Waverley novels made the greater portion of the literature of the Circulating Library a drug in the market. The Inchbalds, and Burneys, and Radcliffes held their places for a little while. But the accumulations of stupidity which had encumbered the booksellers’ shelves for thirty years ceased to circulate. Amidst this revolution arose a female writer of real genius, Jane Austen. Her six novels will never be swept away with the rubbish of her “Minerva Press” compeers. The English life of the upper middle classes in the village and the country town—a life unchequered by startling incident; a simple reality which, it might be thought, every one could paint, and which would be dull and uninteresting when painted—is by this young woman delineated with a power which makes actual things more real than what is palpable to all, and by which the most familiar scenes are looked upon as if they were new. This is high Art.

The rapid development in the first two decades of this century of a popular literature of a nobler order than what had preceded it, is in some degree to be ascribed to the influence upon opinion of a higher school of criticism. “The Edinburgh Review,” in 1802, divorced the crafts of the reviewer and the bookseller. Without wholly assenting to the dictum of lord Cockburn, that Francis Jeffrey was “the greatest of British critics,” we may well believe that no one had preceded him, and that few have come after him, who directed the judgment of his contemporaries upon current Literature with such a fund of good sense, with such a quick perception of faults, with such a generous appreciation of beauties, and with such an honest impartiality,—always excepting the few cases in which poets, especially, had the misfortune to deviate into fields which the critic deemed barren. The services which that Review rendered to the progress of improvement, in the discussion of the great political and social questions in which improvement at one time looked hopeless, need not here be detailed. It is sufficient for us to say, that it stimulated a healthful spirit of inquiry, and altogether contributed largely to raise the standard of public intelligence. The “Quarterly Review” came in 1809 to supply what was deemed a necessary antidote to

the political opinions of the "Edinburgh." Its editor, William Gifford, was far less tolerant as a critic than Jeffrey, and he had altogether more of partizanship in his estimate of literary merit. But if he was often stern, and sometimes unjust to those of opposite opinions, he was not a tool in the hands of the party leaders with whom he agreed. If Brougham, and Sydney Smith, and Francis Horner, and Mackintosh, were associated with Jeffrey, Gifford could marshal Canning, and Southey, and Scott, and Croker, in the rival ranks. The partizans who wore the drab livery were not a whit less dangerous than the smarter champions of the yellow and blue. Each of the visored knights affected not to know the leaders whom they encountered in the mêlée. Jeffrey never mentioned Gifford, nor Gifford Jeffrey. The multitude shouted, and ranged themselves under the rival banners. After forty years of contest there was very little left to fight about. It is amusing to look back upon this warfare. It is consolatory to know that through the very fierceness of the battle the cause of truth and justice was advanced. It was felt that, after all, the practical ends of life are best secured by a compromise of extreme opinions. In the arbitrement of posterity upon literary merit, we come to know how powerless are the rash or prejudiced decisions of the highest courts of criticism. Keats was not "snuffed out by an article;" Wordsworth was not doomed to oblivion by "This will never do."

Following in the wake of the great reviews, there came, in due course, a higher order of Magazines. "Blackwood," about the close of the Regency acquired an influence that extended far beyond Scotland. There was so much fun in its malice that its violent politics scarcely impeded its universal welcome, at least in England. There was so much of the outpouring of genius in Christopher North, that few cared to inquire whether that fancy and pathos, that exquisite perception of the grand and beautiful in nature, were in unison with the narrow hatreds that belonged to an Edinburgh clique. The very excess of John Wilson's partizanship looks as if ever and anon he worked up his generous nature to uncongenial wrath, and then put on his Sporting Jacket and sallied forth to breathe the pure air of the Moors, in a spirit of peace with all mankind. In raising the whole tone of periodical literature he gave the world a series of prose writings that fully manifested how truly he was a poet. Out of the new race of monthly Miscellanies issued other prose writers who made their mark upon their own time, and will long continue to have a niche in fame's temple. Amongst the foremost are Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, Thomas de Quincey.

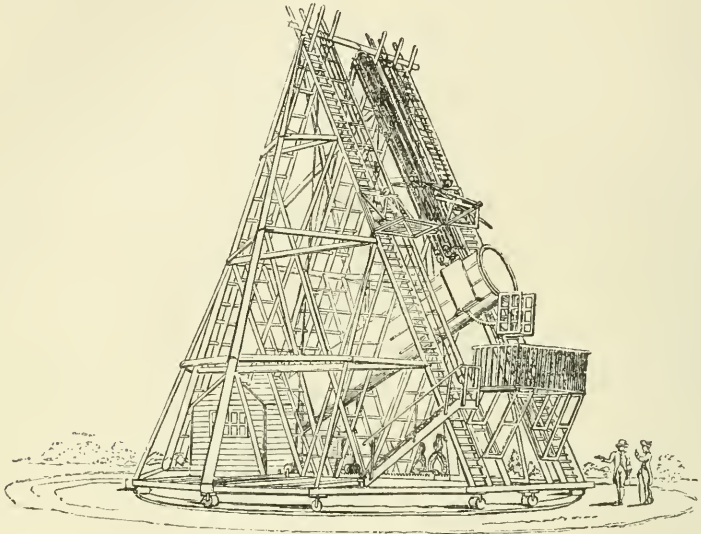
The least voluminous of modern Essayists, Lamb, is the most original. His quaint turns of humour and pathos will command admiration, when the wearisome platitudes of many a great moralist are forgotten. He looked upon society with a deep sympathy and a comprehensive charity. The man who wrote to a friend, "I often shed tears in the motley Strand, for feeling of joy at so much life," could not speak of human sorrows and infirmities with indifference. He had as acute a sense of what is hateful or ridiculous as the keenest of satirists, but he seeks not to extirpate evil by abuse, or to shame folly by sarcasm. Of a very different order of mind was Hazlitt. The quantity which he wrote sufficiently indicates the fertility of his genius; and in many of his critical essays we feel the shrewdness of his judgment and the correctness of his taste. But as he counted amongst his merits that of being

a good hater, we must not expect to find a just and impartial estimate of contemporaneous persons or things in his political or historical writings. He has the merit of being amongst the first to regard Shakspeare from a higher point of view than the race of commentators, too often carping and truculent. But the Stephenses and Malones, nevertheless, kept alive a wholesome spirit of inquiry as to the real meaning of the greatest in all literature, when he uses words and phrases which appear nonsensical or obscure to the ordinary reader. Hazlitt approached Shakspeare with the same reverential spirit in which Coleridge laboured with a higher faculty of philosophical criticism. Leigh Hunt, of this trio of Essayists who often worked in companionship, will probably continue to have the larger number of admirers. He walked in the pleasantest places of literature. To him the great imaginative writers—especially those of Italy, and of our early school upon which Italian poetry impressed its character—offer “a perpetual feast of nectar’d sweets.” In his youthful career he endured a harder fate than most of those who were opposed to the ruling powers; but he carried “the sunshine of the breast” into his prison, and the same unflinching spirits bore him through many of the disappointments of his after life. The same qualities that made the charm of his conversation pervade all his writings. The greatest of the thinkers who was cradled in the Magazine Literature, De Quincey, belongs more properly to the next period; although his “Opium Eater” was produced in the “London Magazine” of 1821. The “Essays” of John Foster, a Baptist minister, which first appeared in 1805, constituted one of the most treasured volumes of a period in which there were fewer books than at the present time, and when good sense, extensive knowledge, and liberal aspirations could secure a warm welcome for miscellaneous works, although not belonging to the class of light literature. These Essays will not readily be neglected even in an age which seeks the excitement of less natural writing.

The school of Political Economists that succeeded Adam Smith—Malthus, James Mill, and Ricardo—had important influences on the political action of their time. So also had the great philosophical jurist, Jeremy Bentham. We shall have to recur to these names at another period. Of a different school was a political economist who took a broader view of the relations of Capital and Labour than these scientific writers, who had principally regard to the production of wealth. Dr. Thomas Chalmers, in his “Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns,” advocated the belief that the wants of the poor might be provided for without the machinery of the English Poor Laws. In his own locality of Glasgow he organized a system which was successful in making private benevolence prevent the necessity of a public recognition of pauperism. He was convinced that religion presented the only cure for the evils of society. The eloquence with which he enforced this doctrine, and the sound judgment which he applies to the great questions of what is now called “social science,” have had a more permanent influence than his views of the Poor Law System.

The history of the progress of Scientific Discovery is too large a subject, and requires too many technical details, to permit a notice here beyond an enumeration of the principal discoverers. Sir William Herschel was still pursuing his observations at the age of eighty, when the first encourager of his astronomical pursuits, George III., died. He discovered the planet

Uranus in 1781. It has been said of him, that "no one individual ever added so much to the facts on which our knowledge of the solar system is founded."* His great telescope of forty feet focal length was completed by him at Slough, on the 28th of August, 1789, on which day he discovered with it the sixth satellite of Saturn. The principle of the reflecting telescopes of Herschel was an improvement upon those of earlier construction.



Herschell's Great Telescope at Slough.

The discoveries in Chemistry, and their applications to the Arts, in the earlier portion of the reign of George III. were principally derived from the experiments of Black, Cavendish, and Priestley. To these philosophers at the beginning of the present century, succeeded the most original of inquirers and the most popular of teachers, Sir Humphrey Davy. His Lectures at the Royal Institution diffused a love of science amongst the general community. His invention of the Safety Lamp, in 1815, showed how the profoundest investigations might result in an apparently simple contrivance of the highest utility, like most of the great inventions that have changed the face of the world. Dalton in 1808 produced his Atomic Theory. Wollaston followed Dalton in a course of similar research, and in other walks made his experiments the bases of large additions to the Industrial Arts. But of all those who by Science diminished the amount of domestic sorrow, and enlarged the average term of human life, was the physician who for half a century had been striving in vain to make the medical world feel confidence in his discovery of Vaccination. For thirty years after this antidote to the small-pox was first practised in 1800, the wholly ignorant and imperfectly educated still stood in the way of the general diffusion of this great blessing

* "English Cyclopædia."

of our era. Now the law prescribes that every child born in the kingdom must be vaccinated. We look back upon the time when many who had escaped with life from the terrible disease that killed ninety-two in every thousand of the population, bore into our public places the indelible marks of the scourge, and we rejoice now to behold the unscarred faces of the young as the best tribute to the memory of Edward Jenner.



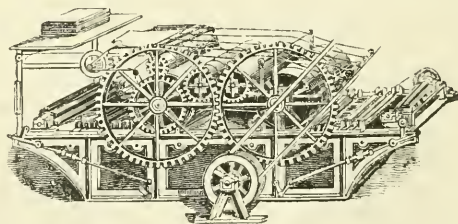
Safety Lamp.

With the striking exception of Mungo Park, no remarkable traveller had gone forth from England to enlarge the bounds of geographical discovery during the period of the war. Henry Martyn, Claudius Buchanan, and other zealous men were then missionaries in India, and prepared the way for the noble labours of the second Bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber. In 1820 the observations of Captain Parry in the Polar Seas led to a government expedition for exploring the Arctic Circle, in the expectation of discovering the North-West Passage. These undertakings belong to a chapter which we must devote to the Science of a period nearer the present time, when the vast results of the connection between Philosophy and the Industrial Arts may be briefly traced.

It may be desirable, however, here to mention two great mechanical inventions that have had the most decided influence on the progress of society. About the first decade of the Nineteenth Century, there was a real beginning in Great Britain of that mode of navigation which was destined to make distant countries less remote, and to change the whole system of communication in our own waters. Henry Bell had his Steam passage-boat running on the Clyde in 1811. In a few years steam-boats were plying on the Thames. In 1816 there were persons who had the hardihood to make a voyage in such a smoke-puffing vessel even as far as Margate. In 1818 Jeffrey thus described a steam-boat on Loch Lomond, which surprised him as he was sitting with his wife in a lonely wild little bay; "It is a new experiment for the temptation of tourists. It

circumnavigates the whole lake every day in about ten hours; and it was certainly very strange and striking to hear and see it hissing and roaring past the headlands of our little bay, foaming and spouting like an angry whale; but, on the whole, I think it rather vulgarises the scene too much, and I am glad that it is found not to answer, and is to be dropped next year."* Vast as have been the results of the application of Steam to Navigation, we may almost venture to say that the application of Steam to Printing cannot be regarded as a less important instrument in the advance of civilization. The Printing Machine has had as great an influence upon the spread of knowledge in the Nineteenth Century, as the invention of printing itself in the fifteenth century. The first sheet of paper printed by cylinders and by steam, was the 'Times' newspaper of the 28th of November, 1814. The maker of that Printing Machine was Mr. Kœnig, a native of Saxony. Machines, less cumbrous and more adapted to all the purposes of the typographical art, gradually came into use. Without this invention the most popular daily paper could only produce, with the most intense exertion, five thousand copies for the demand between sunrise and sunset. Sixty thousand copies of a London morning paper can now be distributed through the country in two or three hours after the first sheet has been rolled. These astonishing changes in the powers of Journalism are not more important than the effects upon all Literature, in the reduction of the price of books by this invention of the Printing Machine and the concurrent invention of the Paper Machine.

* "Life of Lord Jeffrey," vol. ii. p. 181.



Printing Machine.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF BRITISH WRITERS.

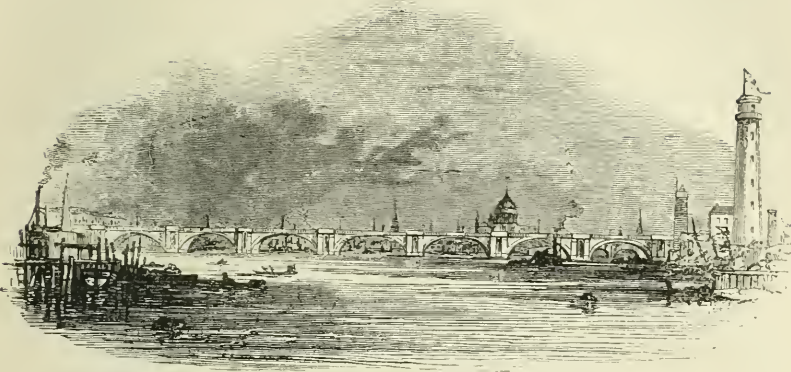
IN the Fifth Volume of the Popular History of England a Table is given of the principal British Writers in each century, from the beginning of the sixth century to the end of the eighteenth. Added to the name of each author are given the dates of his or her birth and death, as far as could be ascertained, and, in some cases, the title of the work by which the writer is best known. The names are arranged in three columns—Imagination,—which includes the Poets and Novelists; Fact,—writers on History, Geography, and other matters of exact detail; Speculative and Scientific,—those who treat of Philosophy and Science. This division is, to a certain extent, useful; but it is difficult to carry it out with precision, especially in cases where the writings of one author belong to several classes of literature. The subjoined Table is a continuation of that in Volume V., comprising the principal writers of the present century, with the exception of those who are now living (December 18, 1861). These will remain to be added in a Supplementary Table.

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
<p>A. D. 1800 Henry Kirke White, 1785-1806, Poems Robert Tannahill, 1774-1810, Songs and Poems John Leyden, 1775-1811, Poems and Translations</p> <p>James Grahame, 1765-1811, The 'Sabbath,' and other Poems Jane Austen, 1775-1817, 'Pride and Prejudice,' and other Novels. Matthew G. Lewis, 1775-1818, Poems and Novels Hector McNeill, 1746-1818, Scottish Poems: 'The Scottish Adventurers,' a Novel</p> <p>Elizabeth Inchbald, 1753-1821, 'A Simple Story,' and other Tales John Keats, 1796-1821, Poems</p> <p>Percy Bysshe Shelley, 1793-1822, Poems</p>	<p>A. D. 1800 Mungo Park, 1771-1805, Travels in Africa Charles James Fox, 1749-1806, History J. Macdiarmid, 1779-1808, Biography</p> <p>James Forsyth, 1763-1815, Travels in Italy</p> <p>Claudius Buchanan, 1766-1815, Christian Researches in India</p> <p>Patrick Colquhoun, 1745-1820, Statistics, Police of the Metropolis</p> <p>E. D. Clarke, 1769-1822, Travels in Russia and the East</p>	<p>A. D. 1800 Henry Cavendish, 1731-1810, Physics, Composition of Water Richard Cecil, 1748-1810, Sermons, Religious Biography Edmond Malone, 1741-1812, Commentator on Shakspeare Alexander Murray, 1775-1813, European Languages John Playfair, 1748-1819, Euclid's Geometry</p> <p>Arthur Young, 1741-1820, Agriculture Sir Joseph Banks, 1743-1820, Natural History John Bell, 1763-1820, Anatomy Thomas Brown, 1778-1820, Metaphysics J. Bonycastle, <i>d.</i> 1821, Astronomy, Algebra James Perry, 1756-1821, Political Journalist (Morning Chronicle) John Aikin, 1747-1822, 'Evenings at Home.' James Sowerby, 1757-1822, English Botany C. Hutton, 1737-1823, Mathematics David Ricardo, 1772-1822, Political Economy</p>

IMAGINATION.		FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
A. D.		A. D.	A. D.
1800	Robert Bloomfield, 1766-1823, 'The Farmer's Boy,' and other Poems	1800	Richard Payne Knight, 1750-1824, Philology, Essay on Taste
	Charles Wolfe, 1791-1823, 'Ode on the Burial of Sir John Moore'		A. Rees, 1743-1825, Cyclopædia
	George, Lord Byron, 1788-1824, Poems		Samuel Parr, 1747-1825, Philology
	Anna Letitia Barbauld, 1743-1825, Poems, Tales, Hymns in Prose		John Flaxman, 1755-1826, Lectures on Sculpture
	Reginald Heber, 1783-1826, 'Palestine,' and other Poems	W. Mitford, 1744-1827, History of Greece	William Gifford, 1757-1826, Politics and Criticism (Quarterly Rev.)
	Robert Pollok, 1799-1827, Course of Time	George Canning, 1770-1827, Microcosm, Anti-Jacobin	Dugald Stewart, 1753-1828, Metaphysics
	Henry Mackenzie, 1745-1831, 'Man of Feeling'	Hugh Clapperton, 1788-1827, Travels in Africa	P. Elmsley, 1773-1825, Philology
	George Crabbe, 1754-1832, Poems	James Rennell, 1732-1830, Geography	W. H. Wollaston, 1776-1823, Physical Science
	Sir Walter Scott, 1771-1832, Poems, Waverley Novels	William Roscoe, 1753-1831, Biography	Thomas Tredgold, 1788-1829, Building and Engineering
	Anna Maria Porter, 1781-1832, Historical Novels		Thomas Young, 1773-1829, Physics, Hieroglyphics
	Hannah More, 1745-1833, Sacred Dramas, 'Celebs in Search of a Wife'	Sir James Mackintosh, 1765-1832, History of England, Progress of Ethical Philosophy	Sir Humphry Davy, 1778-1829, Chemistry
	William Sotheby, 1756-1833, Poems, Translations		William Hazlitt, 1778-1830, Essays on Shakespeare
			John Abernethy, 1763-1831, Physiology, Surgery
			Robert Hall, 1764-1831, Sermons, Essays
			Archbishop Magee, d. 1831, Sermons, Treatise on the Atonement
	Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 1772-1834, Poems and Essays	Alexander Chalmers, 1759-1834, Biographical Dictionary	Jeremy Bentham, 1747-1832, Jurisprudence, Political Economy
	Charles Lamb, 1775-1834, Poems, 'Essays of Elia'	James Dallaway, 1763-1834, Travels, Archaeology	George Burder, 1752-1832, Village Sermons
	Thomas Pringle, 1789-1834, Poems, 'South African Sketches'	Thomas M'Crie, 1772-1835, Life of John Knox	Adam Clarke, 1760-1832, Oriental Literature, Biblical Commentary
		H. D. Inglis (Derwent Conway), 1795-1835, Travels	Sir John Leslie, 1766-1832, Physics
		John Gillies, 1747-1836, History of Ancient Greece	William Carey, 1761-1834, Translations of the Scriptures into Eastern Languages
	James Hogg, 1772-1835, 'The Queen's Wake,' and other Poems, Winter Evening Tales'		T. R. Malthus, 1766-1834, 'Essay on Population'
			Edward Irving, 1792-1834, Interpretation of Prophecy

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
A. D. 1800	A. D. 1800	A. D. 1800
Felicia Hemans, 1794-1835, Poems	William Taylor, 1765-1836, History of German Poetry	William Cobbett, 1762-1835, Politics and Rural Economy
William Godwin, 1756-1836, 'Caleb Williams,' and other Novels	Sir W. Gell, 1777-1836, Classical Topography and Antiquities	Robert Morrison, 1782-1834, Chinese Language
George Coleman, the Younger, 1762-1836, Dramas	Henry Roscoe, 1799-1836, Lives of Eminent Lawyers	Sir Charles Wilkins, 1749-1836, Oriental Literature
Sir S. Egerton Brydges, 1764-1837, Poems		W. Marsden, 1754-1836, Oriental Languages
Anne Grant (of Laggan), 1755-1838, Poems, 'Translations from the Gaelic,' 'Letters from the Mountains'		Richard Valpy, 1754-1836, Philology
Letitia E. Landon (Mrs. Maclean), 1802-1839, Poems	Sir R. C. Hoare, 1758-1838, Travels, Antiquities of Wiltshire, &c.	John Pond, 1767-1836, Astronomy
James Smith, 1775-1839, Novels, 'Rejected Addresses'		James Mill, 1778-1836, Political Economy, History of India
John Galt, 1779-1839, 'Ayrshire Legatees,' and other Tales of Scottish Life.		W. Elford Leach, 1790-1836, British Crustacea
W. M. Praed, 1802-1839, Poems and Essays		John Latham, 1740-1837, Ornithology
Thomas Haynes Bayley, <i>d.</i> 1839, Poems and Tales		Joshua Marshman, 1767-1837, Chinese Literature
Frances Burney (Madame D'Arblay), 1752-1840, 'Evelina,' and other Novels		John Jamieson, 1759-1838, Dictionary of the Scottish Language
Thomas Dibdin, 1771-1841, Dramas	Sir Alexander Burnes, 1805-1841, Travels in Bokhara and Cabool	
Theodore E. Hook, 1788-1841, Novels		Archibald Alison, 1757-1839, Essays on Taste
Allan Cunningham, 1784-1842, Poems	T. D. Fosbroke, 1770-1842, Topography, Archaeology	William Smith, 1769-1839, Geology
John Banim, 1800-1842, Irish Novels	Sir Robert Ker Porter, 1775-1842, Travels in the East	Sir Anthony Carlisle, 1768-1840, Anatomy and Surgery
Thomas H. Lister, <i>d.</i> 1842, 'Granby,' and other Novels	William Hone, 1779-1842, 'Every Day Book'	Lant Carpenter, 1780-1840, Theology
		Sir Astley Cooper, 1768-1841, Surgery
		Olinthus Gregory, 1774-1841, Mathematics, Evidences of Christianity
Robert Southey, 1774-1843, 'Curse of Kehama,' and other Poems	Thomas Arnold, 1795-1842, History of Rome	Joseph Blanco White, 1775-1841, 'Letters from Spain,' Controversial Writings against Roman Catholicism

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
<p>A. D. 1800 Robert Montgomery, 1807-1855, 'Omnipresence of the Deity,' and other Poems Charlotte Brontë (Currer Bell), 1824-1855, 'Jane Eyre,' and other Novels Douglas Jerrold, 1803-1857, 'Men of Character,' 'Mrs. Caudle's Lectures,' Dramas Sydney, Lady Morgan, 1785-1859, 'Wild Irish Girl,' and other Novels Leigh Hunt, 1784-1859, Poems, Essays Thomas De Quincey, 1786-1859, 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater' Essays Thomas K. Hervey, 1804-1859, Poems, Essays G. P. R. James, 1801-1860, Novels Anna Jameson, 1794-1860, 'Female Characters of Shakspeare,' 'Handbook to Galleries of Art' Albert Smith, 1816-1860, Novels, Tales, Burlesque Sketches Lady Charlotte Bury, 1775-1861, Novels J. W. Cunningham, 1778-1861, 'The Velvet Cushion,' Poems Catherine Gore, 1800-1861, 'Mothers and Daughters,' 'The Banker's Wife,' and other Novels Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 1809-1861, 'Aurora Leigh,' and other Poems Charles James Lever, 1808-1861, 'Harry Lorrequer,' 'Charles O'Malley'</p>	<p>A. D. 1800 Sir Edward Parry, 1790-1855, Voyages to the Arctic Regions Sir T. L. Mitchell, 1792-1855, Expeditions into the Interior of Australia John Britton, 1771-1857, Topography, Antiquities John Macgregor, 1799-1859, Commercial Statistics Henry Hallam, 1778-1859, Constitutional History of England Charles Macfarlane, 1800-1853, Travels, History John Lee, 1779-1859, Ecclesiastical History Sir James Stephen, 1788-1859, History, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography Thomas, Lord Macaulay, 1800-1859, Essays, History of England William Mure, 1799-1860, History of Greek Literature Sir Henry G. Ward, 1796-1860, Travels David Jardine, 1794-1860, History of the Gunpowder Plot Sir Charles Fellows, 1799-1860, Travels in Asia Minor Sir Francis Palgrave, 1788-1861, History of the Anglo-Saxons John, Lord Campbell, 1779-1861, Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Chief Justices of England</p>	<p>A. D. 1800 William Yarrell, 1784-1856, Natural History John Ayton Paris, 1785-1856, On Diet Sir William Hamilton, 1788-1856, Metaphysics John Forbes Royle, 1797-1856, Botany T. D. Hincks, 1767-1857, Oriental Languages Andrew Ure, 1778-1857, Chemistry, 'Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures' John Wilson Croker, 1780-1857, Politics, Criticism John Harris, 1804-1857, 'Mammon' (prizeessay), Theology and Physics J. M. Kemble, 1807-1857, Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature Hugh Miller, 1802-1856, Geology Stephen Robert Rintoul, 1787-1858, Politics, 'Spectator' Newspaper George Combe, 1788-1858, Phrenology, 'Constitution of Man' Jane Webb London, 1800-1858, Gardening for Ladies William J. Broderip, 1788-1859, Natural History Dionysius Lardner, 1793-1859, Physics John P. Nichol, 1804-1859, Astronomy Alexander Fletcher, 1778-1860, Theology John Narrien, 1782-1860, Mathematics, Military Engineering William Spence, 1783-1860, Entomology Horace Hayman Wilson, 1786-1860, Sanskrit Language R. Bentley Todd, 1809-1860, Surgery Sir Howard Douglas, 1775-1861, Military and Naval Defences T. Southwood Smith, 1788-1861, Philosophy of Health W. J. Donaldson, 1812-1861, Philology</p>



Waterloo Bridge.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of the Fine Arts to the close of the Regency—Architecture—Imitation of Greek models—St. Pancras Church—Wyatt and Gothic restorations—Soane—Holland—Smirke—Wilkins—Nash—Regent-street and Regent's Park—Churches—Bridges—Telford—Rennie—Sculpture—Banks—Bacon—Flaxman—Chantrey—Westmacott—The Townley, Phigaleian, and Elgin Marbles—British Institution—Dulwich Gallery—Painting—West—Copley—Fuseli—Haydon—Lawrence—Wilkie—Turner—Painting in Water Colours—Engraving—Line Engravers—Wood Engraving—Bewick—Lithography.

It is the purpose of the present chapter to carry forward the survey of the state of the Fine Arts from 1783 to the end of the Regency.

Architecture in the last years of the eighteenth century was far from being in a flourishing condition. There was much building, but there was little Art. It was the epoch of the rise of that style of architecture which culminated during the Regency and then collapsed: the style of imitative Greek art. Towards the end of the century was commenced a publication that should be of service in the earlier stage of our inquiry.* It formed, when completed, two costly folio volumes, was addressed to "the Professor, the Student, and the Dilettante, in this noble branch of the Polite Arts," and professed to give "Plans and Elevations of Buildings, public and private, erected in Great Britain" during the past few years. Estimated simply from the examples in these volumes, the character of our architecture and the condition of architectural taste sixty years back must indeed have been at a low ebb. And evidently there was on the part of the author, himself an architect of position, the full intention to afford a favourable representation of the current architecture. He gives views and descriptions of a few

* "The New Vitruvius Britannicus," by George Richardson, Architect, 2 vols. folio. London, 1797—1808.

public buildings, many mansions, but no churches—an omission easily explained, for no churches were erected then with any pretensions to architectural character, nor indeed till the last years of the Regency. The buildings are by the leading architects of the time; by the Wyatts, Soane, Wilkins, Adams, Mylne, Holland, Nash, and others most in request with private employers, as well as public bodies. In looking over the examples, we see certain general characteristics, which are really the characteristics of the architecture of the period: a formal and symmetrical arrangement to which convenience is often made to give way; in the exterior design, poverty of thought and absence of imagination or invention; the general mass without grandeur or beauty; the ornamental details of the most meagre and common-place description. But it was a time when what we should now call poverty was regarded as purity. Dallaway, an authority in those days, writing at this very time,* whilst speaking of the beauty of the newly erected Trinity House, complains that its "purity of style" is injured by the introduction of bas-reliefs on the façade. All the examples in the "New Vitruvius" are, or claim to be, Greek in character, except two or three which are professedly Gothic. With Chambers had ended the classical Italian style. His Somerset House had indeed not long been finished; yet not only is there no representation of it here, but in none of the buildings shown is any imitation of it traceable. Almost every building, whether public or private, has a Greek portico or pediment—usually Ionic—affixed against a wall of the baldest and most un-Grecian character, pierced with plain holes for windows.

And this sort of thing went on nearly to the end of the period under review. In the latter part of it there was indeed improvement of a certain kind. Grecian travel, or a close acquaintance with Grecian models, came to be as regular a part of every architect's course of study, as a visit to Rome and the measurement of Roman remains had been a few years before. As a consequence, the Grecian orders were copied with greater accuracy, and Grecian mouldings were more or less liberally introduced. But the portico continued to be the grand feature. So that the portico was an exact copy, or followed strictly the proportions, of some extant example in Athens or Ionia, the body of the building was, externally at least, of comparatively little consequence. Nor was it by any means deemed essential that the portico should have any special adaptation to place or circumstance. An Ionic portico was made, during even these last and best years of Greek imitation, to grace indifferently the front of a lunatic asylum, a post-office, or a church; whilst the massive Doric was considered equally applicable to a theatre or a mint, a palace or a corn-market. The culminant example of this mechanical reproduction of a Greek type may be seen in the church of St. Pancras, by Euston-square, London, at once the latest, most "correct," and costliest of the semi-Greek churches. On the southern side of a temple dedicated to the Grecian nymph Pandrosus, which stood on the summit of the lofty Acropolis, and under the clear sky of Athens, was a porch the supports of which, instead of being the usual columns, were six exquisitely

* "Anecdotes of the Arts in England, or Comparative Observations on Architecture," &c., 4to., 1800.

sculptured female figures. This porch was copied exactly—except indeed that its size was increased, and that the material of the structure was stone, and of the figures “compo,” instead of the bright Penthelie marble—and placed against the side of a church in almost the lowest part of the flat and foggy New Road. And, as though to push the solecism to its limit, whereas the original stood on the south side of the temple under the full glare of a mid-day Athenian sun, while a much larger Ionic portico occupied the corresponding position on the north side, in the church the porch was reproduced in exact counterpart on both sides; the northern porch, untouched by a gleam of sunshine being that which is in full view of the entire stream of traffic, while the southern porch is comparatively hidden. It only requires to be added to complete the æsthetic conception, that these London porches were made to serve as vestries, a chimney-pot being the crowning ornament of each, whilst the basements are burial-places. With such evidence of mere routine reproduction we can hardly be surprised to find, at the very close of the period, one of the most distinguished architects of the time declaring it to be “a melancholy fact that Architecture has not kept pace with our other advances towards perfection—nay, that in that noble art we are at least a century behind our neighbours on the continent.”* This was too strongly expressed, perhaps, but it is the fact that it was a time of cold conventionalism and unreasoning imitation. Yet, palpable as now seems the absurdity of merely copying Greek buildings or portions of buildings, without regard to purpose, place, or climate, or to the entirely different circumstances of the age and the people for which the buildings were intended, we must bear in mind that the copying from Greek temples only gave way before the copying of Italian palaces and Gothic churches. The really “melancholy fact” is, that in all the forty years here passed in review, probably not a building could fairly be quoted as an example of considerate adaptation of style to purpose, or of thoughtful originality of design.

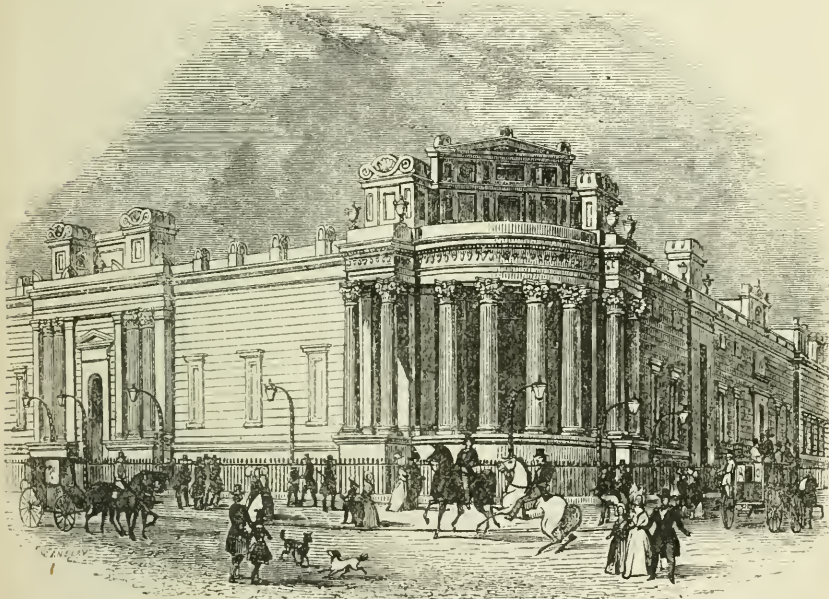
Whilst, however, the architecture of this period claimed to be essentially Greek, one of the most conspicuous of its professors secured a large measure of his celebrity by the practice of Gothic. As we saw in a previous chapter, James Wyatt sprung into fame by the erection, in 1772, of the Pantheon. He had since been extensively employed in the erection of country mansions of the set “classic” style, and he continued to be so employed to the end of his days. But the death, in 1784, of Essex, the protégé of Horace Walpole, who had long acted almost exclusively as the architect of cathedrals, colleges, and other important Gothic buildings, left an opening which Wyatt hastened to occupy. Lee Priory, Kent (1784), his first essay in this style, was praised by Walpole. He soon found grander opportunities for displaying his capability of rivalling the mediæval designers or improving on their designs. Chief among his Gothic buildings were Fonthill, erected (1795, &c.) at an almost fabulous cost for the celebrated Beckford; the palace at Kew, of “castellated Gothic,” which was left unfinished, and finally pulled down without having ever been occupied; and Ashridge, Hertfordshire, built for the earl of Bridgewater. Regarded as imitations of the Gothic of any

* Sir John Soane, “Civil Architecture,” folio, 1829, p. 12.

period, or as what is now spoken of as a development of Gothic, these buildings would appear quite puerile. They are in fact an incongruous admixture of what may, perhaps, be called Gothic forms and details, though of the latest and most meagre description, adapted to structures which neither in plan nor elevation are in any sense Gothic. But about some of them, Ashridge in particular, there is a certain grandiose picturesqueness never seen in the architect's pseudo-classic mansions. And it must be remembered in mitigation of his Gothic heresies, that Gothic, when Wyatt began to practise it, had received no such searching investigation as that to which it has since been subjected. Not only were its principles undefined, but even its details had never been accurately represented. It was in fact to antiquaries as much as to architects an unknown language, and Wyatt was too busy a man to spend much time in deciphering its hieroglyphics. It is noticeable, however, as an illustration of the little genuine feeling he had for Gothic architecture, as well as of the little regard that was given to the subject generally, that at Oxford—where, if anywhere, Gothic would have seemed the appropriate style—when Wyatt was called in to construct a library for Oriel college, he, as we find it stated in an architectural work of a somewhat later time, "introduced a correct Ionic;" whilst for the gateway at Christchurch, he introduced "a beautiful Doric," though it is considerably added, "the columns, when compared with the Greek, appear too slender." But his most indefensible Gothic misdeeds were his so-called "restorations." As the chief professor of Gothic architecture he was employed in repairing several of our noblest cathedrals, and in so doing altered or destroyed with reckless hand whatever seemed to him unnecessary or even unsymmetrical. Especially was this the case at Hereford, Litchfield, and Salisbury; at the last he altogether demolished among other things a bell tower, and several chapels of exquisite beauty. Magdalen, Merton, All Souls, Balliol and several other Oxford colleges, also suffered in different degrees from his unhappy restorations. Samuel Wyatt, a brother of James, had a considerable reputation, and his works are not wholly devoid of invention. Like his brother he was largely employed in constructing private residences. His best building of a public character was Trinity House, Tower Hill, of no great architectural merit, but noteworthy as having on the front relievi by Bacon, and in the interior one of the latest of those allegorical ceiling paintings that once furnished such profitable occupation for the pencils of Verrio, and Laguerre. Sir Jeffrey Wyattville, the nephew, scholar, and faithful follower of James Wyatt, belongs only in part to this period; his great work, the alteration of Windsor Castle, was not commenced till 1824; whilst Sidney Sussex College was eight or ten years later. His earlier works were chiefly private residences of the ordinary Wyatt type.

Sir John Soane ought to serve as the representative of the highest order of architectural ability of this period. On the death of Taylor, in 1788, he was appointed architect to the Bank of England. On the death of Chambers (1796) he was made architect to the Woods and Forests. He was a royal academician, and professor of architecture in the Royal Academy; and he was knighted on account of his professional eminence. Soane's chief building is the Bank of England, which was greatly enlarged and entirely

remodelled by him, the works extending over a period of thirty years (1788—1829). The interior, including the public rooms, has been much altered by Mr. Cockerell since Soane's time, which may be regarded as an evidence of inconvenient arrangement or of extended business; the exterior has also been altered, and improved in the alteration, by giving an increased elevation to the principal entrance-front; but the great portion of the exterior, on which Soane's reputation now mainly rests, is still nearly as he left it. At the time of its erection it was commonly regarded as a masterpiece. It is now as commonly condemned. There can be no question that it is deficient in one of the grand requisites of good architecture—propriety. The columns have nothing to support; beneath the pediments are no doorways; there are the forms of windows, but they admit no light. The whole is a mask. The parts are for ornament, not use. They may please at the first glance, but the mind refuses to dwell with a continuous pleasure on objects which suggest a use they do not supply. Else, there are parts of this screen



Bank of England, North-West View.

of an elegant and even picturesque appearance. Such is the well-known north-west angle, Soane's own favourite composition, with its skilfully arranged and graceful Roman-Corinthian columns. Every one feels this to have been a happy conception of the architect, and it serves excellently to conceal the oblique meeting of the walls—a defect that if left apparent would have been an almost fatal injury to a building of classical character. So again some of the inner-courts are very elegant and effective. Soane had considerable ingenuity in these lesser matters. Wherever any irregularity of ground-plan

existed, or any peculiarity of arrangement was required, he was usually ready with some quaint or graceful contrivance that would meet or conceal the difficulty. But a sort of scenic ingenuity is the highest merit his works possess. They have portions of much beauty, but as a whole are mean, if not insignificant. The exterior of a building of so important a character, and covering so vast a space as the Bank of England, might have been expected to form a grand and imposing mass: in reality it is little more than a long, low, unmeaning, decorated wall-screen. Few of Soane's buildings remain unaltered. The front of the Treasury, Whitehall, has been entirely remodelled by Sir Charles Barry. The Courts of Law, Westminster, remain nearly untouched; but they will probably soon be swept away altogether. The Bourgeois Gallery and Mausoleum at Dulwich, and his own house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, are perhaps the chief of Soane's buildings which remain as he left them, but, like the Law Courts, they are inconvenient, cramped, and unsatisfactory.

Holland, who, as architect to the Prince of Wales, remodelled Carlton House, and added the Ionic portico and screen, was one of the first to employ the true Ionic order, if he was not, as some have fancied, the first to introduce it. He enjoyed a large measure of celebrity in his day, but little is left of his more important buildings. Old Drury, opened in 1794, was destroyed by fire in 1809. Carlton House was pulled down in 1826. The Brighton Pavilion was orientalised by Nash. The East India House (designed by him in 1799, but often erroneously ascribed to Jupp, the company's surveyor) is about to be demolished. The loss of these is, however, of little consequence, except as being that of a link in the history of English architecture.

Sir Robert Smirke was the first to erect a Doric portico in the metropolis. This formed the grand entrance to Covent Garden Theatre, built by him in 1808-9. Smirke had travelled in Greece as well as Italy, and published professional comments on the edifices he examined. His Doric portico was announced as the first absolutely correct reproduction of a pure Greek order. It satisfied classical connoisseurs, and the architect at a bound became famous. He did not indeed attempt to carry "pure Greek" principles beyond the portico, but he placed on the façade statues and bas-reliefs by Flaxman, which served to indicate the purpose of the building, a purpose the building itself would scarcely have suggested. The theatre was destroyed by fire in 1856. The chief architectural feature of the long front of the Mint, erected by Smirke in 1811, is a pediment supported on Doric columns, but these rest on a rusticated basement, and there is little else in the building that is Greek either in form or spirit. Smirke erected many other public and private edifices, but his two greatest works, the Post Office, and the British Museum, belong to a later period.

Another of the travelled architects of the classic Greek epoch was Wilkins, who died professor of architecture to the Royal Academy in 1839. Like Smirke, he first came into notice by his descriptions of ancient Greek remains, the result of a professional visit to Athens. His first important building of a public character was Downing College, Cambridge, commenced in 1807, which as far as completed proved to be beyond comparison the dullest, heaviest, and most common-place collegiate building in the two universities. But it was called Greek, and it was considered to be classic; and when the

East India Company soon after determined on erecting a college, Wilkins was appointed its architect. Haileybury College is almost a duplicate of Downing College. Wilkins also attempted gothic. His first large building in this style, Donington Castle, Leicestershire, erected about the close of the 18th century, hardly rose in any respect above the level of Batty Langley gothic. When called on to execute some gothic buildings at Cambridge, the proximity of King's College Chapel gave a little more elevation to his style. But he still thought it an evidence of refinement to cover the open oak roof of a college-hall with white paint. He will probably be longest remembered by the National Gallery and University College, but these were not commenced till after the time with which we are at present concerned. The Nelson Columns which he erected at Yarmouth and in Sackville-street, Dublin, only deserve mention as illustrations of the taste of the time and of the architect.

Nash, one of the most conspicuous of the architects of the latter portion of this period, commenced his career as a builder as well as an architect. He erected a large number of mansions in England and Ireland, the major part of them "classic" in style with the inevitable Ionic portico; others "castellated," in which strong battlemented keeps and machicolated towers are intermingled with large plate-glass windows and undefended doorways in a manner that would have very much surprised the fierce feudal lords, whose grim abodes these were supposed to reproduce. Nash was the favourite architect of the Prince Regent; but his grand architectural effort, Buckingham Palace was not commenced till 1825. We have here, therefore, to speak



Waterloo Place, leading toward Regent-street.

of him in connection mainly with the formation of Regent-street, which, whatever may be the character of its architecture, must be regarded as a grand improvement on previous London streets, and as having greatly stimulated improvement in our street architecture. Regent street was begun in 1813.

In laying out its course Nash aimed to produce the greatest amount of effect. He combined several houses together so as to produce the appearance of a single large building; and he varied the design of almost every block. He made the new street of greater width than any former street in the metropolis, and where it crossed the two great thoroughfares of Oxford-street and Piccadilly he formed widely-sweeping circuses. At the southern end he provided a long colonnade. At the northern end where the broad street curves sharply round he carried forward a church entrance, crowning a circular porch-tower with a lofty spire, so as to produce a striking termination to the vista. In the same way the position of each of the churches and public buildings in the new street was laid down with a view to scenic display. But this was the object throughout. Unluckily, in his eagerness for show,—stone fronts being impracticable on account of the expense,—he made all the fronts of his stately “street of palaces” of plaster, and what seemed elaborate carving was mere moulded stucco. It was not left for a succeeding generation to denounce this as “sham.” Wits and critics alike launched their weapons against the architect, some of them glancing off against his royal patron.* Nash about the same time laid out Regent’s Park, and designed the Terraces which border its pleasant glades. It was in this kind of work he was most at home. He was a poor architect, but he has given us the finest street we yet have in London, and one of the pleasantest parks. The Regent’s Canal, another of Nash’s projects, was carried out simultaneously with Regent’s Park, to the beauty of the northern side of which he made it materially to contribute.

It has already been said that scarce any churches were erected during the period before us. There were indeed several of the “proprietary chapels,” then the popular class of new churches, but they were usually plain brick buildings of the cheapest description. Towards the end of the period there came about a change. Marylebone Church, commenced in 1813 by the elder Hardwick, was a substantial and costly edifice; and is a fair specimen of the architecture of the time. A still more costly structure St. Pancras Church, already referred to, was commenced in 1819. It was designed by the Inwoods, and is remarkable as the most elaborate attempt made in this country to apply (not to adapt) pure Greek forms to a Protestant church. Marylebone Church cost about 60,000*l.*; St. Pancras very nearly 80,000*l.* It is worthy of note that in the forty years ending with 1820 scarcely a gothic church had been erected, whilst during the next forty years the land was covered with them. But the movement which led to the astonishing revival of church building had already commenced. In March, 1818, parliament voted a million for the erection of new churches; and a Commission was appointed to direct the expenditure of the money. The result of the labours of the Commission soon became evident. The Gothic revival was some years longer in making itself felt.

* One of the best of the many witticisms circulated at the time, was an epigram in which it was proposed to visit on the prince the evil deeds of his architect:—

“Augustus at Rome was for building renown’d,
For of marble he left what of brick he had found:
But is not our George, too, a very great master?
He finds London brick, and he leaves it all plaster.”

It is needless to carry farther our examination of the architecture of this period; but there is one class of structures, Bridges, which must be noticed, because about this time they passed definitively out of the hands of the architect into those of the civil engineer. The transfer may indeed be said to have originated with one who was a bridge-builder, if he could not be called an architect, before he became an engineer. Thomas Telford was apprenticed to "a general house-builder" of Langholm in Dumfries, and when the future designer of the Menai Bridge, and the engineer of some of the greatest works that had ever been undertaken in this country, first set up as master on his own account, he was ready to undertake any kind of masonry, from cutting letters on grave-stones, to the building of country byres, high-land churches, or plain stone bridges. When he came to London he worked for awhile under Chambers on Somerset House, then in course of erection. He felt no hesitation therefore, on the score of professional disqualification, when required as county surveyor to construct a bridge of some size across the Severn at Montford. This was a stone bridge of the usual type, but in it he introduced some valuable constructive modifications. His next bridge, which crossed the Severn at Buildwas, was of iron on stone piers, and was long regarded as a model of its class. An iron bridge had been built at Coalbrookdale in 1775. Telford's iron bridge was erected in 1795-6, and was a vast improvement on its predecessor. It consisted of an unusually flat arch of 150 feet span. An iron bridge erected about the same time at Sunderland by Mr. T. Wilson, consisted of a single arch of 236 feet span, and of such a height above the river as to permit the passage under it of vessels of 300 tons burden. The success of these important works insured the use of the new material. Telford was employed upon engineering works of enormous extent, in the course of which he had to erect many hundred bridges, and he employed iron or stone indifferently according to the nature of the locality, and the greater economy or fitness of either material in each particular case. Telford's grand works, the Highland Roads and Bridges, the Caledonian Canal, the Ellesmere Canal, the Holyhead Road, and others of scarcely less importance, belong to this period, but hardly fall within the compass of a survey of the Fine Arts. In the Highland improvements alone he constructed above a thousand miles of new road, and twelve hundred bridges; on the line of the Ellesmere Canal he spanned the valleys of the Dee and the Chirk with aqueducts of a greater height and magnitude than had been previously ventured upon; while several of the bridges on the Holyhead road were of importance both as engineering works, and as works of art. Such especially was the grand Menai Suspension Bridge, begun in 1819, a work that has indeed been surpassed as an engineering triumph by its neighbour, the tubular bridge of Robert Stephenson, but in beauty the suspension bridge far excels its younger rival.

John Bennie, the elder, like his great compatriot Telford, was of humble Scottish origin. His earliest occupation was that of a millwright, but his remarkably mechanical ingenuity brought him into notice, and he was while yet a young man employed on works requiring much constructive skill. He settled in London as an engineer about 1782. In 1799 he commenced a handsome stone bridge of five arches at Kelso, and he afterwards constructed some others that were much admired. But his chief work in this line was

Waterloo Bridge, which he commenced in 1811, and completed in 1817, at a cost of above a million. This is by general consent one of the noblest bridges of modern times. Indeed for simple grandeur of character, convenience of roadway, and stability of construction, it would be difficult to name its peer among bridges of any earlier period, and the only bridge of subsequent erection which has, in this country at least, equalled or surpassed it in these most important particulars is the new London Bridge, for which Rennie himself made the designs, though its erection was confided to his sons George and John. The iron bridge which crosses the Thames at Southwark was another of Rennie's bridges. The iron bridge at Vauxhall was designed and erected by Mr. James Walker. Rennie's magnificent engineering works, the East and West India Docks, with their vast ranges of warehouses; the London Docks; the Prince's Dock, Liverpool; Plymouth Breakwater, and the improvements carried out by him in the Government dockyards of Chatham, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Pembroke, with other important works at various harbours, proofs of the amazing growth of the country in wealth and commerce, and of the great increase of engineering skill, rather than works of Fine Art, can only be mentioned here.

In Sculpture the leading artists were Flaxman, Banks, Bacon, and Nollekens, all of whom have been spoken of in a previous chapter, and Chantrey and Westmacott, who belong more particularly to a later period. Our notice of sculpture may therefore on the present occasion be very brief. The first two of the sculptors just named, produced during this period some works of great poetic power, and the last also executed some of much beauty. But in the main sculpture dealt rather with portraits of the living and memorials of the dead, than with efforts of imagination. And in monuments of a public character, especially those with which the nation honoured the men who had fought her battles by land and sea, our sculptors continued to repeat with strange persistency the conventionalisms and machinery which had for ages ceased to have any intelligent meaning, or to affect either the heart or the understanding of any class of spectators. British soldiers and sailors, and even senators, philanthropists, and philosophers, were clad in the scanty folds of a "classical" drapery, in some instances almost without drapery at all, and, although the monuments were to be erected in the midst of a Christian cathedral, and in full view of a congregation engaged in Christian worship, were surrounded with heathen gods, goddesses, and attributes; or if, as was sometimes the case, the hero wore his full regulation uniform, he yet had his due attendance of undraped heathen deities. Banks was unfortunately one who yielded most unreservedly to this classic misconception. The monuments to Captains Burgess and Westcott in St. Paul's, two of the latest of his works, are among the least defensible of their class. Happily Banks will not be judged by his public monuments. The exquisite recumbent figure of Penelope Boothby in Ashbourne Church, showed with what pathos he could invest a private memorial when he trusted to the simple promptings of the feelings. His "Mourning Achilles," of which the model is in the British Gallery, no patron having had sufficient taste to commission its execution in marble, is perhaps the noblest work of the kind produced by an English sculptor; and in other works he excelled as much in grace as here in grandeur.

Bacon, who died in 1799, produced at this time little besides public monuments of level modicrity; but these he produced with a facility and profusion that aroused the envy of his rivals and the admiration of the multitude. The best are such as those of Dr. Johnson and John Howard in St. Paul's, in which he had no occasion to go beyond simple portraiture; but even in these the attempt to attain elevation of style by arraying such men in a costume borrowed from antiquity, has nearly destroyed personal resemblance, and even mental characterization. Nollekens shared only to a small extent in these public commissions, but he was in great request for private monuments. His strength lay however in portraiture; and his busts and statues are now the most life-like representations left of many of the most memorable personages of his time.

Flaxman lived throughout this period, the truest and greatest sculptor England had ever produced. Sculpturesque design was as much the genuine expression of his mind as it was that of the sculptors of ancient Greece. In some of his imaginative works, as well as in several of his public monuments, his genius was fettered by the current conventionalisms; but even in works of the latter class, as the monument to Lord Mansfield, he showed of how much grandeur of moral expression sculpture was capable. His private monuments, especially some of those to females, are of the most touching tenderness, and of the purest Christian sentiment. In the magnificent group at Petworth of the Archangel Michael overcoming Satan, illustrative of the famous lines in Milton, we have proof that our sculptors might find in our own poets, or in the Book which is a part of the very life of every one, subjects well fitted for sculpturesque treatment, and which, whilst they would require and repay the utmost exertion of mental power, and technical knowledge and skill, would as much come home to the feelings and the understanding of the men and women of to-day, as did the gods and heroes of the old Greek sculptors to the hearts of their contemporaries. The deities of a dead mythology never can thus come home to any modern people, unless treated as symbols of some deep or subtle truth, as they on rare occasions have been by genius of a high order. Flaxman's Psyche may perhaps take rank in this class. His Pastoral Apollo is like a breath of rustic poetry. But the Venuses, Dianas, nymphs, and the like, which Flaxman's contemporaries and successors put forth in any quantity at every exhibition, will be gazed at with as little genuine sympathy on the part of the spectator as was felt in their production by the sculptor. How thoroughly Flaxman's mind was imbued with the purest Greek feeling is evinced by his illustrations to Homer, Hesiod, and Æschylus; while in nobleness of conception, and beauty and delicacy of expression, the illustrations to Dante are fully equal to them.

Chantrey, during the latter years of the regency, had taken his place among the foremost living portrait sculptors. The manly simplicity of his style met with early recognition, and his chisel found ample and worthy employment. A large proportion of the men most distinguished in letters, art, and public life, sat to him, and in most instances he was considered to be successful in preserving the likeness, as well as in maintaining a certain elevation of character. His busts are finer than his portrait-statues, and these than his imaginative works. But his statues have the great merit of first fairly grappling with the difficulties of modern costume. The happiest

of the monuments in which he ventured on a poetic mode of treatment, "the Sleeping Children," in Lichfield Cathedral, belongs to the period under review, but the idea was certainly caught from Banks's monument of Penelope Boothby, and the design was made by Stothard. Westmacott's earlier poetic works include the "Psyche," and "Cupid," at Woburn; "Euphrosyne," belonging to the Duke of Newcastle, and many other very pleasing classic subjects; but among them are some of a homelier and more original character, as "the Distressed Mother," "the Homeless Wanderer," and others of a similar order. Westmacott also executed at this time several monumental statues for Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral; the well-known "Achilles," erected in Hyde Park "by the women of England," in honour of the Duke of Wellington, and numerous other commissions of a public character.

The taste in sculpture of both artists and the public was no doubt much influenced by the purchase and exhibition of three important collections of ancient marbles. The earliest purchase was in 1805, of the large collection formed by Mr. Charles Townley, of sculpture chiefly of Roman date, but the work of Greek artists, and embracing many works of exceeding loveliness and interest. This formed the nucleus of the magnificent national collection of ancient sculpture in the British Museum. The next grand addition was that of the series of reliefs which had adorned the Temple of Apollo Epicurius, near Phigaleia, and which the Prince Regent bought at a cost of nearly 20,000*l.*, and presented to the nation in 1815. These rilievi, though falling short of the highest excellence of Greek art, are believed to be the work of some of the best scholars of Phidias. They are of great beauty, and of greater interest, as illustrating the history of Greek art. But the most important of the collections was that of the sculpture of the Parthenon, commonly known as the Elgin Marbles, for the purchase of which parliament voted, in 1816, the sum of 35,000*l.* These wonderful works are by far the finest extant examples of Greek sculpture when at its greatest perfection—the sculpture of the time of Pericles, executed by Phidias, or by his scholars under his immediate superintendence. For years the Earl of Elgin, who whilst ambassador to the Porte obtained the firman through which he was enabled to remove the sculpture from the Parthenon, was assailed with the bitterest invectives for this act of Vandalism as it was termed. But in truth, the earl by their removal saved these marvellous works from utter destruction; he was not in time to save them from grievous mutilation. The Parthenon had been shattered in the Venetian bombardment; afterwards, the eastern pediment, with its matchless statuary, was thrown down to fit the building for the service of the Greek Church; later, and up to the hour when they were rescued by Lord Elgin, the statues were used as targets by the Turkish soldiers; and finally, in the war of Greek independence (1827), the building received great additional injury during the bombardment of the city, but the best of the sculpture was then happily safe in the British Museum, preserved for ever for the free study of all.

A national collection of sculpture was thus formed; but it was not till 1824 that a national gallery of painting was founded. Something had, however, been done towards clearing the way for such a consummation. In 1805, a small body of noblemen and gentlemen who felt an interest in art, succeeded

in establishing the British Institution, the primary object of which was declared to be "to encourage the talents of the artists of the United Kingdom;" and with this view the Shakspeare Gallery, built by Alderman Boydell, was purchased and appropriated to the exhibition and sale of the productions of British artists, and the exhibition of pictures by the old masters. This last was the grand novelty in the scheme. Most of the directors, and many of the subscribers, were themselves the possessors of collections of paintings by the old masters, and from their galleries, and the collections of other liberal amateurs, has been obtained annually enough pictures of a high class to make a most interesting and always varied exhibition. These exhibitions for the first time afforded to the general public the opportunity of seeing at their leisure paintings by the great masters; and there can be little doubt that to them is to be ascribed a large measure of the interest in art which resulted in the formation of the National Gallery. The directors at the same time sought to encourage living artists, not only by providing a gallery for the sale as well as exhibition of their works, but by offering annual premiums for pictures of a high character, and by occasionally purchasing their pictures. Among the painters to whom premiums were awarded were Hilton, Haydon, Alston, Bird, Liunell, Martin, and others whose names will be remembered, but as may be supposed more whose names are already forgotten. Up to 1820 the Society had only purchased four pictures, first among which was Benjamin West's "Christ Healing the Sick," for which the directors gave the painter 3000 guineas, and which they presented to the National Gallery immediately after its formation. The interest in art no doubt also received a considerable impulse from the opening to the public in 1812 of the collection of paintings, chiefly of the Dutch and Flemish schools, bequeathed to Dulwich College by Sir Francis Bourgeois, and for the reception of which a gallery was built by Sir John Soane. The Dulwich Gallery does not rank among the great picture galleries, but it has done good service to art in this country, and not least as a precursor of the National Gallery. It is understood that the pictures now forming the Dulwich Gallery, and which were collected by Mr. Noel Desenfans, were offered to the government during the ministry of Mr. Pitt on condition that a gallery should be built for their reception. The offer was declined.

After a few years of enfeebled health, Reynolds finally laid down his pencil in 1787, and died in 1792. From this time till the year at which this chapter closes, West, as president of the Royal Academy, was nominally at the head of the British school of painting. During these years he continued to paint pictures of large dimensions, and treating of the loftiest themes in sacred and profane history. But his style underwent no change, and we have nothing to add to the summary printed in a former volume. His friendly rival was John Singleton Copley, whose manner is favourably shown in his "Death of Chatham," now a leading ornament of the British section of the National Gallery. Fuseli, too, painted, lectured, and taught; but his spasmodic compositions now scarcely excite a passing remark; and though critics termed them sublime, it may be doubted whether they ever were in any degree popular. His greatest effort was his Milton Gallery, a series of fifty paintings illustrative of the poetry of Milton. The pictures were publicly exhibited in 1799, and again in the following year, but the receipts

at the doors were insufficient to defray the expenses, and the painter would have been seriously embarrassed had not private admirers come forward to purchase enough of the pictures to save him from the consequences of his temerity.

Among the younger aspirants for immortality in "high art," the unfortunate Haydon was in the latter years of the regency the most conspicuous. His "Macbeth," "Judgment of Solomon," "Christ's entry into Jerusalem," and other gallery paintings, had aroused equal admiration and criticism, and Haydon in an evil hour was tempted to defend his own theories of art and to denounce those of his adversaries. Controversy has irresistible fascinations for some minds. Haydon was one of her victims. To his private and personal quarrels he added one with the Royal Academy. The result was what might have been predicted. He became a fluent speaker, and a piquant if not a very correct or altogether trustworthy writer. In his proper calling he made no advance. His earliest works were indeed his best. And as he found once ardent admirers grow cold, and timid friends fall away, his bitterness increased, and from this time to his unhappy death he was a disappointed man. Yet he might have been a good painter, and he was certainly a good teacher, if we may estimate a teacher's ability by the success of such pupils as Eastlake, Lance, and the Landseers. Hilton was elected an Academician in 1820, but he had as yet chiefly painted classical subjects, and had altogether failed of popular recognition. Etty had at present scarcely made his name at all known. Martin had startled the critics and fascinated the public by his "Joshua" (1814), and his still more extraordinary "Fall of Babylon" (1819). Stothard was delighting a narrow circle with his elegant but rather feeble paintings; and spending his real strength in making vignettes of almost matchless grace for engraving, at the rate of half a guinea or a guinea a-piece.

In portraiture, from the early part of the nineteenth century to his death in 1830, Lawrence was regarded as the undisputed successor to Reynolds. Northcote, Opie, Hoppner, Beechey, and Jackson, portrait painters of considerable ability and followers more or less of Reynolds, enjoyed a fair share of royal or popular patronage, but none obtained like Lawrence universal favour. Perhaps Lawrence owed somewhat of his good fortune to the very contrast afforded by his easy superficial elegance to the more sombre splendour of his predecessor. It would be foolish to compare Lawrence as a painter with Reynolds, but Lawrence was undoubtedly in his way an admirable artist. His sitters were the noblest and fairest in the land, and, whilst preserving the likeness, he seldom failed in the expression of manly intellect, and never in that of female beauty. His grand series of portraits of the distinguished actors in the affairs of 1814 and 1815 now in the Waterloo Gallery, Windsor Castle, could probably not have been so well painted by any contemporary artist. In a certain broad and vigorous delineation of a male head, however, Lawrence was surpassed by Raeburn, at this time the principal portrait painter in Scotland. But Raeburn was a supremely national painter. It was the hard-featured shrewd Scottish head he gloried in painting and painted so well. The southron fared but indifferently under his vigorous pencil. Of a wholly different stamp was the elegant Harlow, who might in time perhaps have rivalled his master, Lawrence, but who died in opening manhood. His "Trial of Queen Katharine," despite its popularity,

gave little promise of greatness as a painter of history ; it was in fact rather a group of portraits of the Kemble family, and as such it should be estimated.

Portraiture in the hands of Lawrence assumed a new phase at this period. But a far greater change was made in the painting of scenes of domestic life by David Wilkie. Hogarth had painted both high life and low life, but it was with the pencil of a stern and relentless satirist, and in order to point a moral. Bird had still more recently depicted scenes of humble life, but with a halting and unequal touch. Wilkie was the first to paint with thorough artistic skill, and a gentle genial humour and quiet appreciation of character, the pleasant side of the everyday life of the peasant and the yeoman. His earlier pictures, "The Village Politicians," "The Blind Fiddler," "The Card Players," "The Village Festival," "The Cut Finger," "Blindman's Buff," "The Penny Wedding," and the like, were all of this homely cheerful character. It was not till 1815 that he touched a more pathetic chord in his "Distraint for Rent." From the outset Wilkie achieved an almost unbounded popularity. His pictures told a story that all could understand ; expressed a sentiment with which all could sympathise ; and were in all respects painted with a truthfulness which every one could recognise. They won, therefore, the general suffrage ; and at the same time their conformity, in composition, colour, and other obvious technical qualities, to the principles of the Dutch masters who excelled in similar subjects, was equally efficacious with the *cognoscenti* who then gave the law in pictorial criticism. Up to the close of the period before us, Wilkie continued to paint carefully studied subjects of the healthy homely class in which he first acquired fame. Two or three years later he visited the continent, and from that time he entirely altered his manner of painting and range of subjects. But that change we need not here anticipate. At the time we now leave him he was undoubtedly the most generally popular painter in England.

Far greater and probably more permanent was the influence on English art of the genius of Turner than that of either of the painters we have yet noticed. Landscape painting towards the close of the last century was fast falling into conventionalism and inanity. The authority of the men who had just passed away, and the imitation of the old masters, paralysed individual effort. Turner commenced his career by making coloured drawings, in which he aimed at little more than correct topographical representation. Long after he began to paint in oil he continued to study and imitate the manner of his predecessors,—Wilson, Louthembourg, and occasionally Gainsborough, in English scenery ; Vanderveelde in representations of the sea ; whilst Claude was his guide in classical compositions. But year after year he showed more and more self reliance and originality ; an ever increasing knowledge of the capabilities of landscape art, and extended acquaintance with the phenomena of nature. The wonderful range of Turner's powers as a landscape painter were not wholly developed in the period before us. He visited Italy for the first time in 1819, and his Italian pictures were consequently as yet unpainted. But his power as a painter of English scenery had reached its farthest extent. The "Crossing the Brook," the noblest English landscape of its kind ever painted, was exhibited in 1815. It now forms one of the choicest of the Turner treasures in the National Gallery. Its hitherto unapproached expression of space, magical aerial perspective, quiet beauty of colour, and poetical

feeling, gave it a standing quite apart from the work of any previous painter of English scenery. Gainsborough doubtless excelled Turner in a poetic rendering of close home scenery; Wilson perhaps excelled him in a certain classical elevation of style. But neither Wilson nor Gainsborough could have painted a picture like this. Nor did Turner ever equal it. "Richmond Hill," painted in 1819, was a grievous falling off; and he never again painted English scenery on a grand scale, for of course such pictures as "Rain, Steam, and Speed" are to be classed as poetic fancies rather than English scenes.

But it was not merely as a painter of English landscape scenery that Turner was pre-eminent. In his "Shipwreck," now in the National Gallery; "A Gale at Sea," in the gallery of the Earl of Ellesmere; "The Wreck of the Minotaur," belonging to the Earl of Yarborough, and some others, he had painted a stormy sea with a force and majesty such as no previous painter had ever reached. In such works again as the "Garden of the Hesperides" (1806); "Apollo and Python" (1810); "Building of Carthage" (1815); and "Decline of Carthage" (1817); he had treated classical subjects with singular brilliancy and vigour of imagination. And not only these but a multiplicity of other pictures showed at once his wonderful versatility and poetic feeling, as well as his close observation of nature, especially of every variety of atmospheric phenomena, and his unrivalled knowledge of effect.

It is sometimes said that it was not till towards the close of his life that Turner's greatness as an artist was recognised. But this is a mistake. From almost the very outset of his artistic career, his superiority was admitted both by his professional brethren and such of the public as then took an interest in art. He was elected an associate of the Royal Academy at the earliest age (24), at which, by the laws of the academy he could be elected; and again, at the earliest legal age (27), he was elected a full member. Collectors bought his pictures at constantly increasing prices; and engravers and publishers eagerly outbid each other for his drawings, knowing well that engravings after Turner were more popular than engravings after any other landscape painter. He had indeed by the time at which we are arrived become a wealthy man by the exercise of his art,—which is certainly more than at that time could have been said of any other English landscape artist,—and in a country like England pecuniary success is at least an evidence that a man is admired by those to whom he addresses his efforts. There were differences of opinion respecting Turner's works, as there always are differences of opinion respecting the works of a man of original genius, but his genius was not without recognition. It was not till later, when his pictures had become to the ordinary observer unintelligible eccentricities, that his popularity as a painter began to wane.

During the later years of this period there were several other admirable landscape painters:—Callecott, a pleasing and graceful artist, coming sometimes close to the quieter manner of Turner, sometimes approaching the manner of the landscape painters of the Netherlands, but never very original or very vigorous; Constable, both original and vigorous—a hearty, unsophisticated delineator of homely English scenery, and especially of the scenery of the eastern counties—but a good deal of a mannerist, and somewhat confined in his range; Nasmyth, the best of the minute copyists of our woodlands and commons, ill-understood, and little appreciated in his life, and

now perhaps a little overrated; Hofland, a genuine lover of quiet river scenery; and Collins, the ablest painter of his day of coast and inland scenery in combination with rustic groups.

Animal painting had in George Morland, at the early part of this period, a representative of great ability, but of coarse intemperate habits, and the character of the man too often found expression in his pictures. He was succeeded by James Ward, only lately passed from among us at a patriarchal age, a clever painter, but superseded while still young, by a yet younger rival, Landseer, and falling, perhaps as a consequence, into hopeless and most eccentric mannerism. Edwin Landseer, though yet a youth, had attained celebrity before the close of this period, but his real artistic career was hardly commenced.

The essentially English art of Water-colour Painting dates its rise from this period. In the catalogues of the earliest exhibitions of the Royal Academy we find entries of "stained drawings." These belong to the first crude stage of the art. They were produced by the entire drawing being in the first instance made in light and shadow, with a grey or neutral tint. Over this the several local colours were passed in thin transparent washes, the ground tint softening the harshness of the superposed local colours. The sharp markings of the details were then added, usually with a reed pen. In this manner, modified by the habits of the respective artists, some very pleasing drawings were made by Paul Sandby, Hearne, and especially Cozens, a landscape draftsman of refined feeling and considerable power. Turner and his friend and fellow student, Thomas Girtin, for some time practised in this manner; but they were led gradually to abandon it, and adopt the method—which originated with them—of painting every object in the first instance in its proper local colour, and by subsequent shades and tints, and various manipulatory processes, modifying this first painting till the whole picture is brought to the desired appearance. By this improved method water-colour painting acquired an exquisite freshness and transparency quite its own, and which in the opinion of many almost atoned for the absence of the depth, force, and richness of oil. Girtin was a landscape painter of considerable ability if not genius, and some of his water-colour paintings are of exceeding beauty; but he died young, and it is mainly to Turner that the infant art owed its early culture and vigorous growth. His sketches and finished pictures in water-colours are extremely numerous and extremely fine; and in them may be traced at least the germs of almost every improvement or modification of the water-colour process. Turner early turned aside to oil painting, though he continued to execute his vignettes for the engravers in water-colours; but many able artists devoted themselves wholly to the rising art, and brought it to the perfection which it ultimately reached. Among these may be mentioned Prout, unrivalled as the delineator of picturesque old houses and fragments of crumbling ruins; and David Cox, one of the boldest, and at times one of the grandest, painters of English hills, meadows, and sandy coasts, under the influence of storm and rain. So rapidly did the new art become popular, and so confident were its professors in their own strength and resources, that in 1805 they formed themselves into a Society of Painters in Water Colours, which has ever since continued to hold with unflinching success an annual exhibition of the works of its members.

The great extension of a taste for art was in no way more clearly shown than in the increased demand for engravings and for illustrated publications. The higher branches of engraving were however hardly so successfully cultivated. There was no engraver like Strange or Woollett, and the prints called for by the public were of a less elevated class of subjects. But engravers of unquestionable ability were very numerous, and an unparalleled number of excellent prints was published. Boydell's Shakspeare was issued towards the close of the century at a vast expense. To such works as this, the folio Milton, Macklin's Bible, the Poet's Gallery, and the like, succeeded a host of topographical works, editions of the poets, essayists, and novelists, with small vignettes, and handsome folios and quartos of antiquarian and architectural subjects. In the former class the drawings of Turner may be said to have formed a school of landscape engravers neat, refined, and brilliant beyond previous example in the execution of small plates, but wanting in grandeur and vigour when grappling with plates of a large size. The architectural publications, especially those of John Britton and the elder Pugin, aided by the singular talent of the Le Keuxes in engraving mediæval buildings, did much to arouse that strong interest in Gothic architecture which has in our own day led to such remarkable results.

The demand for illustrated works had however an inevitable tendency to stimulate their more rapid and cheaper production. Engravers, instead of executing their plates throughout with their own hands, employed pupils and assistants on the earlier and less important parts. Further to expedite the process machines were at this time invented, the best being that of Mr. Lowry, by which the skies, plain backgrounds, and the like, could be ruled in, and thus the work of weeks be accomplished in a few hours. The tendency of this employment of mechanical appliances, and of the system of journey-work, was undoubtedly to interfere with the development of the highest individual excellence; but the increasing of the quantity and cheapening the cost of works only inferior to those of the first class in the higher refinements of the art, assisted largely to diffuse a knowledge and a love of art. The use of steel plates instead of copper, which carried this cheapening process so much farther, was introduced early in the century; but steel plates were not tried for fine art purposes till about 1818, and did not fairly come into use till five or six years later.

At the head of the line engravers, at the commencement of this period, was William Sharp, who has left some good prints from the works of the old masters, but who was greatest as a portrait engraver: his print of John Hunter after Reynolds, is of its kind a masterpiece. Other line engravers of ability, his contemporaries and successors, and like him engravers of subject pieces and portraits, were Fittler, Sherwin, Warren, John Landseer the father of the painter, James and Charles Heath, Raimbach, who engraved the earlier prints after Wilkie, and John Burnet, like Raimbach best known by his prints after Wilkie, but like him an excellent engraver of general subjects. The landscape engravers in line were very numerous, and the later ones especially brilliant executants. Among them were Middiman, Byrne, Cooke, John Pye, a thoroughly conscientious and able artist, the Findens, and others. In mezzotinto engraving, landscape was most successfully cultivated during this period, as portraiture had been in the preceding. Earlom, who

engraved the *Liber Veritatis* of Claude; Lupton, who engraved many plates in the *Liber Studiorum* and the *Rivers of Turner*; Charles Turner, who in his plate from Turner's *Shipwreck* produced the noblest print of its class yet published; and S. Reynolds, were eminent in this branch of art. Aquatinta, now almost a lost art, was at this time successfully practised by F. C. Lewis, Daniell, and others. Bartolozzi at the beginning of the period was in the height of popularity for his engravings in the dotted or chalk manner, but they were really of a very meretricious character. William Blake was also an engraver in various manners, some of them peculiar to himself. But Blake is best known by his designs, full of the wildest extravagancies, yet with constantly recurring quaint, graceful, and suggestive fancies, always however running along the narrow line which proverbially divides genius from madness.

Wood Engraving dates its revival from this period. Thomas Bewick, to whose rare application and ability this revival is almost entirely to be ascribed, began to engrave on wood while apprentice to a general engraver; and he received from the Society of Arts a prize for a wood-cut of a "Huntsman and Hounds," almost as soon as his apprenticeship had terminated. Bewick resided all his life at his native place, Newcastle-on-Tyne; drew most of his designs, and engraved them with a combined vigour and delicacy of line, power of expression, and felicitous characterization of surface, that came with all the freshness of novelty upon his contemporaries. Bewick published his "*General History of Quadrupeds*," the work by which he acquired celebrity, in 1790. It passed through several editions, and secured a ready reception for all his subsequent publications. In finish it was surpassed by later works, but only his "*British Birds*" (1797-1804) equalled it in design. Among single prints, the finest was his "*Chillingham Bull*." Bewick was always happiest in drawing and engraving objects of natural history. But his little tail-pieces, especially those illustrative of the effects of cruelty to animals, have some of them touches of a grim humour that would have done no discredit to Hogarth's pencil.

Lithography was invented by Alois Senefelder towards the end of the 18th century. It was introduced into England in 1801 by M. P. H. André, under the designation of Polyautography. André's chief publication was a series of thirty-six prints from sketches by West, Stothard, and other eminent artists; but his rude and blurred impressions were regarded as mere curiosities. In 1805 he transferred his business to a Mr. Volweiler, who was equally unsuccessful. The art seems then to have been neglected for some years, till Mr. R. Ackerman established a press, from which was issued in 1819 the illustrations to his translation of Senefelder's "*Complete Course of Lithography*." These prints, though much better than André's, were still very deficient in strength and clearness. It was not till the subject was taken up by Mr. Charles Hullmandel, who to the training of an artist added some chemical knowledge and great manipulative dexterity, that the capabilities of the art were fairly developed in this country. A really good lithograph can, however, hardly be said to have been produced in London as early as 1820.

REIGN OF GEORGE IV.

1820.—LIST OF THE KING'S MINISTERS.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl of Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury.
Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Duke of Wellington	Master General of the Ordnance.
Viscount Sidmouth	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Viscount Castlereagh	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Right Hon. George Canning	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. C. B. Bathurst	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. W. W. Pole	Master of the Mint.
Right Hon. F. J. Robinson	Treasurer of the Navy, and President of the Board of Trade.
Earl of Mulgrave	Without office.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Viscount Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Charles Long	Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester	} Joint Postmaster-General.
Marquess of Salisbury	
Right Hon. C. Arbuthnot	} Joint Secretaries of the Treasury.
S. R. Lushington, Esq.	
Right Hon. Thomas Wallace	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Thomas Plumer	Master of the Rolls.
Right Hon. Sir John Leach	Vice-Chancellor.
Sir Robert Gifford	Attorney-General.
Sir John Copley	Solicitor-General.

GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

Marquess of Cholmondeley	Lord Steward.
Marquess of Hertford	Lord Chamberlain.
Duke of Montrose	Master of the Horse.
His Royal Highness the Duke of York	Commander-in-Chief.
Sir Hildebrand Oakes	Lieut.-General of the Ordnance.
Right Hon. William Huskisson	First Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and Land Revenue.

IRELAND.

Earl Talbot	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Charles Grant	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. Sir G. F. Hill	Vice-Treasurer.

CHAPTER IX.

Meeting of Parliament on the demise of George III.—Prorogation and dissolution—The Cato-street Conspiracy—Debate on the subject of Queen Caroline—Differences between the King and the Cabinet regarding the Queen—The ministerial propositions finally agreed to—Opening of the new Parliament—Preparations for the Coronation—The Queen expected—Her arrival—Green bag containing papers laid before Parliament—Adjournment—Conferences for averting a public proceeding—Failure of the negotiation—The Bill of Pains and Penalties—Scenes in the streets—Scenes in the House of Lords—The third reading of the Bill carried by a small majority—The Bill finally abandoned—Joy of the country—Discussions on the subject of the Queen in the next Session—The Coronation of the King—The Queen vainly endeavours to be present—Her death and funeral.

UPON the Accession of George the Fourth there were the same Ministers in the Cabinet as those which formed the Administration of the Earl of Liverpool at the close of the war; with the exception of Mr. Canning, who in 1816 succeeded the earl of Buckinghamshire as President of the Board of Control.*

The Statutes of William and of Anne provided that the demise of the Crown should not interfere with the regular course of Constitutional government. Under these Statutes the Parliament, although adjourned to the 15th of February, assembled on Sunday morning the 30th of January; adjourned till the next day; and then proceeded to the swearing in of members. On the 17th of February, the Houses having again assembled, a Message was delivered from the King, recommending that such measures should be adopted by the House of Commons as were necessary to provide for the exigencies of the public service, during the short period that must elapse between the termination of the present Session and the opening of a new Parliament, which it was his Majesty's intention to call without delay. The Houses sat till the 28th of February. During a few days after the death of his father, the King had been seriously ill, not without some apprehension that this would be the shortest reign in English history. When the Parliament was prorogued, with a view to its immediate dissolution, the Speech of the Royal Commissioners alluded to "the flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which has lately been detected."

"The Cato-street Conspiracy," atrocious as were the objects which it

* See volume vii. p. 576. The List in the opposite page of the King's Ministers, of the Great Officers of State, of the Law Officers, and of the Irish Administration, is of the date of June. 1820.

proposed to accomplish, base and brutal as were the wretched persons engaged in it, fearful as might have been the national terror had it been successful, was certainly not calculated, as affirmed in the Royal Speech, "to vindicate to the whole world the justice and expediency of those measures" [the Six Acts] to which the Parliament had resorted "in defence of the laws and Constitution of the kingdom." The detection and prevention of what was something more formidable than "a little plot in a hay-loft,"* though not in any degree a symptom of a revolutionary spirit in the country, were certainly not advanced by the enactment of an unconstitutional code. The proceedings of a knot of sanguinary madmen had for some time been well-known at the Home Office. "The principal informant was a modeller and itinerant vendor of images, named Edwards, who first opened himself at Windsor, as early as the month of November, to Sir Herbert Taylor, then occupying an important official situation in the establishment of George III."† Arthur Thistlewood, the leader of the gang who desired to assert their patriotism by the murder of all the King's ministers, had been a subaltern officer in the militia, and afterwards in a regiment of the line. He had sojourned in France in the early stages of the French Revolution, and was amongst the number of those who held that violence and insurrection were the proper modes of redressing the evils of what they considered bad government. He was one of the persons engaged in the Spafields riot; and, in company with Dr. Watson, was tried for high treason. Upon his acquittal his rashness displayed itself in sending a challenge to Lord Sidmouth, for which folly he was convicted of a misdemeanor, and underwent a year's imprisonment. This term of confinement expired about the period of the affray at Manchester. Upon his trial he declared that his indignation at this occurrence prompted him to take his resolution of murderous vengeance: "I resolved that the lives of the instigators should be the requiem to the souls of the murdered innocents." He adds, "In this mood I met with George Edwards." He had decided that "insurrection became a public duty" before he met with George Edwards, "the contriver, the instigator, the entrapper," as he terms him.‡

A noble writer, whose facts are in most cases of far higher value than his opinions, says, "the history of the Thistlewood Conspiracy, as related in the criminal annals of the period, illustrates in a remarkable manner the diseased state of political feeling then existing in England."§ Lord Sidmouth has himself testified to the general healthfulness of public opinion: "Party feelings appeared to be absorbed in those of indignation, which the lower orders had also evinced very strikingly upon the occasion."|| It was not in the nature of Englishmen to entertain any other feeling than indignation at

* Sydney Smith's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 195.

† "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 316. The Author of the "Popular History" well recollects this man, who had a small shop in the High-street of Eton, where the most profitable exercise of his art was in the production and sale of a little model of Dr. Keate, the head master of Eton, in his cocked hat, the consumption of which image was considerable, from its rapid destruction by the junior boys as a mark to be pelted at. Sir Herbert Taylor, whose honour was unimpeachable, was utterly incapable of suggesting to the spy that he should incite these wretched men to the pursuance of their frantic designs. Yet in this, as in most similar cases, the functions of the tempter and the betrayer are very closely united.

‡ "State Trials." See also "Annual Register," 1820, p. 946.

§ Duke of Buckingham, "Court of George IV.," vol. i. p. 9.

|| "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 320.

the scheme of assassination which was intended to be carried into effect on the 23rd of February. On Tuesday the 22nd, the Earl of Harrowby, President of the Council, was riding in the Park without a servant, when he was addressed by a person who said he had a letter directed to Lord Castle-reagh. On the 23rd Lord Harrowby was to have had a Cabinet dinner at his house in Grosvenor-square, to which, as is usual, none but members of the Cabinet were invited. The person who accosted Lord Harrowby met him the next morning in the Ring at Hyde Park by appointment. That person was Thomas Hidon, a cow-keeper, formerly a member of a Shoemakers' Club, where he knew one of the conspirators, Wilson. By this man Hidon was invited to come forward and be one of a party to destroy his Majesty's ministers, when they were assembled at dinner, by hand grenades thrown under the table, and by the sword if any escaped the explosion. The paper which Lord Harrowby received from Hidon was described as "a note containing the whole plot."* The plans of Thistlewood had been also communicated to an Irishman named Dwyer, who revealed at the Home Office what he had heard. The evidence of Hidon and Dwyer sufficiently agreed to make the Cabinet take their resolution. They determined not to dine at Lord Harrowby's house, but that the preparations for dinner should go on as if no alarm had disarranged them. Mr. Birnie, the police magistrate, was to proceed to Cato-street, with a strong party of police-officers, at seven o'clock, the appointed dinner hour. In Cato-street, which runs parallel with the Edgeware-road, a loft had been engaged by the parties to the plot, and during the afternoon of the 23rd they had been observed conveying sacks into their place of rendezvous. A detachment of the foot-guards had been ordered to turn out for the purpose of accompanying the police, but through some mistake the civil officers had to enter the loft to execute their warrant without the military support. As Smithers, the police officer, first confronted the twenty-four whom he found assembled, having gone up into the loft by a ladder, he was stabbed through the heart by Thistlewood, whilst three others of his comrades were stabbed or shot. The lights were put out, and in the confusion Thistlewood, with about fourteen, escaped. The leader, however, was arrested the next morning, the government having offered a reward of a thousand pounds for his apprehension. When the soldiers arrived they captured nine of the party, with arms and ammunition.

Thistlewood and four of his principal accomplices were tried for high treason in April. Chief Justice Abbott, in passing sentence of death upon the prisoners, expressed what was the universal public sentiment—"That Englishmen, laying aside the national character, should assemble to destroy in cold blood the lives of fifteen persons unknown to them, except from their having filled the highest offices in the State, is without example in the history of this country, and I hope will remain unparalleled for atrocity in all future times." These five were executed on the 1st of May. A motion of Alderman Wood on the day after the execution, the object of which was to blame the conduct of the government in the employment of Edwards, did not call forth the same animadversion as in the former case of Oliver at Derby. Lord Campbell says,—and few will disagree with him in his opinion—"I do not

* "Annual Register," 1820, p. 932.

think that Ministers deserved any censure for the manner in which they conducted themselves in this affair." * In such cases there is always the difficulty of interfering too soon or too late. Some members of the Cabinet proposed that the dinner should take place; that guards should be stationed near lord Harrowby's house, and that the conspirators should be arrested at the moment of their attempt. Others contended that ministers, being in possession of evidence to satisfy reasonable men, ought to stop the progress of the crime before it went on to the last step. "Lord Castlereagh was for going to the dinner in the face of it all at the hour invited, and letting each gentleman arm himself if he thought proper; whilst the duke of Wellington counselled to the course that was taken." †

The Cato-street Conspiracy for a while absorbed every other topic of popular interest. If this extraordinary event had not occurred, the public journals would probably have attached more importance to a short debate in the House of Commons, on the subject of Queen Caroline. On the 21st of February, in a Committee of Supply, Mr. Hume, the Member for the Montrose Burghs,—who, since his return in 1818, had begun to take an active part in the discussion of financial questions—pressed to know whether any distinct provision was to be made for the Queen, inasmuch as the Act which granted to the Princess of Wales the sum of 35,000*l.* a year, expired on the demise of his late Majesty. He complained, also, that the Queen was slighted, and asked why her name was not inserted in the Liturgy. Mr. Tierney took the same course, with an important variation: "While the noble lord (Castlereagh) called her merely that 'high personage' instead of recognising her as the Queen—while all Italy, nay, all Europe, was filled with rumours of her guilt, and of official inquiries about it—while her name was omitted in the Liturgy—while she was not acknowledged,—he could not agree to vote her the means of maintaining herself, until the reasons for such extraordinary circumstances as he had recited should be satisfactorily explained." ‡ Mr. Brougham, who was the chief legal adviser of the Queen, maintained that her title did not depend upon any words in the Liturgy, or upon any Act of Council, or upon any expression of a Minister of the Crown. The provision for the maintenance of her dignity was, it appeared, to be made out of the general sum for which the Minister was about to move, and that arrangement was at present to his mind quite satisfactory. He totally disregarded the rumours which were imagined to cast a cloud of suspicion upon the Queen's character. Till some specific charge should be submitted to that House, his lips should be sealed upon the subject. If any charge should be preferred, he must beg it to be recollected, that this illustrious personage was not remarkable for any slowness to meet accusation, nor for any difficulty to prove her innocence. He trusted no appeal upon this matter would ever be made to any turbulent passions out of doors. Lord Castlereagh rose to thank the honourable and learned gentleman for a speech which did equal honour to his head and his heart.

The perfect agreement between Mr. Brougham and lord Castlereagh must have excited some surprise. But the Queen's legal adviser was no

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. x. p. 3.

† Rush, "Residence at the Court of London," second series, vol. i. p. 289.

‡ Hausard, vol. xii. col. 1625.

doubt fully cognizant of an arrangement by which the Cabinet had on the 21st of February tided over a difficulty which only four days before threatened their removal from office. On the 13th Lord Sidmouth had written to Earl Talbot, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a brief note, in which he apologizes for not having answered a letter received on the 12th. "If you knew how the day was passed you would not be surprised at the omission. The Government is in a very strange and I must acknowledge in a precarious state."* The King had for his confidential private adviser Vice-Chancellor Leach, who, in 1818, had arranged the Milan Commission, for the purpose of making inquiries into those rumours of the conduct of the Princess of Wales, which appeared to have determined the King to press the conduct of some very hazardous enterprise upon his Ministers. Six months before the death of George III., the Cabinet had a full sense of the difficulty and danger that would arise if Caroline of Brunswick should return to England as Queen Consort. But they steadily refused to meet the difficulty by acceding to the Prince Regent's passionate desire for a divorce. With Mr. Brougham, as the Princess of Wales's law-adviser, they then communicated "in order to bring about some arrangement which should hold good in the event of her Royal Highness becoming Queen."† In August, "the lady in question," as Mr. Brougham terms his client, wrote to him to express her resolve to come over herself, saying she had written to Lord Liverpool to tell him so. The Princess of Wales's law-adviser expresses himself with some vivacity upon the public danger, and the private discomfort to himself, that would result from this rash determination. "I am confident from her letter of to-day that she now intends to come, and I am still more clear that her coming would be pregnant with every sort of mischief." Mr. Stapleton, who was private Secretary to Mr. Canning, gives the date of this letter, August 5th, 1819, but does not state to whom it was addressed. It is evidently addressed to some official personage, as Mr. Brougham says, "You had better communicate this. I rely on the honour of the party principally concerned to have justice done to my motives, in the event of the other setting the mob against me, which she is quite capable of doing."‡

In a minute of the Cabinet on the 10th of February, the Ministers communicated to the King their opinion, individually as well as collectively, that a proceeding for high-treason against the Queen was out of the question, and that a measure of divorce might seriously prejudice the interests of the King and of the Monarchy. They honestly stated that any private individual, circumstanced as the King had been with respect to the Princess, could not expect to obtain a divorce according to the established usage of Parliament. They were of opinion, therefore, that the notoriety of what had been and still were the situation and conduct of the Princess of Wales upon the Continent, would induce Parliament to give a ready consent to any measure which, while it afforded to the King security against the invasion of his dignity and comfort by the return of the Princess to England, would be calculated, at the same time, to avoid discussions and disclosures offensive to public

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 310.

† Stapleton, "George Canning and his Times," 1859, p. 265.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

decency, and likely to disturb the peace of the country. They proposed, therefore, a Bill to make provision for the Queen by an annuity, payable only during her continued residence abroad. They thought that the King would be fully justified in withholding those distinctions which it was in the option of his Majesty to confer upon her,—to be named in the Liturgy, and to be crowned. They add, “the intercourse which took place with Mr. Brougham last summer affords just reason for believing that the Princess would be advised to acquiesce in an arrangement founded upon these principles.” On this Minute Mr. Canning made a memorandum. “As a part of the whole I agree to the proposed alteration in the Liturgy. . . . I could not have agreed to the omission of her name if any *penal* process, of whatever kind, had been in contemplation.”*

On the 12th of February the King replied *seriatim* to the various objections to his wishes offered by the Cabinet. He altogether disapproved of the proposal of settling an annuity upon the Princess, payable only during her residence abroad. On the 14th of February the Cabinet re-stated to the King their unanimous opinion that, whatever other measure they might feel themselves justified in proposing, the originating a Bill of Divorce is that which they cannot recommend. On the 17th the King yielded, being “ready, for the sake of the public decorum and the public interest, to make, therefore, this great and this painful sacrifice of his personal feelings.” He recited the terms of the proposed arrangement, “to avoid all future misconception;” and he added, “the King further understands that it is the intention of his servants to assert and justify the omission of the Princess’s name from the Liturgy.”

Such was the prologue to the great “sensation” drama which was to be enacted four months afterwards. All political agitation appeared to have subsided. Mr. Hunt, and others concerned in the Manchester meeting, were tried at York on the 16th of March and nine following days, on the charge of unlawfully assembling for the purpose of moving and inciting to contempt and hatred of the Government. Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson, John Knight, Joseph Healey, and Samuel Bamford, were found guilty, and being brought up for judgment in the Court of King’s Bench, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. At the Leicester Assizes, on the 23rd of March, sir Francis Burdett was found guilty of a seditious libel. The verdict was impeached in the Court of King’s Bench, and the various arguments upon the case had the effect of postponing the judgment till the beginning of 1821. The baronet was sentenced to three months’ imprisonment, and to pay a fine of two thousand pounds. Amidst this political quiet, now and then a flying rumour about the Queen appeared in the newspapers. In the gossip of the higher circles there was no foreboding of a coming storm. “Brougham attends frequently at the Treasury upon the Queen’s business,” writes Sydney Smith on the 15th of April. Every one was thinking of the expected Coronation, in which it appears to be understood as a matter of course, that the Queen was not to appear. “The King sits all day long with Lady C——, sketching processions, and looking at jewels; in the meantime, she tells everywhere all that he tells to her.”† The placidity of the royal mind

* The Minutes and the Memorandum are given in Mr. Stapleton’s work, pp. 266 to 274.

† “Mémoir of Sydney Smith,” vol. ii. p. 195.

appears to have been somewhat disturbed in the midst of these pleasant occupations. On the 26th of April the Chancellor writes to his daughter, "Our Royal Master seems to have got into temper again, as far as I could judge from his conversation with me this morning. He has been pretty well disposed to part with us all, because we would not make additions to his revenue."* These minor troubles have a happy capacity for adjustment in a constitutional monarchy, when responsible Ministers possess the requisite degree of firmness. The King opened the session of the new parliament in person on the 27th of April, and had a brief popularity in declaring that he left entirely at the disposal of Parliament his interest in the hereditary revenues, and that so far from desiring any arrangement which might lead to the imposition of new burdens upon his people, or even diminish the amount of reduction incident to his accession, he had no wish that any addition whatever should be made to the settlement adopted by Parliament in 1816.

Amidst this sunshine the little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, was seen from afar. Some members of Opposition began again to call attention to the position of the Queen. Mr. Tierney, in a debate on the Civil List on the 8th of May, said that he never expected to be called upon to vote for a Bill to provide for the maintenance of the royal family and household, out of which the Queen of England herself was to be excluded, after being recognized by the lord high chancellor. His allusion was to this circumstance: In the Court of Chancery, on the 11th of April, Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman had presented their appointments as attorney-general and solicitor-general to the Queen, which appointments the lord chancellor immediately accepted, saying that "he would consult no views, and regard no considerations in the matter, except such as were purely professional." In the last days of May the preparations for the King's Coronation still formed the chief topic at court. The committee for settling the forms of that ceremony had reported to the King that, as there was to be no crowning of a Queen, peeresses should not be summoned to attend. His Majesty had a ready answer, that as "Queen Elizabeth, though a lady, had both peers and peeresses, so he, though he has no Queen, will have both ladies and gentlemen to attend him."† While these discussions were proceeding within the palace, the people in public places were thinking very seriously of some other possible occurrence than a coronation—so seriously, that they committed their opinions to the usual issue of a bet. Some, who thought the Queen would not come very speedily, paid fifty guineas to receive a guinea a day till she did come. This was the common entry in the gambler's 'book' on the 29th of May, on which day Eldon wrote, "I retain my old opinion that she will not come unless she is insane." On the 1st of June the Queen was at St. Omers, having rapidly travelled thither, accompanied by alderman Wood. She had previously despatched a courier with letters to London, demanding that a yacht should be sent to convey her to England, and that a palace should be provided for her reception. The Cabinet authorized lord Hutchinson immediately to proceed to St. Omers to make the proposal of an annuity according to the arrangement of February, but with conditions which appear to have been capable of a different construction from those which formed part of the

* Twiss, "Life of Eldon," vol. ii. p. 362.

† *Ibid.*, p. 366.

proposition made in the "intercourse which took place with Mr. Brougham last summer." Her Majesty's attorney-general accompanied lord Hutchinson. The proposition, which it appears was made then for the first time in a letter addressed by lord Hutchinson to Mr. Brougham, and which, as her legal adviser, he read to the Queen, was rejected by her under his advice.* Her Majesty, with her civic councillor, hurried off to Calais, was quickly on board a packet, landed at Dover amidst the shouts of the populace, and entering London on the evening of the 6th surrounded by huzzaing thousands, took up her abode at the house of alderman Wood in South Audley-street. On that same evening a message from the King was presented to both Houses, stating the arrival of the Queen, and announcing that his Majesty had thought it right to communicate certain papers respecting the conduct of her Majesty since she left this country. On the table of each House a green bag was laid which contained the papers, sealed up.

In the House of Lords, after some discussion, it was agreed that the papers should be referred to a Secret Committee. In the House of Commons, previous to taking into consideration the King's Message, Mr. Brougham, as her Majesty's attorney-general, presented a communication from the Queen, in which she stated that she had returned to England in consequence of measures pursued against her honour and her peace by agents abroad. She protested against the formation of a Secret Committee to examine documents privately prepared by her adversaries. She complained of the omission of her name in the Liturgy, as calculated to prejudice her cause. Lord Castle-reagh declared that the Secret Committee was only a preliminary step, to ascertain whether there was any case to proceed with. Mr. Brougham strongly resisted the appointment of the Committee, and commented in the most unqualified terms upon the proposition made to the Queen, which was nothing more nor less than to ask her to say, "Give me fifty thousand a year, and I will plead guilty." Mr. Canning, in vindicating the conduct of the Government, expressed his earnest desire, that this unhappy business should be terminated without any further public proceedings. In reply to Mr. Brougham's complaint of the terms offered to the Queen, he declared that they were the same terms which the Queen's legal adviser had previously considered reasonable. Mr. Brougham, in reply, complained that if Mr. Canning had not considered himself bound to secrecy, he, Mr. Brougham, felt himself, in some degree, under that obligation. He pledged himself to show that there was nothing inconsistent in his taking part in the negotiation of July, and in his present course. There was one circumstance in the date of the transaction referred to, which constituted an essential difference between the terms then suggested, and those proposed by lord Hutchinson. "The illustrious person was not then Queen, and it was a very different proposal that she should forbear to assume a title which might fall to her at some distant and contingent time, and that she should lay down what she had in course of law assumed. Widely different, too, was that proposal from the proposition of lord Hutchinson; the one calling on the Princess of Wales not to assume a particular title, which might afterwards descend to her, the other to renounce any title taken from the royal family of England." †

* Hansard, vol. i. new series, col. 973.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. second series, col. 971.

Mr. Brougham declared, on his honour, that her Majesty was not in the slightest degree implicated in the proceeding adverted to. "The right honourable gentleman might treat as he pleased the person who made those propositions, but her Majesty had no more knowledge, no more influence over those propositions, than the child unborn." The historical inquirer may ask, how was it that the Queen had "no more knowledge than the child unborn" of those propositions? We cannot doubt that when the time for a complete revelation shall arrive, there will be a juster solution of the question than the suspicions of Mr. Canning of an absence of "plain dealing;" less tinged, possibly, by political rivalry than his assertion that "the Government was not prepared to pursue their own course by any means but those which were indicated to them; and these indications came from a quarter which wished for extremities."*

The temper of the House of Commons on Wednesday, the 7th of June, was signally manifested by its cordial assent to Mr. Wilberforce's motion, that the debate should be adjourned till the following Friday. Mr. Wilberforce says in his Diary, "I endeavoured to interpose a pause, during which the two parties might have an opportunity of contemplating coolly the prospect before them."† The proceedings of the House of Lords were also suspended. On the Friday, Mr. Brougham, by command of the Queen, transmitted a note to lord Liverpool, in which her Majesty said that, submitting to the declared sense of Parliament, she was willing to consider any arrangements that might be proposed consistent with her dignity and honour. Lord Liverpool, in reply, referred to a note delivered to Mr. Brougham on the 15th of April, as the proposition made on the part of the King. The Queen replied that she had never seen this note. Mr. Brougham explained that her official advisers had not had an opportunity of delivering it previous to the interview with lord Hutchinson. It was then agreed that two of the King's confidential servants should meet two persons to be named by the Queen, to frame an arrangement for settling the necessary particulars of her Majesty's future situation, upon the condition of her residence abroad. The duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh were appointed on the part of the King, and Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman on the part of the Queen. This negotiation failed through the want of concession on either side upon one point alone. The insertion of the Queen's name in the Liturgy was demanded on the one side, and refused on the other, although something like an equivalent was tendered by the agents of the King. Mr. Wilberforce has succinctly stated the general character of these proceedings. "The concessions made by the King's servants, as Mr. Brougham afterwards declared in the House of Commons, were various and great. The name and rights of a Queen were granted to her Majesty without reserve, any recognition of which had formerly been carefully avoided. A royal yacht, a frigate, &c., were offered. It was agreed that her name and rank should be notified at the Court either of Rome or Milan—the capitals of the countries in which she had expressed her intention to reside; and that an Address should be presented to the Queen no less than another to the King, to thank

* Stapleton, "George Canning and his Times," p. 300. Letter from Mr. Canning to Mr. Huskisson, October 2nd, 1820.

† Life, vol. v. p. 55.

her Majesty for having acceded to the wish of the House of Commons."* On the 19th of June this negotiation was announced to Parliament as having failed. Again Mr. Wilberforce attempted to put an end to this unfortunate conflict, by moving a resolution on the 22nd of June, in which, amidst many qualifying phrases, the House declared its opinion that if the Queen would forbear to press farther the adoption of those propositions on which any material difference yet remained, such forbearance would by no means be understood to indicate any wish to shrink from inquiry. The motion was agreed to by a very large majority. Mr. Wilberforce, as part of a deputation of members, waited the next morning upon the Queen with this resolution. He and his companions were saluted by the groans of the populace. The answer of the Queen rejected the proposed mediation. When this attempt failed Mr. Wilberforce was accused in the newspapers "with trifling with the House of Commons, and attempting to deceive the people." He had in his possession a triumphant answer to the charge in the positive engagement of the Queen's chief law-adviser. 'She will accede to your Address,' he wrote to Mr. Wilberforce (June 22nd), 'I pledge myself.' His influence was overborne by a less sagacious counsellor, and with 'a political forbearance which,' says the party whom it spared, 'I never knew equalled,' he suppressed this unfulfilled pledge, and bore quietly the groundless charge of an unreasonable interference.† There was now an end of all attempts at compromise. Mr. Canning, when he saw that the chances of an amicable adjustment were over, waited upon the King to express the impossibility for him to take part in any criminatory proceedings towards a person to whom he had formerly stood in confidential relations. The King, who sent his answer through lord Liverpool, insisted that Mr. Canning should remain one of his Ministers, following his own course with regard to the Queen. He went abroad, to avoid taking any part in discussions of the House of Commons. That House adjourned on the 26th, that the initiatory proceedings upon the Green Bag might take place in the Upper House. On the 4th of July the Secret Committee of the Lords made its Report, declaring that the evidence affecting the honour of the Queen was such as to require a solemn inquiry, which might be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding. Lord Liverpool then proposed a Bill of Pains and Penalties, which had for its object "to deprive her Majesty Queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions of Queen-Consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth." The second reading of the Bill was fixed for the 17th of August, and on that day commenced what is popularly known as The Queen's Trial.

It is scarcely necessary for us to refer to the chronicles of the time for the purpose of recalling the impressions which live in our memory of the extraordinary scenes of that summer and autumn of 1820. On the 3rd of August the Queen had removed from her temporary abode in London, to take up her residence at Brandenburgh House at Hammersmith. For four months from that day there never was a cessation of processions marching to Hammersmith, or of cavaleades shouting around the Queen's carriage. On the day before the judicial

* "Life of Wilberforce," vol. v. p. 56.

† *Ibid.* p. 65.

proceedings commenced, addresses were presented to the Queen by deputations from the county of Middlesex, from St. Leonards Shoreditch, and from the Mechanics of the Metropolis. These assemblages, whether led by the radical Sheriff of Middlesex, in his state carriage, or by enthusiastic committeemen with white wands, gradually swelled into a multitude, of which the advanced guard were trampling down the laurels in her Majesty's garden at Hammersmith, before the rear-guard had passed Hyde Park Corner. Not on that 13th of November, 1642, when London poured forth its thousands whilst Rupert was fighting in the streets of Brentford, was there a greater earnestness than in those mechanics who marched to Hammersmith under a burning sun, and marched back again, hungry and weary, satisfied that their shouts had advanced the cause of justice for the oppressed. It is impossible not to recognize something of grandeur in such demonstrations, however capable they may be of affording matter for ridicule:

“ All kinds of addresses
From Collars of SS,
To venders of cresses,
Came up like a fair ;
And all through September,
October, November,
And down to December,
They hunted this Hare ! ” *

The weekly journal from which we quote these lines was the chief of those new papers which “ were established with the professed object of maintaining a constant war against all who espoused her Majesty's cause.” † There certainly never was a time in which the proper functions of the press were more degraded to the purposes of private slander. But it must be said in fairness, that if the Queen and her partizans were attacked with the coarsest reviling or the bitterest wit, the King and his supporters were no less subject to libellous attacks far exceeding the accustomed licence of periodical writing. Milton has described the controversialists of London, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, assenting to the force of reason and conviction. It is scarcely necessary to point the contrast furnished by the writers of 1820. The violence and ribaldry of the journals were perfectly in accord with the floods of indecency that were poured out every morning in the short-hand reports of the evidence on the trial—reports which were regularly printed by authority, circulated amongst the Peers, and thence duly copied in the daily papers.

If the scenes that were passing in the streets were extraordinary, certainly the appearance presented by the House of Lords, on any one of the days of this trial, was no less remarkable. That House, the old Court of Requests, had been fitted up anew on the accession of George IV. The elevated arm-chair, from which former monarchs addressed the Parliament, had been supplanted by a magnificent throne—a canopy of crimson velvet, supported by Corinthian columns, and surmounted by the imperial crown. For this special occasion of the Queen's trial, galleries had been erected on each side of the House for the accommodation of the unusual number

* From Theodore Hook's song of “ Hunting the Hare,” in “ John Bull.”

† “ Lord Brougham's Speeches”—Introduction to the case of Blacoe.

of Peers who were expected to attend. A chair of state was placed for the Queen a little beyond the bar, fronting the throne and the woolsack. The places for her counsel were immediately behind her. On the 21st of August, the Attorney-General was concluding his speech in support of the Bill, when drums and trumpets, mixed with the shouts of the people, announced the Queen's arrival. She takes her seat. The interpreters being sworn, Teodora Majocchi was called in. The Queen turned suddenly round, uttered a loud exclamation, and rushed out of the House. This man had been one of her domestic servants. The examination of witnesses for the Bill proceeded till the 6th of September. The Solicitor-General summed up on the 7th, and on the 9th, upon an application from the Queen's counsel, an adjournment took place till the 3rd of October. The examinations and cross-examinations of the witnesses for the Bill, gross and revolting as were many of the details, were signal exhibitions of legal acuteness. It was impossible to deny the right of counsel to put questions offensive to delicacy; but it was scarcely possible not to feel some indignation when a noble lord now and then asked a question which the most brazen advocate would have attempted to clothe in somewhat more decent language. The universal licence of that unhallowed time seemed occasionally to make some of the highest forget their self-respect. There probably would have been more instances of unseemly interference with the ordinary course of legal inquiry if one man had not stood in the midst of that assembly, whose whole bearing was that of authority and command; whose look, denouncing "battle dangerous" if any rash offence were given, made the boldest peer prudent. The great admiral, who in the bay of Algiers, was "all-fightful," complained of "the disrespect of counsel [Mr. Brougham] in fixing his eyes on him at the time that he was presuming to check him for an expression which had not been used by him, but by another noble lord." There was another of the Queen's law-officers who dared even to fix his eyes upon a prince of the blood, exclaiming, "Come forth, thou slanderer." Some who heard these things might well fear that the old respect for "degree, priority, and place" was coming to an end.

On the 3rd of October Mr. Brougham entered on the Queen's defence. His speech on that day and the following may be cited amongst the greatest examples of forensic eloquence. "At half-past twelve to-day," writes lord Dudley, "Brougham concluded a most able speech with a magnificently eloquent peroration. The display of his power and fertility of mind in this business has been amazing; and these extraordinary efforts seem to cost him nothing. He dined at Holland House yesterday, and staid till eleven at night, talking 'de omni scibili'—French cookery, Italian poetry, and so on."* Mr. Rush, the American minister, notices as illustrative of the English bar, and individually of Mr. Brougham, that during the adjournment of the Queen's trial, her Attorney-General attended the assizes at Yorkshire, and engaged in a cause in behalf of a poor old woman, upon whose pig-cote a trespass had been committed, for which trespass the old woman obtained a verdict of forty shillings damages. † From the 4th to the 24th of October, the examination of witnesses on behalf of the Queen was continued. Mr. Denman then

* Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 267.

† "Residence at the Court of London," second series, vol. i. p. 339.

summed up the evidence in an address, which lasted two days. His denunciations were so unmeasured, that some noble lords complained of the extraordinary licence used by the Queen's counsel. Mr. Rush has remarked of this time, when the most daring words were written and spoken with impunity, not only that every day produced its fiery libels against the King and his adherents, but that Mr. Denman, addressing himself to the assembled Peerage of the realm, denounced in thundering tones one of the brothers of the King. Perhaps more remarkable was the boldness of the same counsel, which compared the proceedings against the Queen to circumstances in the history of Imperial Rome described by Tacitus—how Octavia, the wife of Nero, in consequence of an unjust aversion which existed in the mind of her husband, was dismissed, and a mistress taken in her place; how she was banished by means of a conspiracy, in which slaves were produced as evidence against her, although the greater part of her servants protested her innocence; how Nero persevered, although she was hailed as in triumph by a generous people—and how, on a second conspiracy, she was convicted, condemned, and banished to an island in the Mediterranean. Not so bold, but equally cutting, was the application by Mr. Brougham of a passage from Milton. Having asked John Allen Powell, the solicitor employed on the Milan Commission,—who is your client or employer in this case? and being debarred from putting this question, the Queen's Attorney-General exclaimed, "Up to this moment I have never been able to trace the local habitation or the name of the unknown being who is the plaintiff in this proceeding. I know not but it may vanish into thin air. I know not under what shape it exists—

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

It is not our intention to furnish even the very briefest abstract of the evidence that was brought forward to sustain, or to rebut, the charge against the Queen upon which the Bill of Pains and Penalties was founded,—namely, that her royal highness conducted herself towards Bartolomeo Bergami, a foreigner engaged in her service in a menial situation, both in public and private, "with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom, and carried on with him a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse." The impression of the character of the Queen, produced upon all impartial persons by the publication of the evidence, was pretty much the same as that expressed by Sydney Smith after the proceedings had closed:—"The style of manners she has adopted does not exactly tally with that of holy women in the days that are gone, but let us be charitable and hope for the best." † The evidence

* The orator dovetailed with great skill inconsecutive lines of the famous passage in "Paradise Lost." The allusion might have been too strong for his audience if he had given the entire passage:—

' Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.'

† "Memoir," vol. ii. p. 206.

and the arguments of counsel having been concluded, the peers, on the 2nd of November, came to the question of the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. The question was debated for five nights; when the motion for the second reading of the Bill was carried by 123 against 95. The majority was smaller than the Government had expected. It was thought by many that this was "too small a majority for such a Bill to be sent into such a place as the House of Commons."* But the majority was still more reduced when the Divorce clause came under consideration. Some peers were willing to pass the Bill if this clause were removed. In the course of the proceedings lord Harrowby had intimated that the Divorce clause might be withdrawn. Mr. Canning, watching the progress of these proceedings from Paris, at the beginning of October, had written to lord Liverpool, that though he thought the omission of the Divorce clause was likely enough to facilitate the passing of the Bill in the House of Lords, that omission would furnish an argument against it in the House of Commons. The Bill would become "a pure penal enactment for immorality; and when, from the beginning of time, did such an enactment take place? And where, if it take place now, is this new species of legislation to end?" † The Opposition saw clearly that the way to defeat the Bill was to press for retaining the Divorce clause; and that it should be retained was carried by a majority of 129 to 62. On the 10th of November, on the motion that the Bill be read a third time, the majority was only nine—108 to 99. After the division, Lord Dacre was about to present a petition from the Queen, praying to be heard by counsel against the passing of the Bill. Lord Liverpool rose and said that such a course would not now be necessary:—"Had the third reading been carried by as considerable a number of peers as the second had been, he and his noble colleagues would have felt it their duty to persevere in the Bill, and to send it down to the other branch of the legislature. In the present state of the country, however, and with the division of sentiment so nearly balanced, just evinced by their lordships, they had come to the determination not to proceed further with it. It was his intention, accordingly, to move 'That the further consideration of the Bill be adjourned to this day six months.'"

There was a general joy throughout the country at the termination of these proceedings. Those who looked carefully into the matter did not think with the excited multitude that the result was an acquittal of the Queen; but all rejoiced that the time was come when the heads of decent families would not be obliged to hide the newspaper from the eyes of their daughters, and when the legislature would have some better work before it than the discussion of a measure whose only fruits had been—"a Government brought into contempt and detestation; a kingdom thrown into such ferment and convulsion, as no other kingdom or Government ever recovered from without a revolution." ‡ There was one advantage to the Government and to the country, which Mr. Canning could not so well see as those who at home were watching the course of public opinion. What the Ministers at the end of 1819 were dreading as symptoms of revolution, were put an end

* "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 179—Letter of Mr. Bootle Wilbraham.

† Stapleton, "George Canning and his Times," p. 293.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

to at the end of 1820 by the very "ferment and convulsion" about the Queen. Mr. Wilbraham writes from Latham House to lord Colchester, during the extremest violence of the popular feeling, "Radicalism has taken the shape of affection for the Queen, and has deserted its old form; for we are all as quiet as lambs in this part of England, and you would not imagine that this could have been a disturbed country twelve months ago."*

On the 23rd of November Parliament was prorogued. On the 29th the Queen went in procession to St. Paul's, to return thanks for her deliverance from a great peril and affliction. In the next session of Parliament there were violent discussions on her Majesty's affairs, particularly on her continued exclusion from the Liturgy. An annuity of fifty thousand pounds was provided for her by Act of Parliament. Her popularity gradually declined, and in April, 1821, it was written—"The Queen is gone by as a topic of inflammation; and her taking quietly the fifty thousand pounds a year, after her protest and declaration that she would not till her right was acknowledged, was a *coup de grace* to her. It is said that an attempt is making by lady Jersey, who patronises her, to procure a drawing-room at Brandenburg House, but it will undoubtedly fail. She is now hardly named in society or in the newspapers."† Cobbett, who had addressed the most violent letters to the Queen, stimulating her to resist every attempt at compromise, says that after the abandonment of the Bill, when the Whig faction flocked about her, the people, who hated this faction more than the other, troubled her with no more addresses. "The faction agitated questions about her in Parliament, concerning which the people cared not a straw: what she was doing soon became as indifferent to them as what any other person of the royal family was doing. The people began again to occupy themselves with the business of obtaining a parliamentary reform; and her way of life, and her final fate, soon became objects of curiosity much more than of interest with the people."‡

It is scarcely necessary, after the lapse of more than forty years, to enter upon any detail of the discussions upon questions connected with the Queen, agitated in Parliament after the great investigation was concluded—questions about which the arch-demagogue declared "the people cared not a straw." These discussions occupied many hundred columns of Hansard's Debates during the Second Session of the Seventh Imperial Parliament. On the 11th of July, the last day of the session, and only eight days before the time appointed for the King's coronation, Mr. Hume moved that an Address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would issue his proclamation for the coronation of the Queen, "thereby consulting the true dignity of the crown, the tranquillity of the metropolis, and the general expectations of the people." At the moment when Mr. Hume was proposing his resolution the usher of the black rod summoned the Commons to attend in the House of Peers, where Commissioners were assembled to prorogue the Parliament. The motion necessarily fell to the ground. The Coronation took place on the 19th of July. The Queen was destined to a more bitter humiliation than:

* "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 164.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 218—Wilbraham to Lord Colchester.

‡ Cobbett's "History of George IV.," § 454.

any that she had previously endured. The Privy Council, on the 10th of July, had decided against a claim of her right to be crowned at the same time as the King. The next day she wrote to lord Sidmouth to declare her intention to be present at the ceremony. In this injudicious and undignified determination her Majesty persisted. Between six and seven o'clock in the morning she presented herself at every entrance to the Abbey, and at each was denied admission. The same refusal attended her demand to enter Westminster Hall. A few of the populace huzzaed, and a few hissed, but the prevailing sentiment was indifference. At the beginning of August the Queen was attacked with internal inflammation, and she died on the night of the 7th. The King had sailed for Dublin on the 1st, and he received at Holyhead the intelligence of this sudden termination of a domestic trouble which had long been a source of public anxiety. Before this close of the unhappy lady's life, the people had very generally begun to feel that in their compassion for the desolate and oppressed, they had somewhat overstepped the safe line of a constitutional respect for the chief magistrate. There was a riot at the funeral procession of the Queen's remains from Brandenburg House. They were to be conveyed to Harwich, and there put on board a government sloop, which was to sail to Stade for the purpose of conveying them for interment at Brunswick. The mourning cavalcade was to avoid the crowded streets; but a mob had determined to force it through the city. The Life Guards having been rudely assaulted at Cumberland Gate, leading out of Hyde Park to Tyburn, a serious conflict ensued, when two of the assailants of the soldiers were shot. The procession went through the city with the lord mayor at its head. From this time there was an end of all excitement about the Queen.

There was one result, however, which was of more political importance than the continued struggles of a few demagogues for notoriety. Mr. Canning, on the 12th of December, 1820, resigned his office of Secretary of the Board of Control, on the ground that the discussions respecting the Queen in the session of 1821 would be so intermixed with the general business that a minister could not absent himself without appearing to abandon the parliamentary duties of his station, nor could he be present taking no part in such discussions without producing embarrassment to himself and perplexity to his colleagues. The King accepted his resignation, but with a smothered displeasure at the course Mr. Canning and his immediate friends had taken. Upon the death of the Queen lord Liverpool strongly pressed the readmission of Mr. Canning to the Cabinet, and the King as stoutly resisted it. His Majesty was not unsupported by some of his official advisers, who disliked the presence amongst them of the most eloquent of the advocates of Catholic Emancipation, and who, upon this and most other questions, dreaded "the flexible innovator" more than they admired "the eloquent conservative." *

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 23.

CHAPTER X.

Death of Napoleon Bonaparte—Parliamentary strictures on the measures adopted for his secure detention—Circular of the Congress at Laybach—Parliament—Irish outrages—Agricultural Distress—New Corn Law—The King's visit to Scotland—Death of Lord Londonderry—His foreign Administration—Mr. Canning Secretary for Foreign Affairs—His instructions to the duke of Wellington in his mission to Verona—French invasion of Spain—Mr. Canning's remonstrances—The Spanish American separated States—Consuls appointed—Opposition to Mr. Canning's decree to recognize their independence—Their recognition by the conclusion of commercial treaties—Circumstances which give to a neutral power the right of recognizing States which have effectually asserted their independence—Discussions with the minister of the United States of North America—Spanish aggression upon Portugal—Promptitude in sending troops for her defence—Important changes in our Commercial Policy—Mr. Huskisson and his defamers—The transfer of England to "the camp of Progress and Liberty"—The Present and the Past.

ON the 5th of May, 1821, died Napoleon Bonaparte. Six years had passed since, in the great festival of the Champ de Mai, he had announced that the people who had called him to the throne must prepare for war. The issue to himself was his imprisonment in this lonely island of the Atlantic, long suffering under a chronic disease, and suffering more from his total want of power to endure his fate with equanimity. A hurricane swept over the island as Napoleon was dying, shaking houses to their foundation, and tearing up the largest trees. We cannot avoid thinking of the similar phenomenon that attended the death of Cromwell. The faithful followers who were around his bed might have felt the sentiment, if they did not know the lines, of Waller:—

"We must resign! Heaven his great soul does claim
In storms, as loud as his immortal fame:
His dying groan, his last breath, shakes our isle,
And trees uncut fall for his funeral pile."

But the last thoughts of the dying men were essentially different. To Napoleon the war of the elements seemed as if "the noise of battle hurtled in the air," and he died muttering the words, *Tête d'Armée*. Cromwell, also a great soldier, passed away with thoughts of peace in his mind, praying that God would give His people "consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love." The death of him who had so long filled the world with the terror of his name, produced no great sensation in England or in Europe. There had been strong differences of opinion expressed in parliament as to the character of the measures which had been adopted to render his detention secure. It

* "Ode on the Death of the Lord Protector."

was urged that an unnecessary degree of restraint was imposed upon the captive, and that the governor of the island was a harsh and injudicious jailor, who performed what he thought his duty in the most vexatious spirit. The answer may be found in a parliamentary speech of lord Bathurst; "Let them suppose that, instead of sitting to discuss whether a little more or a little less restriction should be imposed, they had thus to examine sir Hudson Lowe at their bar: 'How and when did he escape?' 'In the early part of the evening, and from his garden.' 'Had his garden no sentinels?' 'The sentinels were removed.' 'Why were they removed?' 'General Bonaparte desired it—they were hateful to his feelings; they were then removed, and thus was he enabled to escape.'" Prudent and necessary as these restrictions might have been; querulous and insulting as Napoleon undoubtedly was in all his intercourse with the British officer who was responsible for his safe guardianship; it must still be lamented that a man was placed over our fallen enemy who, wincing under the pettiness of the captive's exaggerated complaints, appears to have forgotten how great a part he had played in the world. It is not to be supposed that sir Hudson Lowe felt himself to be an instrument of retributive justice, or was possessed with an overwhelming feeling of the hatefulness of that selfish ambition which had desolated Europe. It was for an American statesman, who believed that the great duty of his country was to continue in "peace and fraternity with mankind," to give his testimony against the character of Napoleon as set forth by Barry O'Meara. Mr. Jefferson thought that this account placed him in a higher scale of understanding than he had allotted him. He had thought him the greatest of all military captains, but an indifferent statesman. His conversations with O'Meara proved a mind of great expansion; but the book also proved that Nature had denied him the moral sense. "If he could seriously and repeatedly affirm, that he had raised himself to power without ever having committed a crime, it proves that he wanted totally the sense of right and wrong. If he could consider the million of human lives which he had destroyed or caused to be destroyed; the desolations of countries by plunderings, burnings, and famine; the destitutions of lawful rulers of the world without the consent of their constituents, to place his brothers and sisters on their thrones; the cutting up of established societies of men, and jumbling them discordantly together at his caprice; the demolition of the fairest hopes of mankind for the recovery of their rights and amelioration of their condition; and all the numberless train of his other enormities; the man, I say, who could consider all these as no crimes, must have been a moral monster, against whom every hand should have been lifted to slay him."*

On the death of Napoleon there was a larger question presenting itself to the minds of thoughtful men than that which arose out of the contests between the captive of St. Helena and the keeper who was set over him. The condition of the world suggested very grave doubts whether the nations had acquired any guarantees for their freedom or for their repose by the overthrow of the one great oppressor. At the exact period of Napoleon's death the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had assembled at Laybach,

* Tucker's "Life of Jefferson," vol. ii. pp 500-1.

and they addressed a circular despatch to their ministers at foreign courts, in which they proclaimed the doctrine that "useful or necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of states, ought only to emanate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power. Penetrated with this eternal truth, the sovereigns have not hesitated to proclaim it with frankness and vigour. They have declared that, in respecting the rights and independence of all legitimate power, they regarded as legally null, and as disavowed by the principles which constituted the public right of Europe, all pretended reform operated by revolt and open hostility." The sovereigns assembled in Congress did not condescend to explain by what other modes those who contended for constitutional government against a despotic rule could establish their desire for reform. They could not proclaim their demands, however moderate or just, through the authoritative voice of a legislative assembly or the discussions of a free press. The denial of these safeguards of liberty had driven them into revolt and hostility to "legitimate power." This declaration of Laybach was not a mere threat of the mode in which these absolute sovereigns would act under any possible contingency of revolt and open hostility of peoples against rulers. The two great monarchs of Germany had denied to their own subjects the representative government which they had promised. They were now engaged, with the support of the autocrat of Russia, in putting down by military force the insurrections in Naples and Piedmont which had given these portions of Italy constitutions in which the popular voice might have expression. Spain had again obtained her Cortes, and had shaken off for awhile the tyranny of Ferdinand the Seventh. The old irresponsible principles of legitimacy were to be re-established in Italy, in Spain, probably in all Europe, as in the times before that great convulsion of France, which, full of instruction, had taught no wisdom to the three monarchs who now assumed to be the armed police of the world. If Bonaparte had deposed lawful rulers without the consent of their constituents, the Holy Alliance was prepared to maintain tyrannical rulers who were hated by their subjects. If Bonaparte demolished the fairest hopes of mankind for the recovery of their rights and amelioration of their condition, the Holy Alliance had succeeded to his unrighteous office. If he had destroyed millions of lives, and had desolated countries for his ambition, the Holy Alliance was ready to perpetrate the same crimes with an equal deficiency of the moral sense, and with an odious hypocrisy which he did not care to assume. The foreign relations of England will, for a few years, be determined by the preponderance of despotic or liberal tendencies in her government. Upon a right choice of men to guide her destinies in this crisis of the world's affairs will depend her future position among the nations.

The man was not in the Cabinet of 1821 who was to shape the foreign policy of England by other principles than those which many construed as subservience to the decrees of absolutism. Nor was he there when the "Gazette" of the 12th of January, 1822, announced that the Marquess of Buckingham was created a Duke. This was the official notification that the Grenvilles had joined the ministry. Lord Grenville had retired from public life to spend the evening of his days in planting the pines of Australia around his wastes at Dropmore. His party was represented in the Cabinet

by Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, who filled the office which Mr. Canning had resigned at the end of 1820. A more important accession to the ministry was the substitution of Mr. Peel for lord Sidmouth, as Secretary of State for the Home Department. By the coalition with the Grenvilles there was an accession of official support to Catholic Emancipation. But this was neutralized by the appointment of Mr. Peel, whose opinions on that question were deemed incapable of change. Some hope for Ireland was derived from the nomination of the marquess Wellesley as Lord Lieutenant, in the place of earl Talbot.

The Session of Parliament was opened by the King in person on the 5th of February. His Majesty continued to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country. In his visit to Ireland he derived the sincerest gratification from the loyalty and attachment manifested by all classes of his subjects. He believed that his presence in Ireland had been productive of very beneficial effect, although it was a matter of the deepest concern to his Majesty that a spirit of outrage had led to daring and systematic violations of the law. The commerce and manufactures of the kingdom were flourishing; the agricultural interest was deeply depressed. It is scarcely necessary for us to record the wearisome debates in which the real remedies for Irish Outrage and Agricultural Distress were kept out of view. A renewal of the Insurrection Act, and a suspension of the Habeas Corpus, were determined on, for tranquillizing Ireland. The relief of Agriculture was to be effected by a loan to parishes for the mitigation of local distress, and by the repeal of the Malt-Tax. The pressure of taxation and the change in the currency, were the imputed causes of the adversity of the cultivators and the uncertain resources of the landowners. Some began to think that the protective laws had some effect which was not beneficial to the industry of the farmer. Lord Liverpool expressed his belief that no material or immediate relief could be effected by an alteration of the Corn-laws. He admitted that the existing system was a failure, inasmuch as it gave a complete monopoly to the British grower until wheat reached eighty shillings a quarter, and after that point had been attained suddenly permitted the importation of foreign corn without any restraint whatever. In 1816, 1817, and 1818, there had been three deficient harvests, and prices having risen above the rate by which the opening of the ports was decided, immense supplies of foreign corn were thrown upon the market. From 1819 to 1822 the native growers had the monopoly of the home market, and during these years the agriculturists endured the severest seasons of distress which had been experienced by that body in modern times; and the engagements which they had been induced to make, under the fallacious hopes of the Corn-laws of 1815, swept them from the land by thousands.* A new Act was passed in 1822 to permit importation, upon a high duty when wheat had reached seventy shillings a quarter, and at lower duties when it was above that price and under eighty-five shillings. This Act was inoperative, as prices never reached the assigned limit. The time was far distant for going to the root of the great evil to the producers of fluctuating prices, and of the greater evil to consumers of alternations of abundance and starvation.

The great measure of Catholic Relief, which was carried in the House of

* See an able article in "The Wheat Trade," in "Companion to the Almanac" for 1839.

Commons in 1821, but was rejected by the Lords, was on the 30th of April in the present session proposed by Mr. Canning in a modified form. He introduced a Bill to relieve Roman Catholic Peers from the disabilities imposed upon them with regard to the right of sitting and voting in the House of Peers. The motion was carried in the House of Commons, but was rejected in the Lords. It was at this time understood that Mr. Canning was to leave the great scene of his oratorical triumphs, and to accept the post of Governor-General of India. "Canning, Governor-General!" wrote Mr. Ward from Florence. "It is impossible to say that this is the most natural or desirable termination to the career of the most distinguished speaker in the English parliament; but I have no doubt but that the appointment is a fortunate one for the country he is sent to govern. In his case, I think I should have judged differently, and preferred the House of Commons."* To be in the House of Commons without office would have been a sore trial for the man who naturally looked forward to be the prime minister of England, when royal prejudices and party rivalries should have ceased to impede his progress. He had made up his mind that his future exertions should be devoted to India. He had been five years at the Board of Control, and he knew how much might be effected, by a wise policy of peace, to make the British rule one of justice and benevolence. His future was otherwise ordained.

On the 10th of August the King had embarked at Greenwich, for the purpose of visiting Scotland. On the 18th he landed at Leith. The reception which his Scottish subjects gave to the first sovereign of the House of Brunswick, who had come amongst them to banish the last lingering remembrance of the House of Stuart, was most cordial and sincere. It was said of George the Fourth, when he visited Ireland in the previous year, that "he seems to have behaved not like a sovereign coming in pomp and state to visit a part of his dominions, but like a popular candidate come down upon an electioneering trip.† In Edinburgh, the King, holding his levées in Holyrood House, dressed in the Highland costume, was dignified as well as gracious. At a banquet given by the Lord Provost, he proposed the health of his host as "Sir William Anderson, baronet,"—a dignity thus extemporaneously conferred,—and he afterwards gave as a toast, "Health to its chieftains! and God bless the land of cakes." When he quitted Scotland he left behind him a reputation which made the well-wishers of the monarchy, throughout the kingdom, regret that he generally adopted a system of seclusion which allowed few opportunities for appreciating his popular qualities. It must have required some effort on the part of the King to maintain the hilarity which he exhibited in Edinburgh. On the evening of the 15th he received, while on board the royal yacht in Leith Roads, the news that Lord Londonderry had died by his own hand. This fatal termination of a temporary insanity took place on the 12th. The King, on hearing this intelligence, immediately wrote to the Lord Chancellor:—"On Friday was the last time I saw him: my own mind was then filled with apprehensions respecting him, and they have, alas! been but too painfully verified. My great object, my good friend, in writing to you tonight, is to tell you that I have written to Liverpool, and I do implore of you not to lend yourself to any arrangement whatever until my return to town."‡

* Lord Dudley's Letters, p. 312.

† *Ibid.*, p. 296.

‡ Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 464.

A tardy justice has in some respects been done to the memory of lord Londonderry. A few miscreants hissed when his coffin was taken out of the hearse at the door of Westminster Abbey; Byron, in the same indecent spirit, spoke of him as "Carotid-artery cutting Castlereagh;" the calumny for a long time passed uncontradicted that he had put down the rebellion in Ireland by cruel and indiscriminate punishment; his abilities were undervalued, and his power in debate spoken of with scorn. Nevertheless, a conviction is now pretty generally felt that he had many of the qualities which constitute a statesman,—courage, decision, plain sense, gentleness and suavity of manners in public as in private. It has been said, "Lord Castlereagh's foreign administration was as destitute of all merit as possible; no enlarged views guided his conduct, no liberal principles claimed his regard." * This assertion must be taken with some qualification. The American minister, who was in intercourse with him for four years, asserted that, from the end of the Revolutionary war, there was no British statesman who made more advances, or did more in fact, towards placing the relations of England and the United States upon an amicable footing. † With reference to the particular period of which we have been treating, it has been said by the noble author already quoted, that "on the eve of the Parliament meeting (19th of January, 1821), lord Castlereagh delivered a note to the Holy Allies, expressing in feeble and measured terms a very meagre dissent from the principles of interference." There are, no doubt, many courteous expressions in the Circular of lord Castlereagh, which might warrant a belief that his dissent from the measures of the Holy Alliance was feeble—a belief entertained by some that it was even simulated. The Secretary of State declares that the King has felt himself obliged to decline becoming a party to the measures proposed by the Allies, either as to the establishment of certain general principles, or as to the mode of dealing, under these principles, with the existing affairs of Naples:—"No government can be more prepared than the British government is, to uphold the right of any state or states to interfere where their own immediate security or essential interests are seriously endangered by the internal transactions of another state. But, as they regard the assumption of such right as only to be justified by the strongest necessity, and to be limited and regulated thereby, they cannot admit that this right can receive a general and indiscriminate application to all revolutionary movements without reference to their immediate bearing upon some particular state or states, or be made prospectively the basis of an alliance." No doubt the time was approaching when England must speak a plainer language to the Allied Sovereigns against their own interpretation of "the strongest necessity to interfere with the internal transactions of other states." Lord Londonderry was about to depart for a Congress at Verona, when, in an access of insanity, he thus miserably died. Whether he would have spoken the stronger language when the principle of interference was about to be extended from the affairs of Italy to the affairs of Spain, may remain in doubt. Another took his place at the Foreign Office, whose language, though equally courteous, was not to be mistaken.

* Lord Brougham, "Statesmen of the Time of George III.," vol. ii. p. 126, 8vo ed.

† Rush, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 2

Mr. Canning was on his way to Liverpool for the purpose of taking leave of his constituents before he sailed for India. Every one believed that he would not now go to India. The desire of some of his former colleagues to get rid of him was very generally known; many were equally convinced that the government could not go on without him. His own mind was naturally in a position of doubt and anxiety. He writes to a friend on the 26th of August, "I have now nothing to tell, and I have no pleasure in speculating on what may happen. I wish I were well on board the Jupiter."* He was kept in doubt till the 11th of September, when the Foreign Office was offered to him by lord Liverpool. To the last day, he said he hoped that the proposal made to him might be one which he could refuse—"that which has been made was the only one that I could not refuse." He would "place public duty against private liking and convenience." M. Guizot says that lord Liverpool had endeavoured in vain to induce the King to consent to the appointment of Mr. Canning. "'I will undertake it,' said the duke of Wellington, who was accustomed to treat George IV. with a rough and unyielding respect, to which the intimidated monarch always ended by giving way. He yielded on this occasion."† Mr. Canning entered the Foreign Office with a clear view of his path of duty. After a few weeks of official experience he writes,—“For fame, it is a squeezed orange; but for public good there is something to do, and I will try—but it must be cautiously—to do it. You know my politics well enough to know what I mean, when I say that for *Europe*, I should be desirous now and then to read *England*.”‡

The successor chosen to represent Great Britain at the Congress was the duke of Wellington. His Grace set out on his mission on the 17th of September. On the 21st he wrote to Mr. Secretary Canning that he had had a long discussion with M. de Villèle on the relations of the French government with Spain. The French minister said that if the Congress were to separate and come to no decision on the affairs of Spain, it was probable that France and Spain might be forced into a war, and he proposed that the Allies should make a declaration of the line they would each take. The duke applied to Mr. Canning to receive his Majesty's instructions in case this proposition was made at the Congress. The answer of Mr. Canning was in terms that could not be misinterpreted. "If there be a determined project to interfere by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference, so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, as well as utterly impracticable in execution, that when the necessity arises, or (I would rather say) when the opportunity offers, I am to instruct your Grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party." The French government had assembled an army on the frontiers of Spain, under the pretence of establishing a *cordon sanitaire* to keep out a fever that was raging at Barcelona. The real object of this army was acknowledged at the Congress. It was to enable Ferdinand the Seventh to put down the constitution under which his subjects

* "George Canning and his Times," p. 362.

† Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 23.

‡ "George Canning and his Times," p. 364.

were more content to live than under his absolute rule. The declaration of the duke of Wellington under his instructions from the Foreign Office, prevented any open support of this project being given by the other great powers. The king of France, in opening the Chambers at the end of January, 1823, left no doubt of the intentions of the French government. Louis XVIII. announced that he had recalled his minister at Madrid, and that a hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of his family, were ready to march to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry the Fourth. He declared that hostilities should cease at the moment "that Ferdinand the Seventh should be free to give his people the institutions which they could not hold except from him."* Mr. Canning wrote to our ambassador at the French court that this paragraph "is construed as implying, that the free institutions of the Spanish people can only be legitimately held from the spontaneous gift of the sovereign, first restored to his absolute power, and then divesting himself of such portion of that power as he may think proper to part with. The Spanish nation could not be expected to subscribe to this principle; nor could any British statesman uphold or defend it. . . . It is indeed a principle that strikes at the root of the British Constitution."† The French invaded Spain. England had taken her stand upon a principle, but that attitude did not involve the necessity of going to war. Mr. Canning declared in parliament that the king's government would abide by a system of neutrality, except under certain conditions. If Portugal were to be attacked, such an assault would bring Great Britain into the field with all her force to support the independence of her ancient and faithful ally. Spain, though claiming her colonies as a right, had in fact lost all power over them, and the British government would not tolerate for an instant any cession which Spain might make of colonies over which she did not exercise a direct and positive influence. Mr. Canning's declaration of neutrality brought upon him the remonstrances and reproaches of a few members of the Opposition. He triumphantly vindicated his conduct. The proposed censure of what some deemed the feeble tone assumed by the government terminated in an almost unanimous vote of approbation of what had been done. The Opposition could not consistently maintain that the policy of Mr. Canning was in any essential point a departure from the principles that had been most eloquently asserted by Mr. Brougham at the opening of the Session: "He would look forward, in order to avoid all subject of vituperation; reserving his blame for the foreigners whose tyrannical conduct obliged this nation to hate them, and his co-operation for whatever faithful servant of the Crown would, in the performance of his duty to the country, to freedom, and to the world, speak a language that was truly British,—pursue a policy that was truly free—and look to free States as our best and most natural allies against all enemies whatsoever; quarrelling with none, whatever might be the form of their governments; keeping peace wherever we could, but not leaving ourselves unprepared for war,—not afraid of the issue, but calmly resolved to brave it at all hazards; determined to maintain, amid every sacrifice, the honour and dignity of the Crown, the independence of the

* "Annuaire Historique Universel pour 1823."

† The papers concerning the negotiations relative to Spain are given in "Hansard," vol. viii. cols. 904-964.

country, the ancient law of nations, the supremacy of all separate States,—all those principles which are cherished as most precious and most sacred by the whole civilized world.”* At this crisis, however, the desires of the English people were probably best represented in a letter of a great humourist to the countess Grey:—“For God’s sake do not drag me into another war! I am worn down, and worn out, with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind; I must think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards; I am sorry for the Greeks; I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny. Bagdad is oppressed; I do not like the present state of the Delta; Thibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight for all these people? The world is bursting with sin and sorrow. Am I to be the champion of the Decalogue, and to be eternally raising fleets and armies to make all men good and happy? We have just done saving Europe, and I am afraid the consequence will be, that we shall cut each other’s throats. No war, dear lady Grey!—no eloquence; but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic! I beseech you, secure lord Grey’s sword and pistols, as the housekeeper did Don Quixote’s armour. If there is another war, life will not be worth having.” †

The spectacle of the South American colonies was calculated to awaken the sympathies of every English statesman of large and liberal views. But there were difficult questions involved in this struggle, which rendered it imperatively necessary for the minister directing the foreign affairs of England to proceed with the utmost caution. Mr. Canning had made, on the 30th of April, 1823, a declaration in the House of Commons which went through Europe, that whatever might grow out of a separate conflict between Spain and France, the immediate object of England was to hinder the impress of a joint character from being affixed to the war,—to take care that the war should not grow out of an assumed jurisdiction of the Congress. Mr. Canning’s determination had the effect of preventing the great powers of the Continent engaging in the attack upon the Constitutionalists of Spain. The French armies marched to Madrid, which they occupied on the 24th of May. They overran Spain, they accomplished the release of Ferdinand who had been detained at Cadiz; the Cortes were overturned. Spain entered upon that long night of tyranny and superstition which left her among the feeblest and most degraded of nations. Such was the position of affairs at the close of 1823. At the opening of the session of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1824, the Royal Speech alluded to the strict neutrality which the king had observed during the war in Spain. With respect to the provinces of America which had declared their separation from Spain, his conduct had been open and consistent, and his opinions frankly avowed to Spain and to other powers. “His Majesty has appointed Consuls to reside at the principal ports and places of those provinces, for the protection of the trade of his subjects. As to any further measures, his Majesty has reserved to himself an unfettered discretion, to be exercised as the circumstances of those countries, and the interests of his own people, may appear to his Majesty to require.” On the 4th of March Mr. Canning laid upon the table of the House of Commons a memorandum of a conference between himself and the Prince de Polignac. Mr.

* Hansard, vol. viii. col. 94, and Brougham’s “Speeches,” p. 299, ed. 1857.

† Sidney Smith’s “Memoirs and Letters,” vol. ii., pp. 235—236.

Canning said, at this interview in October, 1823, that being convinced that the ancient system of the Colonies could not be restored, the British government could not enter into any stipulations binding itself either to refuse or to delay its recognition of their independence; that the British government had no desire to precipitate that recognition so long as there was any reasonable chance of an accommodation with the mother country by which such a recognition might come first from Spain; "but that it could not wait indefinitely for that result; that it could not consent to make its recognition of the new states dependent upon that of Spain, and that it would consider any foreign interference, by force or by menace, in the dispute between Spain and the colonies, as a motive for recognizing the latter without delay." The lapse of time has shown that Mr. Canning had as great difficulty in the accomplishment of his policy in opposition to the influence exercised in the highest quarter at home, as in the hostility of those powers who had constituted themselves a union for the government of the nations. At the end of November, 1824, lord Sidmouth withdrew from the Cabinet, upon the ground of his inability to reconcile his opinions to that of so many of his colleagues, who advocated the immediate recognition by his Majesty of the independence of Buenos Ayres. Mr. Charles Williams Wynn wrote to the duke of Buckingham on the 28th of January, 1825, six days before the meeting of Parliament, "There have been steps to revive the discussions of December last, proceeding wholly from *foreign* influence, which, to my mind, manifest a decided wish to break up the government." On the 27th of January, the King had addressed a long letter to lord Liverpool, for the purpose of its being laid before the Cabinet. This Royal manifesto is the language of one who appears, like the Seven Sleepers, to have awakened from a long slumber, and to have spoken in a tongue with which men had ceased to be familiar. "The Liberalism of late adopted by the King's government appears to the King to be a substantial part of that creed which was hailed in the House of Commons in those revolutionary days when it required all the talents and firmness of the late Mr. Pitt to put it down. . . . Can the present government suppose that the King will permit any individuals to force upon him at this time a line of policy of which he so entirely disapproves, and which is in direct opposition to those wise principles that the King's government has, for so many years, supported and uniformly acted upon." The King then asks, Why was the Quadruple Alliance formed? and he answers, For the maintenance of the treaties of Europe, and also for the purpose of controlling the ambition and jealousies of the great allied powers themselves in relation to each other. "The Jacobins of the world, now calling themselves the Liberals, saw the peace of Europe secured by this great measure, and have therefore never ceased to vilify the principle of the Quadruple Alliance." The King desired therefore distinctly to know whether the great principles of policy established by his government in 1814, 1815, and 1818, were or were not to be abandoned. Lord Liverpool, in his answer to the King, stated that so entire an agreement subsisted between his Majesty's servants, as to request his permission to give their answer generally and collectively. He pointed out the divergence of opinion between his Majesty and his allies as to the nature of their engagements for maintaining the peace of Europe, especially in 1815, in 1818, and in 1821.

“Whatever difference or shades of difference of opinion may have hitherto existed amongst your Majesty’s servants on the subject of Spanish America, they humbly submit now to your Majesty their unanimous opinion, that the measures in progress respecting Spanish America are in no way inconsistent with any engagement between your Majesty and your Allies; that those measures are now irrevocable; and that the faith and honour of the country are pledged to all their necessary consequences.” The King yielded with a tolerable grace. Disappointed as he might be at the unanimous determination of the Cabinet, he saw it was impossible now to accomplish what was his real object—the dismissal of Mr. Canning. The “foreign influence” was undoubtedly what weighed upon the King. Mr. Canning, writing to our Ambassador at Paris, Lord Granville, in March, after using strong terms with regard to Metternich, says, “I have evidence which I entirely believe, of his having been for the last twelvemonth, at least, perhaps longer, at the bottom of an intrigue with the Court here; of which Madame de ——— was the organ, to change the politics of this government by changing me.” In April he returned to the same charge against Metternich, and said that he should like him to understand that a renewal of his intrigues would lead to some such public manifestation of Mr. Canning’s knowledge of what had passed as might let the House of Commons and the public into the secret. “I wonder whether he is aware that the private communication of foreign ministers with the King of England is wholly at variance with the spirit, and practice too, of the British Constitution.”* The recognition of the South American Republics was confirmed by the declaration in the King’s Speech on opening the Session of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1825. The firm attitude of the Cabinet had produced the consent of the King that the following passage should represent his opinions:—“In conformity with the declarations which have been repeatedly made by his Majesty, his Majesty has taken measures for confirming by treaties the commercial relations already subsisting between this kingdom and those countries of America which appear to have established their separation from Spain.” In the debate upon the Address Mr. Canning alluded to the speech of Mr. Brougham upon the subject of South America. The honourable and learned gentlemen admitted that much had been done to which he could not object, but he suggested that things might have been better, especially as to time. “I differ from him essentially; for if I pique myself on anything in this affair it is the time. That, at some time or other, states which had separated themselves from the mother country should or should not be admitted to the rank of independent nations, is a proposition to which no possible dissent could be given. The whole question was one of time and mode. There were two modes: one a reckless and headlong course, by which we might have reached our object at once, but at the expense of drawing upon us consequences not lightly to be estimated; the other was more strictly guarded in point of principle; so that, while we pursued our own interest, we took care to give no just cause of offence to other powers.” It is important to bear in mind this very clear

* This very curious correspondence is given in chap. xxv. of Stapleton’s “George Canning and his Times.”

statement of the general principle that the precise time for the recognition of States throwing off their allegiance is to be determined by circumstances of which a neutral State is the best judge. The explanation which Mr. Canning proceeded to give of the circumstances of the South American Republics at the time of the recognition by Great Britain is equally important, as showing that the claim for recognition depends upon the power of the separating State to maintain and defend itself. Mr. Canning briefly and clearly explained the actual position of the three States with which the British government had to deal, namely, Buenos Ayres, Columbia,* and Mexico. "Long ago the contest between Buenos Ayres and the mother country had ceased. Buenos Ayres comprised thirteen or fourteen small and separate states, which were not till very lately collected into any federal union. Would it not have been an absurdity to have treated with a power which was incapable of answering for the conduct of the communities of which it was composed? So soon as it was known that a consolidation had taken place the treaty with Buenos Ayres was signed. As to Columbia, as late as 1822, the last of the Spanish forces were sent away from Porto Cabello, which was, up till that time, held for the King of Spain. It was only since that time that Columbia could have been admitted as a State of separate existence. Some time after that, however, Columbia chose to risk her whole force, and a great part of her treasure, in a distant war with Spain in Peru. Had that enterprise proved disastrous, the expedition would have returned with the troops to re-establish the royal authority. The danger was now at end. The case of Mexico was still more striking. Not nine months ago, an adventurer who had wielded the sceptre of Mexico left these shores to return thither and re-possess his abdicated throne. Was that a moment at which this country ought to have interfered to decide, by recognition, the government for Mexico? The failure of the attempt of that adventurer afforded the opportunity for recognition; and the instant the failure was known the decision of the British Cabinet was taken." †

During the progress of the deliberations of the British Cabinet on the subject of the South American Republics, Mr. Rush, the Minister of the United States, was addressed by Mr. Canning, with a view that the two governments should come to an understanding, and join in a concurrent declaration as to the policy to be pursued by them. Mr. Rush, in a despatch to President Monro, on the 23rd of August, 1823, says:—"The tone of earnestness in Mr. Canning's note naturally starts the inference that the British Cabinet cannot be without its serious apprehensions that ambitious enterprises are meditated against the independence of the new Spanish-American States, whether by France alone, or in conjunction with the Continental powers, I cannot now say on any authentic grounds." ‡ It would seem that the President having made a communication of this despatch to his celebrated predecessor, it was understood by Mr. Jefferson as a proposition by Mr. Canning, that Great Britain should unite with

* On December 17th, 1819, in a general Convention of Venezuela and Granada, the two States were united under the name of the Republic of Columbia, of which Bolivar was President. In 1832 this republic was divided into three states.

† Hansard, vol. xii., col. 78.

‡ Rush's "Residence at the Court of London," Second Series, pp. 29—30.

America in an armed resistance to the possible attempt of the Allied Powers to intrench upon the independence of the infant republics. Mr. Jefferson considered this as the most momentous question that had been ever offered to his contemplation since that of their own independence. The venerable ex-president appears at once to have thrown aside the prejudices against Great Britain which had sometimes marked his official career. "Great Britain is the nation that can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side, we need not fear the old world. With her then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause." *

We may here mention that during the residence of Mr. Rush at the Court of London, he entered upon several most important discussions—in 1818, with lord Londonderry, in 1824 with Mr. Canning,—upon questions of former controversy, and of possible future differences that might arise, between Great Britain and the United States. The most pressing question was with reference to the American claim for a boundary, which would have given the United States Vancouver's Island and the Columbia river. The settlement of this question stood over, the proposal of each negotiator for a modified settlement being rejected by the other. This was the Oregon question, which was not finally settled till 1846, when, in the strong desire for peace, much more was conceded than Mr. Canning consented to admit as the right of the United States. The maritime questions upon which the two countries had gone to war in 1812, which included the relations of neutral and belligerent powers, were declined by the American plenipotentiary to be gone into without the question of impressment being considered, which matter the British plenipotentiaries refused to admit into the discussion. Mr. Rush maintained the same principles which he had maintained in 1818: "Great Britain claims the right of searching the vessels of other countries on the high seas for her seamen, and here begins the cause of complaint. For, how can the claim ever be enforced consistently with what is due to other nations? Let the steps by which the enforcement proceeds, be attended to. A British frigate in time of war meets an American merchant vessel at sea, boards her, and under terror of her guns, takes out one of the crew. The boarding lieutenant asserts, and let it be admitted, believes, the man to be a Briton. By this proceeding, the rules observed in deciding upon any other fact where individual or national rights are at stake are overlooked. The lieutenant is accuser and judge. He decides upon his own view, instantly. The impressed man is forced into the frigate's boat, and the case ends. There is no appeal, no trial of any kind." † Thus strongly did the minister of the United States remonstrate in 1818, against the difficulty and danger of entrusting such an authority to the discretion and humanity of an irresponsible naval officer. In 1824, Mr. Rush put the argument with equal force, that "the assumption of a right of search *for men*,‡ whether as a right direct or incidental, was denied by the United States to have the least sanction in public law. The bare claim was

* See Tucker's "Life of Jefferson," vol. ii. p. 515.

† Rush's "Residence at the Court of London," First Series, pp. 200—1.

‡ The *italics* are used by Mr. Rush.

affronting to the United States in the dearest attributes of their national sovereignty." The right of search was not denied by the American Plenipotentiary, but he maintained that "the doctrine of perpetual allegiance" was but as "a municipal rule, to be executed at home—not upon the high seas, and on board the vessels of a sovereign and independent state."*

In the remarkable letter of the King to his Cabinet which we have just quoted, his Majesty imputed to "the late policy of Great Britain" a "restless desire of self-interest." This was an allusion to the almost universal demand of the mercantile community for the establishment of commercial relations with the new States of South America by treaties of amity and commerce. In point of fact, the ultimate form of recognition consisted in the negotiation and adoption of such treaties. The policy of the British Government was no doubt in some degree determined by the general wish of the mercantile community; but Mr. Canning invariably put the recognition of the South American States upon higher ground: "If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should blockade Cadiz? No. I looked another way: I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain, such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain 'with the Indies.' I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." † The paramount object of separating the policy of England from any subservience to the absolutism of the Continent was accomplished. It was accomplished without war. But when, a year later, the adoption by Portugal of a constitutional government was an offence to the Spanish despot, and he sent an army into Portugal to make the one rule of irresponsible power prevail throughout the Peninsula, Mr. Canning took the attitude of a great War Minister, and by that attitude prevented a war. On the 11th of December, 1826, a message was presented to the House of Commons, stating that his Majesty had received an earnest application from the Princess Regent of Portugal, claiming, in virtue of the ancient obligations of alliance and amity subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, his Majesty's aid against a hostile aggression from Spain. On the next day, Tuesday, December 12th, Mr. Canning moved an Address, in answer to the Royal Message, in a speech which was declared to have been "an epoch in a man's life to have heard him." In his most eloquent periods there was nothing more truly eloquent than his brief statement of the manner in which the government had received the news of the Spanish aggression. The first intimation of the event was a demand on the 3rd from the Portuguese ambassador for assistance. The government desired to obtain official and precise intelligence of facts on which to found an application to Parliament. "It was only on last Friday night that this precise information arrived. On Saturday his Majesty's confidential servants came to a decision. On Sunday that decision received the sanction of his Majesty. On Monday it was communicated to both Houses of Parliament; and this day, Sir, at the hour in which I have the honour of addressing you, the troops are on their march for embarkation." ‡ Mr. Canning concluded his magnificent speech with these words:—

* Rush's "Residence at the Court of London," Second Series, p. 244.

† Hansard, vol. xvi. col. 397.

‡ *Ibid.*, col. 367.

“We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted foreign dominion shall not come.” The British troops were in the Tagus in less than a fortnight after these words were spoken. Not a shot was fired. The Spanish troops retired from the Portuguese frontier. The British armament returned home. It had accomplished what Mr. Canning proposed to accomplish: “Let us fly to the aid of Portugal, by whomsoever attacked, because it is our duty to do so; and let us cease our interference where that duty ends.”*

In carrying forward this rapid view of the foreign administration of the country during the four years since the accession of Mr. Canning to office, we have necessarily passed over some points of political importance to which we must advert in a future chapter. But as the foreign relations of the country received a marked change during this period, an equal change was wrought upon its commercial policy during the same period—a change that may therefore properly be regarded as forming part of the same system of taking a broader and more comprehensive view of human affairs than was agreeable to those who thought that “all advances towards improvement are retrogradations towards Jacobinism.”

In January, 1823, Mr. Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade. He was held to be a political adventurer, and it was not till 1825 that his great talents and vast financial and commercial knowledge gave him a seat in the Cabinet. Liverpool, in 1823, had not hesitated to accept in Mr. Huskisson, as its representative, a second political adventurer. In 1816 Mr. Canning had told his constituents that he pleaded guilty to the heavy charge that had been made against him that he was an adventurer. “A representative of the people, I am one of the people, and I present myself to those who choose me, only with the claims of character, be they what they may, unaccredited by patrician patronage.” The talent and knowledge of Mr. Huskisson soon rendered him the highest official authority in his own walk, in spite of lord Eldon’s dislike of this colleague and his principles, “looking to the whole history of this gentleman.”† In the Session of 1823 Mr. Huskisson developed a broader system of commercial policy than any previous government had dared to propose, in opposition to the prejudices of generations—to the belief that the prosperity of the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain rested upon the exclusive employment of her own shipping, upon prohibitory duties, upon restrictive duties almost amounting to prohibition, and upon the Balance of Trade. Mr. Wallace and Mr. Robinson had taken some steps towards commercial freedom, but Mr. Huskisson, by rapid strides, advanced towards the completion of a healthier system than had as yet prevailed in the world. In 1823 he carried through Parliament a measure known as the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, the object of which was that Duties and Drawbacks should be imposed and allowed on all goods equally, whether imported or exported in British or in foreign vessels; but reserving the power of continuing the existing restrictions with respect to those countries which should decline to act upon a system of reciprocity. The Bill was passed on the 4th of July. On that occasion Mr. Stuart

* Hansard, vol. xvi. col. 369.

† Twiss, “Life of Eldon,” vol. ii. p. 468.

Wortley made a remark which we may now regard somewhat as a prophecy:—"So many impolitic restrictions called protections being removed from the trade and shipping, it would be impossible to retain, for any considerable time, the protection given to agricultural produce."*

The measure of 1823, which struck a heavy blow at the old navigation laws, provoked little opposition compared with the clamour against the proposition of Mr. Huskisson, on the 5th of March, 1824, that the prohibitions on the importation of silk manufactures should cease on the 5th of July, 1826; that the duties on raw silk should be largely reduced; and those on thrown silk reduced one half. We all now know the value of the great argument which Mr. Huskisson employed:—"The system of prohibitory duties, which has been maintained with respect to the silk trade, has had the effect—to the shame of England be it spoken—of leaving us far behind our neighbours in this branch of industry. We have witnessed that chilling and benumbing effect which is always sure to be felt when no genius is called into action, and when we are rendered indifferent to exertion by the indolent security of a prohibitory system. I have not the slightest doubt that if the same system had been continued with respect to the cotton manufacture, it would at this moment be as subordinate in amount to the woollen as it is junior in its introduction into this country."†

It is unnecessary for us to pursue this subject beyond the point of showing the beginnings of that great system of Free Trade, which has raised this country to a height of prosperity which could scarcely have been contemplated by the most enthusiastic advocates of a liberal commercial policy in the time of Mr. Huskisson. In his own day he had to endure an amount of opprobrium somewhat in excess of that which usually attaches to all reformers. About six months before his measures with regard to the import of foreign silks were to come into operation, Mr. Baring, on presenting a petition from Taunton against the introduction of French silks, expressed a hope that the subject would undergo discussion at an early period, seeing that hundreds and thousands of individuals anticipated ruin and starvation from the late regulations. The discussion was brought on upon a motion for a Select Committee made by Mr. Ellice, the member for Coventry. In seconding the motion, Mr. John Williams declared that if the authors of this measure were prepared to make the sacrifice of the existence of half a million of persons in support of an abstract theory, the strength of their resolution would only prove the quality of their hearts. "A perfect metaphysician, as Mr. Burke had observed, exceeded the devil in point of malignity and contempt for the welfare of mankind." Mr. Huskisson most triumphantly vindicated his motives, and asserted his confidence that the power and resources of the country had been increased by those measures of commercial policy which it had fallen to his lot to submit to Parliament. Mr. Canning, on this occasion, came to the defence of his friend, in affirming that the doctrine and spirit which animated those who now persecuted him was the same which had embittered the life of Turgot, and consigned Galileo to the dungeons of the Inquisition—a doctrine and a spirit which had at all times been at work to stay public advancement, and to roll back the tide of civi-

* Hansard, vol. ix. col. 1439.

† "Huskisson's Speeches," vol. ii. p. 249.

lization. Very noble and impressive was one passage of Mr. Canning's speech:—"Sir, I consider it to be the duty of a British statesman, in internal as well as external affairs, to hold a middle course between extremes; avoiding alike extravagances of despotism, or the licentiousness of unbridled freedom; reconciling power with liberty: not adopting hasty or ill-advised experiments, or pursuing any airy and unsubstantial theories; but not rejecting, nevertheless, the application of sound and wholesome knowledge to practical affairs, and pressing, with sobriety and caution, into the service of his country any generous and liberal principles, whose excess, indeed, may be dangerous, but whose foundation is in truth. This, sir, in my mind, is the true conduct of a British statesman; but they who resist indiscriminately all improvement as innovation may find themselves compelled at last to submit to innovations although they are not improvements."*

A distinguished statesman and writer of France has thus described the most important effect of Mr. Canning's foreign policy: "By his speeches, by his measures, in recognizing the republics of Spanish America, and in protesting boldly, though merely by word, against the entrance of the French into Spain, he soon effected a change (sooner perhaps than he would have been inclined to do if he had not found it necessary), in the foreign policy of England, and transferred her from the camp of resistance and of European order into the camp of progress and liberty."† This was the all-sufficing benefit which Mr. Canning conferred upon his country. Once fairly severed from the principles and acts of the great Continental powers, and embarked upon her own course of "progress and liberty," the ultimate hopes of sanguine politicians might still be very far from immediate realization. The great problem of the union of freedom with order might be no nearer a solution in the year 1860 than in the year 1790. The "war of opinion" might have its vicissitudes of anarchy and of despotism. It might eventually seem to have been a mere flourish of eloquence, when the great orator, with "an attitude so majestic that he seemed actually to have increased in stature," exclaimed, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." The representative governments of Europe which had arisen out of the dust and ashes of Napoleon's tyranny might be again trodden down by other despots. The new republics of America might for years be torn to pieces by internal commotions, and their second condition might be even worse than their first. The proud confidence of the founder and upholder of the democratic constitution of the United States might be proved fallacious, in an exhibition of arrogance as offensive as that of absolute rulers; whilst his belief that men enjoying in ease and security the full fruits of their industry would follow their own reason as their guide,‡ might some day be held as visionary, when the action of the supreme government should be dictated by the passions of the multitude. Yet for all this we may mistrust the partizan assuming the office of the historian, when we learn that the experience of the world since the year 1819, "which was the turning-point in our policy, both

* Hansard, vol. xiv. cols. 854—55.

† Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 24.

‡ See Jefferson's Letter to Judge Johnson, in his "Works;" and in Tucker's "Life," vol. ii. p. 506.

foreign and domestic," has "diffused a very general doubt amongst thoughtful men, whether the whole representative system is not a delusion;" and are told that "the ruin of industry, and the destruction of property, effected in Great Britain, since the manufacturing school obtained the ascendancy in Parliament, much exceeds anything recorded in the history of pacific legislation."* To the restoration of a convertible paper-currency, advocated by Mr. Horner and finally carried by Peel; to the retirement of England from the Quadruple Alliance and the recognition of South American republics accomplished by Canning; to the removal of commercial restrictions and prohibitions effected by Huskisson; to these causes the ghosts of ultra-Toryism that still walk the earth and will not be laid, attribute what they deem the evils which have fallen upon their country in the peaceful revolutions of the reigns of William the Fourth and Victoria. If such were the causes of that vital change in the condition of England, which enables us with an honest exultation to contrast the Present with the Past, doubly blessed were the partial successes of those eminent statesmen. Some thoughtful man of their day might have anticipated the sentiment of a later poet:—

"Progress is
The law of life—man's self is not yet man!
Nor shall I deem his object served, his end
Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth,
While only here and there a star dispels
The darkness, here and there a towering mind
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows."†

* Alison, "History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon," vol. i. p. 54 and p. 56, 1852.

† Browning.

CHAPTER XI.

Negro Slavery in the West Indies—The Missionary Case—Opening of Parliament, 1825—Public Prosperity—Joint-Stock Companies—Mining Schemes—The Panic in the Money-Market—The Panic arrested—Extensive failures of Commercial Houses—Joint-Stock Banks established—State of the Catholic Question—Death of the duke of York—Illness of Lord Liverpool—Negotiations previous to the choice of a Minister—Mr. Canning's Administration—Violent opposition to Mr. Canning in both Houses—Charge against the Prime Minister that he had given an unconstitutional pledge to the King on the subject of Catholic Emancipation—Close of the Session—Death of Mr. Canning—His last Ministerial act, the conclusion of a Treaty on the Affairs of Greece—Principles of International Law laid down by Mr. Canning—List of the Cabinet of Mr. Canning—Note on the Negotiations which preceded Mr. Canning's Premiership.

WITH the object of presenting a continuous view of the foreign policy of England from the period of the accession of Mr. Canning to office in 1822, we have passed over several matters of public importance to which we must now advert.

Negro Slavery in the West Indies was the subject of animated debates in the House of Commons in 1823 and in 1824. The difficult question of negro emancipation in our Colonies has been happily settled by a magnificent effort on the part of the government and the people. The curse of Slavery no longer exists on a single rood of the vast possessions and dependencies of the British Empire. But this result could not have been attained without the persevering efforts of the same zeal which had accomplished the abolition of the Slave Trade. A few of the first Abolitionists still remained. Younger men had joined their ranks, with the determination to banish Slavery from our own Colonies, and if possible to unite all Christendom in a league against the hateful traffic, which some States still openly perpetrated and others indirectly encouraged. On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton moved as a resolution, "That the state of Slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution, and of the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British Colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned." Mr. Canning met this resolution by proposing other resolutions, to the effect that decisive measures should be taken for ameliorating the condition of the Slave population of the British Colonies; that through such measures the House looked forward to such a progressive improvement in the character of the Slave population, as might prepare them for a participation in civil rights and privileges. Mr. Canning's proposal was unanimously agreed to by the House. The West Indian

interest at home was greatly alarmed. The resident proprietors were in a state of indignant terror when the Colonial Secretary issued a Circular which announced the determination of the British Government to interfere between the owner and his slave. This Circular contained an absolute prohibition to inflict the punishment of flogging under any circumstances upon female slaves, and a strong recommendation with regard to males that the whip should no longer be carried into the field and there displayed by the driver as the emblem of his authority, or employed as the ready instrument of his displeasure.* In most of the West India Islands the Circular of lord Bathurst produced only votes of indignation in their local Assemblies. In Demerara the Court of Policy passed regulations in compliance with the instructions of the Circular, but the negroes entertained a belief that orders had come from England for their complete emancipation. The Government of the Colony had previously issued a prohibition against the negroes attending divine service except under certain conditions, in the belief that the sectaries incited them to insubordination. On the 18th of August a rising took place amongst some of the slaves, who imprisoned their masters but shed no blood. On the 19th martial law was proclaimed, and under sentences of Courts-martial forty-seven negroes were executed, and a great number were tortured by the most merciless flogging. The Colony was subjected to martial-law for five months. Under this law Mr. John Smith, a missionary of the Independent persuasion, was tried upon a charge of having incited the negroes to revolt, and of having concealed their intention to rise. He was convicted and sentenced to death. The governor did not venture to execute the sentence, but left the decision to the British cabinet, who rescinded the sentence, but decreed Mr. Smith's banishment from the Colony. Mr. Brougham brought the whole case before the House of Commons, on the 1st of June, 1824. The missionary, who had been cast into a loathsome dungeon, in a weak state of health, had died after some weeks of severe suffering. The feeling produced at home was that of pity for the victim, and of indignation at the injustice of the Court by which he was tried. The proceedings of this general Court-martial, held on the 13th of October, 1823, published by the Missionary Society, displayed "a series of errors so gross as to mock belief, and of oppressions which are unexampled in the dispensation of English justice."† Mr. Brougham, in this memorable debate, uttered a solemn warning to the Slave-holders:—"Yet a little delay; yet a little longer of this unbearable trifling with the commands of the parent state—and she will stretch out her arm, in mercy, not in anger, to those deluded men themselves; exert at last her undeniable authority; vindicate the just right and restore the tarnished honour of the English name!" In this debate Mr. Wilberforce spoke for the last time in Parliament. The speech of sir James Mackintosh was that of a statesman whose opinions were of far more practical importance than those of the too sanguine abolitionist: "I am as adverse as any one to the sudden emancipation of slaves; much out of regard to the masters, but still more, as affecting a far larger portion of mankind, out of regard to the unhappy slaves themselves. Eman-

* "Annual Register," 1823, p. 130.

† Introduction to Mr. Brougham's speech in the Missionary Case, in his Selected Speeches, vol. ii. p. 116.

icipation by violence and revolt I consider as the greatest calamity that can visit a community except perpetual slavery. . . . I acknowledge that the pacific emancipation of great multitudes thus wretchedly circumstanced is a problem so arduous as to perplex and almost silence the reason of man. Time is undoubtedly necessary."

Of the six Bills for the repeal of Capital Punishments which sir James Mackintosh introduced in the Session of 1820,* three eventually became laws.† These were the only formal results of the perseverance of the legislator upon whom the mantle of Romilly had fallen. In 1822 he obtained a pledge from the House that it would proceed to a general consideration of the Criminal laws in the next Session. On the 21st of May, 1823, he proposed nine resolutions, which went at once to do away with capital punishment in a number of offences to which they referred. Mr. Peel, who was now Secretary of State for the Home Department, objected to the extent of these measures. He admitted the necessity of some amendment, and intimated his intention to propose measures which should embrace several of the improvements which sir James Mackintosh contemplated. His son has recorded that the defeat on this occasion was a signal to sir James for surrendering the superintendence of further reforms into the hands of one whose position as a minister gave him peculiar facilities for carrying them into effect: "He lived," says his biographer, "to see the propriety of many of these very alterations acquiesced in to an extent which he dared scarcely have imagined, and which drew from him the expression, instancing the growth of opinion on these subjects, that he could almost think that he had lived in two different countries, and conversed with people who spoke two different languages."‡

When the Session of Parliament was opened on the 3rd of January, 1825, the exultation of the Royal Speech upon "public prosperity" was far stronger than ministerial prudence and reserve often ventured to indulge. "There never was a period in the history of this country when all the great interests of the nation were at the same time in so thriving a condition." Alas for the instability of human affairs! In the King's Speech on the 2nd of February, 1826, we have this sentence: "His Majesty deeply laments the injurious effects which the late pecuniary crisis must have entailed upon many branches of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom." The pecuniary crisis was indeed the most unexpected, the most astounding, and the most severe in its consequences, of any derangement of commercial operations ever produced by extravagant hopes and exaggerated alarms. This pecuniary crisis universally obtained the name of "The Panic." It was described by Mr. Huskisson as "such a complete suspension of all confidence as, contradistinguished from commercial distress, rendered it impossible to procure money upon even the most unobjectionable security. If the difficulties which existed in the money market had continued only eight-and-forty hours longer, he sincerely believed that the effect would have been to put a stop to all dealings between man and man, except by way of barter."§

* *Ante*, p. 101.

† 1 Geo. IV., cap. 115, 116, 117.

‡ "Life of Mackintosh," vol. ii. p. 391.

§ "Huskisson's Speeches," vol. ii. p. 445.

There can be no doubt whatever that at the beginning of 1825 the sanguine views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which obtained for him the name of "Prosperity Robinson," were really justified by whatever was apparent in the material condition of the country. In June of that year an article appeared in the "Quarterly Review" which went very carefully into the proofs that there had scarcely ever been a time when every branch of industry had been so generally prosperous. We are taken into the country to look upon fields better cultivated than a few years before; barns and stack-yards more fully stored; horses, cows, and sheep more abundant; implements of husbandry greatly improved: In cities, towns, and villages, more numerous and better shops, and a vast increase of goods, indicating the flourishing circumstances of the community: In manufactories similar manifestations of the increase of wealth. We are then told that if we could examine the accounts of the bankers of the metropolis, and in the small as well as large provincial towns, we should find that the balances resting with them were increased to an enormous amount. The reviewer then adds: "This indeed may be fairly inferred from the low rate of interest in the floating public securities, from the prices of the funds, from the avidity with which every project for the employment of capital is grasped at, and from the general complaint, almost the only complaint heard, that there is now no way of making interest for money."* Those who in all times are ready to treat such maladies in the body politic by salutary venesection, were most busy and successful at the end of 1824 and the beginning of 1825. Joint-Stock Companies suddenly rose up, some for provident schemes of home industry, but others holding forth the prospect of enormous wealth by working the mines of South America. "All the gambling propensities of human nature were constantly solicited into action, and crowds of individuals of every description—the credulous and the suspicious—the crafty and the bold—the raw and the experienced—the intelligent and the ignorant—princes, nobles, politicians, placemen, patriots, lawyers, physicians, divines, philosophers, poets, intermingled with women of all ranks and degrees—spinsters, wives and widows—hastened to venture some portion of their property in schemes of which scarcely anything was known except the name." †

The South American mining schemes required large remittances in money, and an equal expenditure in stores and machinery for the operations to be carried on. The new South American States asked and obtained considerable loans. Speculations in goods were carried forward to an extent, and with a temporary amount of profit, previously unknown. The rush of purchasers to invest in coffee, in spices, in indigo, in tallow, and in cotton, with a total ignorance of everything connected with the relation of the supply to the consumption, had for a while the effect of producing a general rise of prices. Every article which had not advanced in price was soon made the subject of an exaggerated demand. Very soon after Parliament had separated, cheered by the official announcement of public prosperity, a reaction commenced. The price of every article that had been the subject of this overtrading began

* Vol. xxxii. p. 189.

† "Annual Register," 1824, p. 3.

to fall. More precipitous was the downward tendency of the loan and share market; for no dividends came from the South American loans; no remittances in the precious metals to attest that increased productiveness of the mines which was expected to arise out of the application of British capital and machinery. The rage for speculation had so penetrated into uncommercial circles, and the sober tradesman who once used to be content with the moderate profits of his own industry had so embarked his capital in rash ventures, that, when a want of confidence began to be felt, universal distrust soon succeeded. The Bank of England, which had ten millions of bullion and coin in its coffers in April, had only one million three hundred thousand pounds in November to meet the rapid drain that was going forward. The directors of the Bank of England, in their alarm, suddenly diminished their circulation to the extent of 3,500,000*l.* In the general want of confidence, the country bankers had to endure the consequences of an almost unlimited circulation of their notes, nothing loath as they had been to assist the speculative tendencies of their customers by what seemed a method so easy to themselves. The time was at hand when every man would look suspiciously upon the dirty pieces of paper which he had held to be as good as gold; and these promises to pay would travel, first slowly and then rapidly, to the banker's counter, and many who saw these obligations return to their source would ask what they had done to provoke this run upon them. In London those large balances in the hands of the bankers which the reviewer described as "ready to embrace favourable changes in the price of any commodity, or to be placed at interest as beneficial securities presented themselves," were suddenly withdrawn to meet unforeseen losses, to satisfy unexpected demands, and, in many cases, out of a selfish mistrust of the security of those depositories which had once justly received the public confidence. Selfish and shortsighted was the panic that drove men to the banker's counter, in their ignorant belief that it was his duty to have ready in his till an amount sufficient to pay the balances of every customer. On the 5th of December the banking-house of sir Peter Pole and Company stopped payment. On the 6th the bank of Williams and Company followed. The author of this history cannot easily forget the scene which he witnessed on the morning of the 7th of December. On the night of the 6th two personal friends, partners in a country bank, who had their accounts with Williams and Company, arrived at his house in town to consult with him on the best course to be pursued in this hour of danger. It was agreed that one of the partners should immediately return home and countermand an order that had been given for the closing of the bank on the following morning. The other partner, who was a member of Parliament, was to set out with the present writer to seek the assistance of friendly capitalists before the general world was astir. In the chambers in the Albany of one of the members of a city bank they found the firm assembled, deliberating by lamp-light, as many others were deliberating, whilst the watchman still cried the morning hour. The request for aid was made, and was as promptly answered: "We shall stop ourselves at nine o'clock." The two friends proceeded to Lombard-street and its neighbourhood as the morning dawned. Long before the time of opening, the doors of the banking-houses were surrounded by eager crowds, each struggling to be foremost, as at the entrance of a theatre. Many such

doors were opened; and after the first rush some began to be ashamed of their suspicious impatience. Heads of firms stood quietly beside their clerks, sometimes smiling, with an unmistakable meaning, upon those who showed how easily are "benefits forgot;" some pointed to their title-deeds and other securities, as ready for any sacrifice to preserve their commercial honour. Before the close of the year seventy-three banks had failed, of which seven were metropolitan. The country bank in which we felt an interest was saved by the more sensible of the townsmen coming promptly forward to declare their opinion of its solvency and their resolution not to press in the hour of difficulty. This was a very general course throughout the country.

During the three weeks of alarm and misery which preceded the Christmas of 1825, the Cabinet was daily deliberating upon measures to be pursued to stop the disorder and to mitigate its consequences. The Bank Directors came forward to lend money upon any description of property; and relaxed all their accustomed regulations for the discount of bills. The amount of mercantile bills under discount had been four millions on the 3rd of November; it had increased to fifteen millions on the 29th of December. Sovereigns were coined at the Mint at the unprecedented speed of 150,000 daily. At the Bank of England notes were printed with equal promptitude; for with the sanction of the Cabinet it was determined that one and two pound notes which the Bank of England had called in should again be issued for temporary purposes. Still these two supplies of an unexceptionable currency could not be produced fast enough to fill up the vacuum occasioned by the almost total withdrawal of country bank paper. An accidental circumstance solved the difficulty. A box containing about seven hundred thousand pounds of one pound notes, which had been put aside unused, was accidentally discovered at the Bank. Mr. Harman, one of the directors, stated it as his opinion, that the timely issue of these notes "worked wonders—it saved the credit of the country."*

The credit of the country was saved; in other words the excessive demand for gold did not involve the danger at one time apprehended—a suspension of cash payments. The credit of the country was saved; but the destruction of private credit, the consequent ruin of many commercial firms, and the terrible struggle of others to keep their position, were wide-spread consequences of the panic of 1825. It was not till towards the end of January, 1826, that important mercantile failures began to create alarm. These failures continued to a vast extent throughout the whole year. The total number of bankruptcies in 1825 was a little above eleven hundred; in 1826 the number was nearly two thousand six hundred. The destruction of capital and credit paralysed all the exertions of industry, and produced excessive distress amongst the manufacturing population. Diminished employment and lower wages, added to the loss which many who lived by their daily labour had sustained in the failure of country banks, rendered the year 1826 a very unhappy one to all those, whether wealthy or poor, whose means of support were connected with the industry of the country. Many indeed had to pay the penalty of their indulgence in wild speculation, and others had to suffer a severe retribution

* Porter's "Progress of the Nation."

for their abuse of the facilities for raising money upon bills, which had gone on till the sudden crash came, and borrowers and lenders were involved in equal difficulty. One well-known example is an illustration of the dangers that always beset men of sanguine hopes, who regard their facility of creating wealth in the future as a power already realised, so as to warrant the large outlay which belongs to accumulated capital. On the 18th of December, 1825, there is this entry in the diary of sir Walter Scott:—"Rich and poor four or five times; once on the verge of ruin, yet opened a new source of wealth almost overflowing. Now to be broken in my pitch of pride, and nearly winged (unless good news should come), because London chooses to be in an uproar, and in the tumult of bulls and bears a poor inoffensive lion like myself is pushed to the wall. But what is to be the end of it? God knows; and so ends the catechism." The lion would not have been pushed to the wall in the tumult of bulls and bears in London if, in building, and planting, and furnishing, and exercising hospitality upon the most sumptuous scale, he had not only anticipated the resources of his own genius, but had incurred debts on his private account, and as a partner in a printing establishment, to the extent of nearly a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The printing and publishing houses with which Scott was connected necessarily failed, and he failed with them. Then began the heroic period of his life, in which his great intellect received the noblest stimulus—that of a desire by his own unaided exertions to discharge the obligations which he had incurred by his former disregard of prudence and moderation. Many a man who had been bowed down by the storm might have felt the same aspiration again to stand erect, but few could have accomplished it so thoroughly as the great author, who never lost heart or hope, and in the darkest hour said, "If God grant me life and strength for a few years longer, I have no doubt that I shall redeem it all."

When the Session of Parliament was opened on the 2nd of February, 1826, it was truly said in the royal speech that some of the causes of the evil which had occurred were beyond the reach of direct parliamentary interposition, nor could security against the recurrence of them be found unless in the experience of the sufferings which they had occasioned. But to a certain portion of the evil correctives at least, if not effectual remedies, might be applied. It was desirable to place on a more firm foundation the currency and circulating credit of the country. Lord Liverpool then stated the measures which Government intended to submit for the consideration of Parliament. One of those measures was a regulation by which one and two pound bank-notes should be gradually withdrawn from circulation, and a metallic currency substituted for them. The other measure had reference to the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England, under their charter which would not expire till 1833. Lord Liverpool said—"If the Bank could be induced to give up so much of their exclusive privilege as related to country banks, and if they would accompany that surrender with a measure which would be desirable for their own sakes, namely, the establishment in some parts of the country of branches of their own institution, the effect on the general circulation of the country would, he thought, be most beneficial." The privilege of the Bank of England had prevented the establishment of any banking concern with a greater number of partners than six. Lord

Liverpool said he was old enough to remember the time when there was scarcely such an institution as a country bank except in great commercial towns, and when the transactions of the country were carried on in Bank of England notes, and money obtained from London. There had been a great change. Any small tradesman, a cheesemonger, a butcher, or a shoemaker might open a country bank. The exclusive privilege of the Bank of England did not touch them. But an association of persons with fortune sufficient to carry on a banking concern with security was not permitted to do so.* The panic of 1825 produced the great measure of 1826, sanctioning the establishment of Joint-Stock Banks; under which enactment a banking firm might include any number of partners except within sixty-five miles of London. This year was also the date of the establishment of Branch Banks of the Bank of England. Scotland was exempted from the prohibition of the small note currency. It is worthy of note, that during the panic not a single Scotch bank failed.

The difficulties of capitalists in the manufacturing districts produced, as their inevitable consequence, distress amongst the workers. In those days riot was too commonly the concomitant of distress. The popular excitement took the usual course of the days of popular ignorance,—the destruction of machinery. At various places in Lancashire, from the 23rd to the 30th of April, one thousand power-looms were destroyed, with the old accompaniments of reading the Riot Act and calling out the military. At Trowbridge the populace, who found potatoes dearer in their market than on the previous week, believing themselves injured by the monopolists of vegetables, attacked all the standings of the market gardeners and country butchers, so effectually doing their work that they scared away for some time all those who kept down the prices of the town dealers by competition. There were riotous proceedings and destruction of property in most places where the operatives were suffering distress. Lamentable as such outrages must be in their effects upon the sufferers themselves, they sometimes speak with a stronger voice than the sober arguments of those who would mitigate the suffering by inquiries into its remediable causes. Whilst the noble and the rich of Lanarkshire, in a public meeting, resolved that the distress of the working people of Glasgow was to be attributed to machinery, they, and most other landed proprietors, strenuously resisted any approach to a relaxation of the Corn Laws. The price of wheat had fallen in March below the price of January, chiefly in consequence of a belief that the government intended to release bonded wheat at a low duty. The ministers declared they had no such intention, and the average price again rose to that of the beginning of the year. The complaints and violence of the manufacturing districts alarmed the government, and at the beginning of May the release of the corn in bond was proposed and carried, with a discretionary power to admit foreign grain to the extent of five hundred thousand quarters, in the event of the next harvest proving unfavourable. These concessions were not obtained without great difficulty,—without a protest on the part of the ministers that they had not, and could not, have any connection whatever with any measure affecting the existing system of the Corn Laws. "If,"

* 'Hansard,' vol. xiv. col. 19.

said lord Eldon, "the measure pledged that House, or any man in that House, to any alteration unfavourable to the Corn Laws, he would be the last man to stand up as its advocate."*

At the close of the Session on the 31st of May, the royal intention was announced "to dissolve without delay the present Parliament." It was the seventh session of that Parliament. The dissolution at this early season had no reference to the state of political parties, but simply had regard to the convenience of the time for a general election. The leading question upon which men's minds would be most stirred throughout the kingdom, and especially in Ireland, would be that of Catholic Emancipation. The Cabinet remained in the position as to this question which it occupied in 1812, when lord Castlereagh became one of its members. Catholic Emancipation was what is called "an open question," upon the principle described by Mr. Canning,—“the principle of treating it as a question out of the ordinary course of ministerial business; as one to be argued upon its own merits, such as they might appear to each individual member of the administration.”† Lord Liverpool, as the head of the government, was opposed to the Catholic claims, but his opposition was qualified by the moderation of his character, and no one doubted his sincerity. Lord Eldon again and again avowed his "firm and determined purpose to support to the last our establishment in church and state."‡ When Mr. Canning became Secretary of Foreign Affairs, he was unpopular with the Anti-Catholic party in general, and obnoxious to the Lord Chancellor in particular. § Lord Eldon was, however, consoled by the decided views of Mr. Peel on this subject, whose influence with the Anti-Catholic party was materially strengthened by his position as representative of the University of Oxford. Mr. Peel, although then of comparative unimportance as a political leader, was in 1818 preferred by the University as a representative of its orthodoxy, whilst Mr. Canning was rejected. Upon the great "open question," the party of Mr. Canning in the Cabinet obtained in 1825 a majority in the House of Commons upon a Bill for the repeal of disabilities, the enactment of a state provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, and the raising of the qualification of the Irish franchise from forty shillings to ten pounds. The Bill passed the Commons by a majority of twenty-seven. It was rejected by the Lords by a majority of forty-eight. On the 25th of April the duke of York, on presenting a petition from the Dean and Canons of Windsor, made a speech which produced an enormous sensation throughout the country, and especially from his concluding words:—"My own opinions, my lords, are well known. They have been carefully formed. I cannot change them. I shall continue to act conformably to them, to whatever obloquy I may be exposed, in whatever circumstances and in whatever situation I may be placed. So help me God!" The Relief Bill had been read a second time in the House of Commons four days before this memorable declaration by the Prince of the Blood next the throne,—the heir presumptive; but it had no doubt a great influence in producing the large majority in the House of Lords against the bill. Lord

* "Hansard," vol. xv. col. 1375.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xii. col. 491.

‡ Twiss, "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 538.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

Eldon writes :—"If the duke of York's speech was imprudent, it has, nevertheless, on account of its firmness and boldness, placed him on the pinnacle of popularity."* The duke became the Protestant hero; his speech was printed in letters of gold, and zealous Protestants interpreted the words "in whatever circumstances I may be placed," as an assurance that whatever might be the dangers of the country, whatever might be the risk of a rebellion in Ireland, probably of a disruption of the Union, the duke of York, if he came to the throne, would interpret the Coronation Oath as his father had interpreted it. The duke, by the frankness of his character, his attention to the interests of the army, and his popular demeanour, had many friends and admirers, who, nevertheless, privately thought, as the Lord Chancellor privately wrote :—"It is to be regretted that in his highly important and lofty situation he spends so many days with blacklegs, and so many nights at cards."† In the session of 1826 the question of Catholic Emancipation was not agitated in Parliament.

On the 1st of January, 1827, the death of the duke of York was momentarily expected. The duke died on the 5th. The Lord Chancellor mourned deeply over the loss of the Prince, chiefly because he had great influence with the King, and in correspondence with his Majesty upon political questions, and in his recommendation of proper persons to be continued or appointed ministers, was much governed in his judgment, by what had been, and what he thought would be, the conduct of each person as to the Catholic claims. This was the one test of fitness for office with the duke of York and with the Lord Chancellor, who thus recorded their mutual opinions.‡ Mr. Canning was especially hateful to them at the time of the duke's illness, when the Chancellor "saw a great deal of his Royal Highness." The Foreign Secretary's memorable speech of the previous 1st of December, on the subject of the aggression of Spain upon Portugal, "was regarded by the Tories as amounting to a demonstration in favour of liberalism."§

The funeral of the duke of York took place at Windsor on the night of the 20th of January. Nothing in that ceremony was more remarkable than the mismanagement by which the Cabinet ministers were marshalled by the heralds in the nave of St. George's Chapel two hours before the arrival of the funeral procession. The night was bitterly cold. As we ourselves looked down from the organ loft upon the greatest in the land, thus doomed to stand upon the unmatted pavement, shivering and shifting their uneasy positions, we observed the oldest man of the Cabinet taking very wise precautions for his personal comfort and safety. One who was by the side of Mr. Canning, attributes to his kindness of heart a suggestion to the Chancellor that he should lay down his cocked hat and stand upon it.|| The Chancellor's health was preserved by this precaution. The funeral of the duke proved fatal to Mr. Canning. He caught a cold there which resulted in an illness from which he never really recovered.¶

The removal from the active concerns of life of a public man more imme-

* Twiss, "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 547.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 547.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 578.

|| Stapleton—"George Canning and his Times," p. 573.

¶ *Ibid.*

diately important to the nation very soon followed the death of the duke of York. On the 16th of February lord Liverpool moved an address to the King, expressive of the concurrence of the Peers in a message recommending a provision for the duke and duchess of Clarence. The next morning the servant of the Prime Minister, going into his sitting-room after breakfast, found him senseless on the floor in a fit of apoplexy. On the 18th lord Eldon thus expressed his opinion as to the results of this event: "His life is very uncertain, and it is quite certain that as an official man he is no more. Heaven knows who will succeed him."*

The hopeless illness of lord Liverpool must have been a heavy blow to Mr. Canning, whatever prospect might have opened to him of taking that post in the state which might be called his by inheritance. The fatal stroke of apoplexy broke up a friendship of forty years between the two statesmen. Immediately after the funeral of the duke of York they were together at Bath, telling stories of their early years, and amusing each other with recounting all sorts of fun and adventures.† They were college friends at Christ Church. They entered the House of Commons together in 1792. They differed, as leading members of the same cabinet, only upon one point of policy—that of Catholic Emancipation. The moderation of lord Liverpool prevented that difference operating in the slightest degree against the cordial support of his friend's liberal foreign policy, and that support of the Prime Minister carried the Foreign Secretary through the opposition which otherwise might have overwhelmed him. This prop was gone, and he must now trust to his own resources to contend with or to propitiate jealous colleagues, or retire at once from the position which he had won by his administrative talents and his unrivalled eloquence. The Catholic question was the chief barrier which opposed his natural claim to be the head of a ministry such as existed under lord Liverpool. It was a time when the advocates and the opposers of relief to the Catholics would be pitted against each other, and no possible doubt could be entertained of the consistency with which the leaders of each party would maintain their opinions. On the 5th of March sir Francis Burdett had proposed a resolution, "That this House is deeply impressed with the expediency of taking into consideration the laws imposing civil disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, with a view to their relief." In the adjourned debate on the 6th, Mr. Secretary Peel and Mr. Secretary Canning were distinctly marshalled against each other; and each, without any direct personal allusions, sufficiently expressed his own views for the guidance of his followers. Mr. Peel, alluding to the death of the duke of York, and the incapacity of lord Liverpool, declared that he had now an opportunity of showing his adherence to those tenets which he had formerly espoused—of showing that he stood by his opinions when the influence and authority which might have given them currency was gone, "and when it was impossible, he believed, that in the mind of any human being he could stand suspected of pursuing his principles with any view to favour or personal aggrandisement."‡ The biographer of sir Robert Peel, his diplomatic friend and ardent admirer, says that this language did not

* Twiss, vol. ii. p. 533.

† Stapleton, p. 530.

‡ "Hansard, vol. xvi. col. 980."

meet with entire credence, it being a prevalent opinion that as Mr. Canning was growing daily in influence with the liberal party, Mr. Peel was anxious on his side to secure to himself the firm support of the Tories, "in order to raise himself eventually to the head of the government."* Mr. Canning, in his reply, glanced with a very intelligible meaning at the consequences that would result from throwing away any chance of improving the condition of Ireland, if a ministry wholly Anti-Catholic should carry into effect the doctrine of Mr. Peel, that the troubles and difficulties of that country should be met by firmness and decision:—"Firmness and decision, sir, are admirable qualities; but they are virtues or vices according as they are used. I will not take them in the unfavourable sense in which they have been taken generally, by the ears which have heard them this night; for if I did, I should not envy the hand on which would devolve the task of carrying such a system into effect."† The king had quickly to determine upon his choice, not of either of the principles avowed by these two parliamentary leaders, but of the possibility of reconciling those differences of opinion under a premiership which might allow the continuance of that system of compromise which made the Catholic question an open one for the Cabinet. The king consulted the duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Canning. These ministers had repeated conferences with each other, but no solution of the difficulty could be arrived at. There was no one to be found, either Pro-Catholic or Anti-Catholic, who could be placed at the head of the government with the same power and influence as lord Liverpool had exercised for continuing the system of compromise. Mr. Canning saw the difficulty, and offered to retire if the king could form an administration wholly composed of persons thinking as the king himself thought. His Majesty did not see the possibility of maintaining such a ministry; and finally on the 10th of April, gave his commands to Mr. Canning to prepare, with as little delay as possible, a plan for the reconstruction of the administration.‡

On the 12th of April a new writ for the borough of Newport was moved in the House of Commons, in consequence of the acceptance by Mr. Canning of the office of First Lord of the Treasury. At the same time it was agreed that the House should adjourn till the 1st of May. During this interval the greatest excitement prevailed, not only amongst political partisans, but in every circle in which the characters and opinions of public men formed subjects of discussion. The commanding talents and the liberal policy of Mr. Canning produced a very extended hope that he would be able to maintain his great position against the attacks of his numerous enemies. At this time lord Eldon wrote—"the whole conversation in this town is made up of abusive, bitterly abusive, talk of people about each other—all fire and flame; I have known nothing like it."§ It was pretty generally known that the offers of Mr. Canning to six of his late colleagues in the Cabinet had been either contemptuously or civilly rejected. Those of his colleagues who resigned their offices before or on the 12th, were—the Lord Chancellor, the duke of Wellington, lord Westmoreland, lord Bathurst, lord

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 28.

† "Hansard," vol. xvi. col. 1007.

‡ See Note at the end of this chapter.

§ Twiss, vol. ii. p. 588.

Bexley, and Mr. Peel. Mr. Canning went into the King's closet and said, presenting these letters of resignation to the King, "Here, sire, is that which disables me from executing the orders I have received from you respecting the formation of a new administration. It is now open to your Majesty to adopt a new course." The King gave Mr. Canning his hand to kiss, and the minister had to look around for new supporters. Lord Bexley afterwards withdrew his resignation. Lord Melville retired from the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, and the duke of Clarence was appointed Lord-High-Admiral. The duke of Wellington, contrary to the desire of the King and his minister, subsequently resigned, in addition to his seat in the Cabinet, his office of Commander-in-Chief. When the Houses met, after the Easter recess, on the 1st of May, Mr. Canning had completed the formation of his ministry.* On that day all the avenues to the House of Commons were crowded by persons anxious to catch a glimpse of the minister so beloved and trusted, so feared and hated. He walked up the old staircase which led to the lobby with a firm and agile step, and one of the crowd, at least, who looked upon his radiant face, thought of Burke's famous description of Conway, "hope elevated and joy brightened his crest."† The House of Commons on that night presented an unusual spectacle. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Tierney sat immediately behind the minister. Mr. Brougham took his seat on the ministerial side; with other members who three weeks previously had sat on the benches of Opposition. In the House of Peers, lord Lyndhurst was on the woolsack. Three new peers took the oaths, viscount Goderich (late Mr. Robinson), lord Plunkett, and lord Tenterden. Mr. Peel on that night made a most elaborate exposition of the causes which had led to the resignation of himself and other members of the late government. There was no acrimony in his studied oration. Mr. Canning had the gratifying assurance from Mr. Brougham, who in the eminent position which he had won had the right to speak the sentiments of a large and powerful body, that the new government should have his support, without the possibility of his taking office himself. Mr. Canning made his explanation calmly as befitted his great place. He could scarcely then have been prepared for the fury of the tempest with which he was soon to be assailed. In the House of Commons he, with his friend Huskisson by his side, was well able to hold his ground against any assailant. Mr. Peel did not offer any opposition to the minister which could imply a difference of opinion amounting to personal hostility. A few of the immediate friends of Mr. Peel were not so guarded in joining what has been termed "a teasing opposition." Some "of that species of orators called the yelpers," of whom Canning was the terror,—for his "lash would have penetrated the hide of a rhinoceros,"‡—were perpetually pestering the minister "to give some explanation of the circumstances which led to the dissolution of the late, and the formation of the present, administration." Canning was contented to say, "I will not answer a single question relative to the late transactions, unless it be brought forward as a motion." Mr. Brougham

* We give, at the end of this chapter, a list of the Administration as it stood on the 1st of May, and as it was modified before the close of the session.

† See ante, vol. vi. p. 284.

‡ Scott, Diary in Lockhart's "Life," vol. vii

steadily supported Mr. Canning in this determination, declaring that such questions were really suggested for the sake of exciting unfair and irregular discussions. Alluding to the same tactics that had been practised in another place, he could only express his unfeigned regret that a prayer that he had heard on the previous Sunday had not hitherto been fulfilled—that it had not yet pleased Divine providence “to endue all the nobility with grace, wisdom, and understanding.” Such an enlightenment might have saved a great statesman from what appeared to many as a blot upon his otherwise high-minded career. One of the most judicious politicians of another country has spared us the pain of expressing our own opinions upon the conduct of the most distinguished amongst the Whigs: “Attacked in the House of Peers by lord Grey with *haughty and contemptuous violence*, Mr. Canning had been but feebly defended by his unskilful and intimidated friends in that House; and he was so much wounded at this, that for a moment, it is said, he entertained the idea of resigning his seat in the House of Commons and obtaining a peerage, that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his policy and honour in the House of Lords.”* He might have calmly said, with Lear, “The little dogs and all, see, they bark at me;” but “tooth that poisons if it bite” would leave a rankling wound. The duke of Newcastle might call upon every friend of his country to aid in dispossessing “one who was the most profligate minister who had ever been placed in power.” Such impotent rage carried its own antidote. But lord Grey was of another order of minds. Lord Holland stood up boldly to defend himself and his friends from the charge of having given an unworthy support to the minister thus assailed by the strong and the impotent. He showed, as Mr. Brougham had shown, how the liberal opinions of Mr. Canning claimed support from those who professed similar principles.

The attack by lord Grey upon Mr. Canning’s foreign policy was not difficult of refutation. But there was one point of material importance upon which lord Grey must have known that he could not receive an answer when he said, “I ask of the noble lords opposite, or of any one of them, to answer me, aye or no,—has or has not an engagement been entered into not to bring forward the Catholic question as a measure of government?” He added, “If such an engagement have been made, that at once settles my mind, because it is a principle which I have always opposed. It is nothing less than that which in 1807 I rejected, and to which nothing shall ever induce me to agree.”† It is possible that the somewhat loose manner in which George IV. was accustomed to talk of state affairs to his familiar friends, and which thus became the tattle of the Court circle, might have warranted lord Grey in more than insinuating against the conduct of the Prime Minister that he had given an unconstitutional pledge such as had been refused by the ministry of which lord Grey himself formed a part in 1807.‡ But the confidences of his majesty extended beyond those amongst whom he passed a life of gentle dalliance and practical jokes at the Lodge in Windsor Great Park. The duke of Buckingham, whom he had raised to the loftiest

* Guizot, “Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel,” p. 31

† “Hansard,” vol. xvii. col. 724.

‡ *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 492.

eminence of the Peerage, relates, in the "Private Diary" which the lapse of thirty-five years has brought to light, that the king unbosomed himself to him in the most unreserved manner as to the recent changes of administration. The duke was very wroth with Mr. Canning, who had not propitiated him by the offer of some great office, although the Grenvilles were represented in the Cabinet; and he was himself friendly to Catholic Emancipation. The conversation turned upon this absorbing question: "Canning," said the king, "has pledged himself never to press me upon that subject, and never to be a member of the Cabinet that does." His majesty added, with an oath, that the moment his minister "changed his line he goes."* We can understand how the king's uncontradicted talk might have provoked the indignation of lord Grey against one whom he deemed ready to sacrifice honour for power. Two years afterwards his majesty repeated the same narrative of what passed in the closet when there was no witness present. On the 28th of March, 1829, when lord Eldon was using his influence over his sovereign to prevent the Catholic Relief Bill proposed by the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel becoming law, the ex-chancellor makes this entry in his Diary: "His majesty employed a very considerable portion of time in stating all that he represented to have passed when Mr. Canning was made minister, and expressly stated that Mr. C. would never, and that he had engaged that he would never, allow him to be troubled about the Roman Catholic question." † In the "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel"—those most interesting revelations published by the trustees of his papers,—this passage from the Diary of lord Eldon is quoted by him for the purpose of appending to it a vindication of the character of the man of whom Mr. Peel said in the great debate on the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829,—wishing that Mr. Canning were alive to reap the harvest which he sowed, and to enjoy the triumph which he gained,—"I was on terms of the most friendly intimacy with my right honourable friend, down even to the day of his death." The testimony to the political integrity of Mr. Canning upon the question of Catholic Emancipation in 1827 is as follows:—"There must, no doubt, have been some misapprehension on the king's mind as to the engagement or intentions of Mr. Canning with regard to the Catholic question. I feel very confident that Mr. Canning would not have accepted office having entered into any engagement, or given any assurances, which would have the effect of placing his government and himself in that relation to George the Fourth with respect to the Catholic question in which preceding ministers had stood to George the Third." ‡ What Sir Robert Peel concluded to have been "a misapprehension on the king's mind" has been designated by a coarser term in the "Private Diary" of the Duke of Buckingham, which contains these entries: July 17—Received a letter from George [Lord Nugent]—"He treats the pledge of Canning not to press the Catholic question as a lie of the king's." . . . July 19—"I had a long letter from George, strongly urgent against the line which I have adopted, and declaring the king to tell falsehoods, and to intend to deceive." §

* "Private Diary of Richard, Duke of Buckingham," 1862, vol. i. pp. 13 and 14.

† Twiss, "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. iii. p. 82.

‡ "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. i. p. 275.

§ "Private Diary" vol. i. p. 21. See Note at end of this chapter.

During the two months in which the Session was continued after the re-assembling of Parliament on the 1st of May, the irregular discussions in both Houses left but little opportunity for real progress in the nation's business. The personal hostility to Mr. Canning, which the duke of Wellington almost acknowledged, was something strange in parliamentary tactics, and some attributed it to the traditional jealousy of the aristocracy, whether Whig or Tory, that a plebeian—an adventurer—should presume to take the helm of the State instead of one of their "Order." Others ascribed the personal attacks of many peers and commoners to that hatred of genius, too often entertained by mediocrity of understanding. The incessant exhibition of this spirit rendered it impossible for the minister either to make a triumphant display of his oratorical power, or to carry through any measure of great public importance. He spoke for the last time on the 18th of June, on the subject of the Corn-trade. The Session was closed on the 2nd of July.

When men were speculating in February on the probable successor of lord Liverpool, lord Eldon wrote, "I should suppose Canning's health would not let him undertake the labour of the situation; but ambition will attempt anything."* The prorogation of Parliament did not produce the usual effect of comparative relaxation upon the toil-worn Minister. Four years previous, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Robinson were described after a prorogation, as "boys let loose from school." The American minister who was thus astonished at the deportment of grave statesmen, was more astonished when the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, after dinner, proposed that the company should play at the game of "Twenty Questions." Complete relaxation, however impaired may be the health of a Prime Minister, is one of the few things which he is utterly powerless to command. Mr. Canning had an interview with the king on the 30th of July, when his majesty was so struck by the looks of the Premier, to whom he had given a cordial support, that he sent his own physician to attend him. The next day Mr. Canning had to work in Downing-street. The duke of Devonshire had lent him his villa at Chiswick, in the belief that change of air would restore him. He occupied the bedroom in which Fox had died. On the 31st a few friends had dined with him; but he retired early. The suffering from internal inflammation which he felt on that last night of July, terminated in his death on the 8th of August. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 16th in the most private manner. But the universal display of sorrow told more than any funeral pomp that a great man had departed.

The settlement of a treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia, on the subject of the affairs of Greece, was the latest, as it was amongst the most important, of the official acts of Mr. Canning. That treaty was signed on the 7th of July, 1827. Forty years had elapsed since, a schoolboy at Eton, he had written a very eloquent poem on "The Slavery of Greece." He painted the ancient glories of her arms and her arts; he evoked the great names of her philosophers and her poets, to point the contrast of her glories fading into shame,—servitude binding in its galling chain those who had stood up against Asia's millions,—cities mouldering,—the fallen

* *Twiss*, vol. ii. p. 583.

column on the dusty ground,—worst of all, the sons of the freedom-breathing land sighing in abject bondage, groaning at the labours of the oar or of the mine, trembling before

“The glitt’ring tyranny of Othman’s sons.”*

The position of Greece since 1821 was such as to arouse the deepest sympathies of every Englishman who knew anything of her ancient story. The Greeks in that year, seizing the opportunity of a war between the sultan and Ali Pasha, rose in revolt. A proclamation issued by the archbishop of Patras produced a general insurrection. For six years a cruel and devastating war had gone on, in which the Greeks, at first successful, had more and more quailed before the greater force which the Porte was able at last to bring against them, by employing the disciplined troops of the pasha of Egypt. The story of this war has a peculiar interest to us in connection with the individual efforts of Englishmen to promote this struggle for freedom,—of Byron, who died at Missolonghi with “Greece” on his lips,—of Cochrane, whose hopes of rousing the Greek leaders to decisive and unanimous action came to an end when all was lost at the great battle before Athens. In September, 1826, the Divan having obstinately refused to enter into negotiations with those over whom they considered themselves the absolute masters,—those “who form part of the nations inhabiting the countries conquered ages ago by the Ottoman arms,”†—the British Government proposed to Russia that the Porte should be apprised that the result of this obstinacy would be the recognition of the independence of Greece. What, according to international laws, should be the basis of this recognition, was clearly laid down by Mr. Canning. The Turks were to be told that Great Britain and Russia “would look to Greece with an eye of favour, and with a disposition to seize the first occasion of recognizing, as an independent state, such portion of her territory as should have freed itself from Turkish dominion; provided that such state should have shown itself substantially capable of maintaining an independent existence, of carrying on a government of its own, of controlling its own military and naval forces, and of being responsible to other nations for the observance of international laws and the discharge of international duties.” Such was the exposition which the British government then adopted, in the affairs of Greece, of the principles which should determine the recognition of the independence of a revolting or separating state. The principle of what should constitute a belligerent was laid down with equal clearness by Mr. Canning at an earlier stage of this conflict: “The character of belligerency is not so much a principle as a fact. A certain degree of force and consistency acquired by any mass of population engaged in war entitles that population to be treated as a belligerent, and even if their title were questionable renders it the interest, well understood, of all civilized nations so to treat them. For what is the alternative? A power or community (whichever it may be called) which is at war with another, and which covers the sea with its cruisers, must either be acknowledged as a belligerent, or treated as a pirate.”

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of July, 1827, it was agreed that

* *Microcosm*, 1787, No. 5.

† Manifesto of the Ottoman Porte, 1827.

instructions should be sent to the representatives at Constantinople of the three contracting Powers that they should present a joint declaration to the Divan, stating that as the war of extermination had been prolonged for six years, producing results shocking to humanity, and inflicting intolerable injury on the commerce of all nations, it was no longer possible to admit that the fate of Greece concerned exclusively the Ottoman Porte. They were to offer their mediation between the Sublime Porte and the Greeks to put an end to the war, to settle by amicable negotiation the relations which ought for the future to exist between them, and to propose that all acts of hostility should be suspended by an armistice. A similar proposition should be made to the Greeks. A month was to be given to the Ottoman Porte to make known its determination. If no answer were returned, or an evasive answer were given, the Divan was to be informed that the three Powers would themselves interfere to establish an armistice. Although the admirals of the allied squadrons of the three Powers were to be instructed to take coercive measures to enforce an armistice, they were to be warned against any hostile step which would be contrary to the pacific character which the three Powers were desirous to impart to their interference.

Such were the views of a statesman who, ardently desiring the preservation of peace, would not hesitate to enforce the true principles of international law that should govern the recognition of a belligerent Power, and of a State claiming to be independent. These were principles which would remain for our guidance in all future questions involving a similar exercise of discretion and forbearance, but calling for resolute action when it might become necessary to assert the right of civilized communities to decide upon such questions without reference to the passions and prejudices of the contending parties. Mr. Canning was most anxious, in the terrible conflict between Turks and Greeks, to avoid any course of action which would lead to direct hostilities, and especially to avert the possible danger of a policy of absolute neutrality on the part of Great Britain which might have placed the Turkish empire at the feet of Russia. By completing the treaty with Russia and France, he secured that co-operation which would prevent that separate action of Russia which would have necessarily resulted in her own aggrandizement. All the complicated previous negotiations for the pacification of Greece had reference to this difficulty.

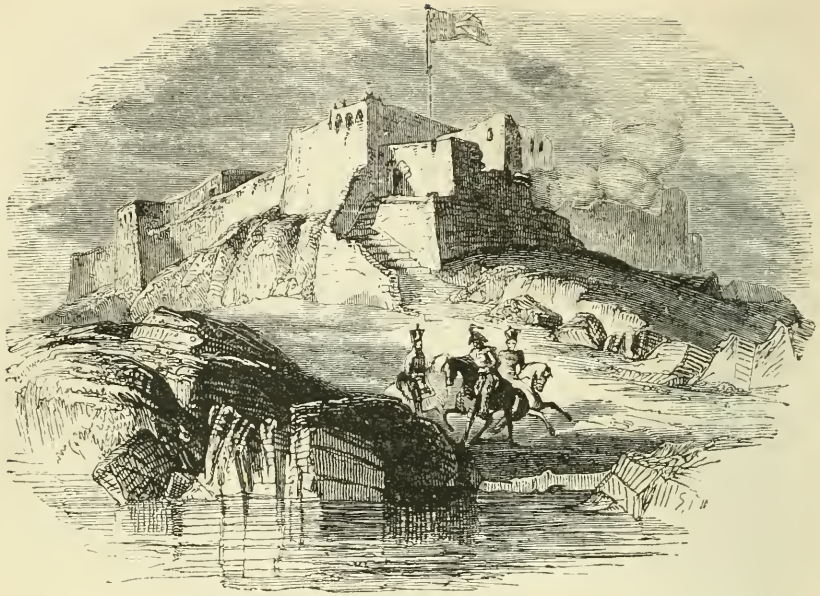
THE CABINET OF MR. CANNING.

Earl of Harrowby	President of the Council ; succeeded by the Duke of Portland.
Lord Lyndhurst	Lord Chancellor.
Duke of Portland	Lord Privy Seal ; succeeded by the Earl of Carlisle.
Right Hon. George Canning	First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Right Hon. W. S. Bourne	Secretary of State for the Home Department ; succeeded by the Marquess of Lansdowne.
Viscount Dudley and Ward	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Viscount Goderich	Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Right Hon C. W. W. Wynn	President of the Board of Control.
Lord Bexley	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. William Huskisson	Treasurer of the Navy, and President of Board of Trade.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary-at-War.
Right Hon. George Tierney	Master of the Mint.
Earl of Carlisle	First Commissioner of Woods and Forests ; succeeded by the Right Hon. W. S. Bourne.

NOTE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH PRECEDED MR. CANNING'S
PREMIERSHIP.

The editor of the "Private Diary" of the duke of Buckingham announces that portion which relates to an audience of George IV. as of singular interest: "such an exposition of ministerial intrigue does not exist in any published work." We are constrained to believe that the whole of the exposition, whether relating to the duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, or Mr. Canning, is, for the most part, a figment of the king's. We have noticed in the text what his Majesty said as to a pledge given by Mr. Canning (p. 207). We have a few words to write upon what the duke of Buckingham accepted as a story clearly made out "against Peel and the duke of Wellington, the truth of which I cannot doubt." Twice, said the king, he saw the duke of Wellington, and twice the duke said that "he could not be his minister"—"the duke persevered in excluding himself." The king went on to say that "at last Peel, who had kept a very high and mighty bearing" agreed to meet Canning, and after this meeting wrote to him to say that one had been suggested as Premier whose name he did not like to put in writing; that delays intervened, and that at last "Peel came to the king and thundered out the duke of Wellington's name," upon which his majesty said that "having been refused twice by the duke himself," he would not, "in the eleventh hour, have a man crammed down his throat." Peel then refused to act with Canning; the king refused to accept Wellington; named Canning as his minister; and then the resignations took place.

The circumstances thus recorded and credited are totally at variance with the statements and documents published by Mr. Stapleton in 1859. Mr. Canning had a long audience of the king on the 27th of March, the particulars of which are minutely detailed in a paper dictated by him to his secretary. Between the 31st of March and the 6th of April, he had no communication with the king on the subject of the cabinet arrangements; but he had frequent conferences with the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel. On the 9th of April, Mr. Canning, *by the king's command*, saw Mr. Peel, "who came for the purpose of stating the name of an individual whose appointment as premier Mr. Peel conceived likely to solve all difficulties." That individual was the duke of Wellington. Under him Mr. Canning declined to serve, as the duke "for years had been combating in the cabinet Mr. Canning's system of foreign policy." On the next day the king gave his commands to Mr. Canning to prepare a plan for the reconstruction of the administration. The "story clearly made out against Mr. Peel and the duke of Wellington," like many other stories, is destroyed by a little cross-examination. So far from the king refusing the duke of Wellington, he sent Mr. Peel to Mr. Canning to endeavour to induce him to accept the duke as the Anti-Catholic head of the Ministry.



Hill Fortess.

CHAPTER XII.

India—Retrospect from 1807 to 1826—Lord Minto Governor-General—Mutiny of Officers at Madras—Trade of India thrown open—Government of the Marquess of Hastings—War with Nepaul—War with the Pindarees—The War terminated, and the Mahratta Confederacy broken up—Conquest of Ceylon—Singapore—Malacca—Lord Amherst Governor-General—War with the Birman Empire—Campaign of Sir Archibald Campbell—Peace with the Birnese—Bombardment and Capture of Bhurtpore—Regulation of the Press in India—The case of Mr. Buckingham—Material progress of British India.

At the opening of the Session of Parliament at the end of 1826, the Houses were informed of the termination of war in the Birnese territories, and of the conclusion of a peace highly honourable to the British arms and to the councils of the British government in India. From 1824 there had been war with the Birman empire, lord Amherst being Governor-General. From 1813 to 1822, during the government of the marquess of Hastings, there had been war with the Nepaulese, and war with the Pindarees, the latter war involving changes in the relations of the British power with native princes, which eventually led to their complete submission. From 1807 to 1812 there had been war with the Rajah of Travancore; there had been mutinies in the native army; and, by a series of hostile operations, the British had become the sole European power in India. Lord Minto was Governor-General during this first period, succeeding lord Cornwallis after the very brief term

of his government.* We propose to take a brief survey of the events of this period of twenty years, during which time there had been important changes in the relations of the State to the East India Company, and a general impatience amongst the commercial community at the continuance of their monopoly, and at the somewhat arbitrary regulations by which it was deemed necessary to uphold their exclusive privileges. But there had never been a year in which the British empire in India was not extending and consolidating, and the same courage, fortitude, and perseverance evinced in military enterprises which first laid the foundations of that empire, and would still have to sustain it through years of danger and difficulty. Nor let us forget that, during these twenty years in which the native powers adverse to our rule and influence were either crushed or propitiated, some efforts were made to accomplish a more complete subjection of the native populations by a civil rule of justice and beneficence, by repressing, as far as was safe, the barbarous rites of their idolatries and superstitious, and by winning them over to some possible recognition of Christian principles by encouraging rather than repressing efforts for their conversion, and by the establishment of an Anglican Church, whose first bishops were tolerant as well as zealous, active in well-doing, of high talent, and of blameless life.

At the beginning of 1807 India was at peace. On the death of the marquis Cornwallis, the powers of the Governor-General were temporarily exercised by sir George Barlow, who was subsequently entrusted with the full authority of his post by the Court of Directors. The Grenville administration had just come into office, and they wished to bestow the appointment upon one of their own supporters, and especially upon some nobleman. The harmony that had hitherto subsisted between the two independent bodies in whom was vested the government of India, was now interrupted. The ministry, who had at first consented to the continuance in office of sir George Barlow, recalled him, by an exercise of the royal prerogative, in direct opposition to the Board of Directors. The debates in Parliament on this subject were continued and violent. The conflict was finally settled by the appointment of lord Minto. The tranquillity of his government was after a while seriously disturbed by an outbreak against the power of the Company at Travancore. There was war against the Rajah of this state, which originated in a dispute between his Dewan, or chief minister, and the British resident. His troops were beaten in the field during 1808, and the lines of Travancore being stormed at the beginning of 1809, and other forts captured, relations of amity between the Company and the Rajah were restored. A more serious danger arose out of a circumstance which appears now amongst the almost incredible things of the past. The officers of the Madras army, who had long been stirred up to discontent, had mutinied, and lord Minto, in August, 1809, sailed for Madras to quell this extraordinary insubordination of British officers. There were various and contradictory regulations existing in the several Presidencies. There were inequalities in the rate of allowances. At Madras, what the Council termed "a very dangerous spirit of cabal" had been pointed out as early as March, 1807, by the Council to the Court of Directors. There was there an officer high in command, lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, who was

* *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 461.

described in the despatch of the Council as "the champion of the rights of the Company's army." Colonel St. Leger, as well as other officers, was suspended by an order of the 1st of May, and then open mutiny burst out at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, and other places. On one occasion only was blood shed in this extraordinary revolt. Many of these officers were very young men, who were incited to acts of insubordination by the example of their seniors. Brave as were the British officers in the field, their exclusiveness and assumption of superiority were offensive to civilians and dangerous in their intercourse with the natives. These misguided men gradually returned to habits of obedience. In September lord Minto published an amnesty, with the exception of eighteen officers, nearly all of whom chose to resign rather than to abide the judgment of a court-martial. It now became the wish of all to obliterate the painful remembrance of the past. During this alarming period, in which the mutiny of the officers might have led to the entire disorganization of the Sepoy army, the King's troops manifested the most entire obedience to the orders of the Governor-General. Lord Wellington, engrossing as was his duty in Spain in December 1809, wrote from Badajoz to colonel Malcolm, to express how much he felt on what had passed in the Madras establishment:—"I scarcely recognize in those transactions the men for whom I entertained so much respect and had so much regard a few years back." Those transactions, he said, were "consequences of the first error—that is, of persons in authority making partizans of those placed under them, instead of making all obey the constituted authorities of the State."*

During the administration of lord Minto a number of successful operations were undertaken in the Eastern Archipelago, which, in 1810, gave us possession of Amboyna and the Banda isles, of the island of Bourbon, and of the Mauritius. The most important of these conquests was the rich island of Java, which, after a severe battle with the Dutch troops near the capital, capitulated in 1810. Sir Stamford Raffles, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java, described it as "the other India." It passed out of our hands at the Peace—a circumstance attributed by many to the complete ignorance of the British government of the great value of this possession. The policy of the Court of Directors was to maintain peace as long as possible upon the continent of India, and thus the depredations of the Pindarees and the Nepaulese were not met by the Governor-General with any vigorous measures of repression. He demanded redress of the Rajah of Nepal for the outrages of his people, but he did not make any more effectual demonstration to compel a less injurious conduct. His diplomacy had for its main object to prevent the establishment of the French in the peninsula. He concluded treaties with the Ameers of Scinde, and with the King of Caubul, of which the terms of friendship were, that they should restrain the French from settling in their territories. With Persia, where France was endeavouring to establish her influence, a treaty was concluded, binding the sovereign to resist the passage of any European force through his country towards India.

The usual term of a Governor-General's residence being completed, lord

* Despatches, vol. v. p. 330.

Minto resigned in 1813, and proceeded to England. He came at a time when a material alteration was at hand in the position of the East India Company. By the Statute of Queen Anne, and by successive Acts of Parliament, the Company had the exclusive privilege, as regarded English subjects, of trading to all places east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the Straits of Magalhaens. In March, 1813, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee to consider the affairs of the East India Company. The Government proposed that the charter of the Company should be renewed for twenty years, during which term they should retain the exclusive trade to China, but that the trade to India should be thrown open on certain conditions. The Government also proposed to appoint a bishop for India, and three archdeacons. The Committee examined various witnesses. The first witness was Warren Hastings, then eighty years of age. He expressed his decided opinion that the settlement of Europeans would be fraught with danger to the peace of the country and the security of the Company, and that the trade between India and England, as then regulated, was far more beneficial than if perfectly free. On the subject of the propagation of Christianity in India, and the proposed episcopal establishment, his evidence is described as having evinced "a most philosophic indifference."* The debates in both Houses on the Resolutions occupied four months of the session. A Bill was finally passed by which the trade to India was thrown open as proposed, the territorial and commercial branches of the Company's affairs were separated, and the king was empowered to create a bishop of India, and three archdeacons, to be paid by the Company.

Lord Minto was succeeded as Governor-General by the earl of Moira, afterwards marquess of Hastings, who took possession of the government on the 4th of October, 1813. During 1814 and 1815 there was war between the British and the Nepaulese. This is sometimes called the Gorkha war, from that portion of Nepaul which surrounded Gorkha, the capital, and which was originally subject to the separate rule of one of the princes of the Nepaul dynasty. The Gorkhas at the period of the government of the marquess of Hastings were subjecting all the smaller states to their dominion, and were able to maintain an army of twelve thousand disciplined men, who were clothed and accoutred like the British sepoy. As they advanced towards the British possessions on the northern frontier, they manifested a desire to try their strength against the Company's troops, and exhibited their ill-will in 1814 by attacking two police-stations in the districts of Goruckpoor and Sarun, and by massacring all the troops in the garrisons there. The first operations of the British troops were unsuccessful; but in 1815 Sir David Ochterlony was enabled to dislodge the Gorkhas from their hill-forts, and to compel their commander, Ammer Singh, to capitulate. A treaty of peace was concluded at the end of 1815, but its ratification by the Rajah being withheld, a large British army advanced to Khatmandu, the present capital of Nepaul. The treaty was ratified and the war concluded at the beginning of 1816. Some portions of territory were ceded to the Company; but for the most part the chiefs who had been expelled by the conquering Gorkhas were restored to their ancient possessions.

* Thornton, "British Empire in India," vol. iv. p. 223.

The province of Malwa was the chief seat of a body of freebooters, the Pindarees, who carried on a war of devastation with peaceful neighbours, and were more formidable from their want of that political organization which constitutes a state. They lived in separate societies of one or two hundred, governed each by its chief, but they were always ready to combine under one supreme chief for the purposes of their marauding expeditions. In 1814 fifteen thousand horsemen were assembled on the north bank of the Nerbudda, under a leader named Cheetoo. In October, 1815, they seized the opportunity of our troops being engaged in the Nepaulese war to cross the Nerbudda, and having plundered and devastated a territory of our ally, the Nizam of the Deccan, recrossed the Nerbudda to prepare for another raid with a greater force. Between the 5th of February and the 17th of May, 1816, they had again collected an immense booty, with which they retired, not only having devastated the lands of our allies, but within the Company's frontiers having plundered more than three hundred villages and put to death or tortured more than four thousand individuals. These fierce and successful attacks of the Pindarees were not solely instigated by their own desire for the rich booty of peaceful provinces. They would scarcely have ventured to defy the British power had they not been secretly supported by a confederacy of Mahratta potentates. The Governor-General had obtained certain information that the Peishwa, the Rajah of Nagpore, Scindia, Holkar the younger, and Ameer Khan, were preparing in concert with the Pindarees to invade the Company's territories whilst our troops were engaged in the Nepaulese war. The Governor-General, at the conclusion of the peace with Nepal, applied to the authorities at home for permission to carry on the war with the Pindarees upon a great scale. Till this permission should arrive he had only to keep the Bengal army in advanced cantonments. When his warrant for extended operations did arrive, the marquess of Hastings was ready with an army in each of the three presidencies to take the field against the Pindarees, and against all their open or secret supporters. The immensity of his preparations, says a French writer, was determined by the importance of his desigus. "The Governor-General took the resolution to complete the plan conceived long before and pursued without relaxation by his predecessors—the absolute conquest of the Peninsula."* Whether or no such a design, which was regarded at home as a dream of ambition, had urged the marquess of Hastings to undertake a war of enormous magnitude, it is quite certain that the issue of that war was another most decided advance in the assertion of our supremacy, which manifestly tended to "the absolute conquest of the Peninsula."

At the end of September, 1817, orders were issued for a simultaneous movement of the army of Bengal under the command of the Governor-General, of the army of the Deccan under the command of sir Thomas Hislop, and of various corps from different stations, each marching to points from which the Pindarees could be surrounded, and at the same time their Mahratta and other supporters prevented from uniting their forces. It is not within our limits to attempt any detail of this very complicated warfare. The war with the Pindarees was terminated in the spring of 1818, with the entire destruction or dispersion of these terrible marauders. The best

* "Annuaire Historique," 1818, p. 357

historian of the events which led to this most desirable result is sir John Malcolm, who was himself one of the most active and sagacious of the British commanders. Their complete extinction has been graphically described by him: "Within five years after their name had spread terror and dismay over all India, there remained not a spot that a Pindaree could call his home. They had been hunted like wild beasts, numbers had been killed, all ruined, those who espoused their cause had fallen. Early in the contest they were shunned like a contagion,—the timid villagers whom they had so recently oppressed were among the foremost to attack them."*

On the 5th of November the Governor-General had extorted by the presence of his powerful army a treaty with Scindia, in which that Mahratta chief engaged to aid in the destruction of the Pindarees. That army was at this moment attacked by an enemy far more dangerous than any which it would be likely to encounter in the field. It was encamped in low ground, on the banks of a tributary of the Junna. The Indian cholera morbus, which had broken out at Jessore, had ascended the valley of the Ganges, and reaching the camp of the main British army destroyed in little more than a week one-tenth of the number there crowded together. The camp was broken up, and the army marched on in the hope of reaching some spot where the disease would be less fatal. It was the end of November before the remnant of this fine army having reached Ereeh, on the Bettwa river, the pestilence seemed to have exhausted its force. During its rage the marquess of Hastings fully expected to be a victim; for his personal attendants were dropping all around him. Bury me in my tent, he said, lest the enemy should hear of my death, and attack my disheartened troops. Scindia had seized the opportunity, not to render aid against the Pindarees, but to invite them to come into his territory. The cholera passed away, and the Governor-General hurried back to his former position to cut off the possible junction between the marauding bands and Scindia's troops. In the remaining months of 1817 and the beginning of 1818 the Mahratta confederacy was utterly broken up by the successes of the British. The Rajah of Nagpore, after a battle of eighteen hours, was defeated, and his town of Nagpore taken on the 26th of November. Holkar was beaten on the 21st of December at the battle of Meehudpoor, and peace was concluded with him on the 6th of January. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas surrendered to the English in the following June, agreeing to abdicate his throne, and become a pensioner of the East India Company.

During the period of the administration of the marquess of Hastings Ceylon was entirely subjected to the British dominion. The Dutch had been in possession of the maritime provinces of this island from the beginning of the seventeenth century, whilst the interior, known as the kingdom of Kandy, was governed by native princes, with whom the Dutch were continually at war. In 1796 these maritime provinces were wrested from the Dutch by a British armament, and our establishments there were rendered more secure by the acquiescence of the king of Kandy in this occupation of the coast districts. The British administration of Ceylon was not connected with that of the East India Company; it was a distinct possession of the Crown, having been formally

* Sir John Malcolm, "Memoir of Central India."

ceded by the Treaty of Amiens. In 1815 the king of Kandy had rendered himself so obnoxious to his subjects by a series of atrocities,—such as causing a mother to pound her children to death in a mortar,—that his deposition took place, and the British were invited by Kandian chiefs to take possession of his dominions. The conquest of the island was thus effected, and the natives had begun to taste the value of a just and merciful rule, when, in 1817, a rebellion broke out in the eastern provinces, and was with difficulty suppressed after a costly and sanguinary warfare of two years' duration. From 1819 to 1848 complete tranquillity prevailed in that island, and its material and moral condition were greatly advanced under intelligent and zealous governors. At Singapore, in 1819, sir Thomas Raffles established a factory on the south shore of the island, and in 1824, a cession in full sovereignty of this and the neighbouring islands was obtained by purchase from a person who claimed to be king of Jahore, and was afterwards raised to that throne. Malacca was ceded to the British in 1824 by treaty with the government of the Netherlands.

Had Mr. Canning become Governor-General of India when his appointment as successor of the marquess of Hastings was resolved upon, it may be doubted whether he could have carried through the policy which, as President of the Board of Control, he avowed in Parliament in 1819, upon the vote of thanks to the marquess of Hastings and the army in India:—"Anxious as I am for the prosperity and grandeur of our Indian empire, I confess I look at its indefinite extension with awe. I earnestly wish that it may be possible for us to remain stationary where we are; and that what still exists of substantive and independent power in India may stand untouched and unimpaired. But this consummation, however much it may be desired, depends not on ourselves alone. Aggression must be repelled, and perfidy must be visited with its just reward. And while I join with the thinking part of the country in deprecating advance, who shall say that there is safety for such a power as ours in retrogradation?"* Of the prudence and wisdom of the theory of policy thus set forth, the nation at large, the East India Company, the great Indian administrators, never appeared to entertain the slightest doubt. But, practically, it was invariably found that without advance there would be retrogradation. It was in vain that those who led the British armies in India must have felt what Mr. Canning expressed—with how much jealousy the House and the country are in the habit of appreciating the triumphs of our arms in India; how our military operations, however successful, have always been considered as questionable in point of justice.† Lord Amherst, who in March 1823 embarked for India as Governor-General, had to pass through this almost inevitable process of entering upon a war of conquest with the most sincere desire to remain at peace. Within six or seven months after his arrival in India he had to write to a friend at home:—"I have to tell you that I most unexpectedly find myself engaged in war with the king of Ava."‡ This was the war with the Birman empire, which involved us in hostilities from March 1824 to February, 1826. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the name of Birman signified a great warlike race that had founded various

* "Hansard," vol. xxxix. col. 832.

† *Ibid.*, col. 866.

‡ "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 316.

kingdoms, amongst which were Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Aracan. The kingdoms of Ava and of Pegu were in a continued state of warfare, in which the Peguers were ultimately victorious. Ava had been conquered by them, when, in 1753, a man of humble origin but of great ability, who has been called "the Napoleon of the Hindo-Chinese peninsula,"* raised a small force, which, constantly increasing, expelled the conquerors and placed Alompra on the Birman throne. It has been remarked as equally curious and instructive, that "the last restoration of the Birman empire, and the foundation of ours in India, were exactly contemporaneous. Clive and Alompra made their conquests at the same moment."† For nearly seventy years the British from the Ganges, and the Birmese from the Irawaddi, pushed their conquests, whether by arms or negotiation, till they met. Their inevitable rivalry soon led to hostilities. The Birmese had gradually subjugated the independent states which formerly existed between their frontiers and those of the Company. Lord Amherst, in the letter we have already quoted, describes how they seized an island on which we had established a small military post, and when the Governor-General mildly complained to the king of Ava of this outrage, attributing it to the mistake of the local authorities, a force came down from Ava, "threatening to invade our territory from one end of the frontier to the other, and to re-annex the province of Bengal to the dominions of its rightful owner, the Lord of the White Elephant."

At the beginning of April the Bengal army embarked for Rangoon, the chief seaport of the Birman dominions, situated at the embouchure of the Irawaddi—according to lord Amherst "the Liverpool and Portsmouth of Ava." This important place was taken possession of almost without striking a blow; but the hope of the Governor-General that from thence he should be able to dictate the terms of a moderate and therefore lasting peace, was not very quickly realised. The British had to deal with the most warlike of their neighbours. The king of Ava called his people to arms. During the rainy season they had abundant time for preparation; and sir Archibald Campbell, who occupied Rangoon, felt the immediate necessity of fortifying it against the probable attack of a bold and persevering enemy. An enormous pagoda, more than three hundred feet high, became a citadel, garrisoned by a battalion of European troops, and the smaller Bhuddist temples assumed the character of fortresses. During June and July the Birmese made repeated attacks upon the British positions, but were as constantly repelled. On the night of the 30th of August, when the astrologers had decided that an attack upon this sacred place would free the country from the impious strangers, a body of troops called Invulnerables advanced to the northern gateway. A terrible cannonade was opened upon these dense masses, and they fled at once to the neighbouring jungle.

The Birmese were more successful in their offensive operations in Bengal. Under the command of an officer called Maha Bandoola, the Aracan army advanced to Ramoo, and completely routed a detachment of native infantry. The alarm was so great in Calcutta that the native merchants were with difficulty persuaded to remain with their families, and the peasants almost

* "Annuaire Historique," 1824, p. 537.

† "Edinburgh Review," vol. xlvii. p. 183.

universally fled from their villages. The Birmese, however, did not advance. The British had taken some important places of the Birman territory, and Maha Bandoola was recalled by the Lord of the White Elephant for the defence of his Golden Empire. In December Maha Bandoola brought sixty thousand fighting men to make one overwhelming attack upon Rangoon. For seven days there was severe fighting. The Birmese troops were repeatedly driven from their stockades, and at last, when they advanced on the 7th of December for a grand attack on the great pagoda, they were driven back into their entrenchments, and after severe fighting were chased into the jungle.

In February, 1825, Sir Archibald Campbell began to move up the Irawaddi into the interior of the Birman empire. As part of his force advanced to attack the formidable works of Donoopew, they were repulsed, and the retreat was so precipitate that the wounded men were not carried off. The barbarity in warfare of the Birmese was notorious. These unfortunate men were all crucified, and their bodies sent floating down the river upon rafts. On the 25th of March sir Archibald Campbell undertook the siege of Donoopew. For a week there had been an incessant fire from our mortars and rockets, and the breaching batteries were about to be opened, when two Lascars, who had been taken prisoners, came to the camp, and said that the chiefs and all the Birmese army had fled, for that Maha Bandoola had been killed the day before by one of our shells. By the possession of Donoopew the navigation of the Irawaddi became wholly under our command. The army continued to advance, and Prome was occupied at the end of April. The rainy monsoon now set in, and there was a suspension of operations. In the middle of November and beginning of December there were two great battles, in the latter of which the Birmese were thoroughly discomfited. Overtures of peace were now made, but their object was only to gain time. At the beginning of 1826 there was severe fighting as the British advanced towards Ava. Repeated defeats and the approach of a conquering army compelled the king really to sue for peace when the British had reached Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from the capital. He had previously refused to ratify preliminaries which had been concluded on the 3rd of January, in announcing which event to her friends at home, lady Amherst described herself "in the highest state of exultation and joy."* The vigorous operations of sir Archibald Campbell, who had defeated a large army styled "The Retrievers of the King's glory," had finally compelled the treaty of Yandaboo, which was signed on the 24th of February. By this treaty the king of Ava agreed to renounce all claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies; to cede in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Aracan, of Yeh, of Tavoy, of Mergui, and of Tenasserim; and to pay the sum of one crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war. He further agreed that accredited British ministers should be allowed to reside at Ava; that an accredited Birmese minister should reside at Calcutta; and that free trade to British subjects should be allowed in the Birmese dominions.

The fierce conflict of two years on the banks of the Irawaddi presented a memorable example of that courage and endurance which eventually overcomes dangers and difficulties apparently insuperable. It has been truly said by an officer engaged in this war, "Perhaps there are few instances on record

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. iii. p. 430.

in the history of any nation of a mere handful of men, with constitutions broken down by many months of previous disease and privation, forcing their way in the face of such difficulties, and through a wilderness hitherto untrodden by Europeans, to the distance of five hundred miles from the spot where they originally disembarked, and ultimately dictating a peace within three days' march of the enemy's capital."* During these land operations, with all this bravery and fortitude of the little army, it would have been impossible to succeed without the active co-operation of a flotilla on the rivers. The naval assistance thus rendered is memorable for "the employment of a power then for the first time introduced into war—steam. The steam-vessel had been very useful, not merely in carrying on communications with despatch but in overcoming formidable resistance."†

During the last year of the Birmese war the East India Company became engaged in a new conflict, for the purpose of protecting a native prince, with whom we were in alliance, against an usurper. The Rajah of Bhurtpore, before his death at the beginning of 1825, had declared his son to be his successor, and had included him in the treaty of alliance with the Company. The nephew of the deceased prince raised a revolt against this succession. Many of the native princes looked on anxiously to see if the British, with the Birmese war on their hands, would put forth any strength to maintain one of their devoted adherents. In the streets of Delhi the populace had shouted, "The rule of the Company is at an end." The prince who had been expelled had been assured by sir David Ochterlony that he should be supported. Lord Amherst was at first for non-interference. He knew that Bhurtpore had been deemed impregnable; and he might fear that, now occupied with an enormous force by the usurping Rajah, the same ill fortune might befall an attack upon the place as had befallen lord Lake in 1805, when he was beaten from the city by the Jauts, who had ever since regarded themselves as invincible. The Commander-in-Chief in India, lord Combermere, in his Peninsular experience as sir Stapleton Cotton, had seen what war was in its most difficult operations, and he could not despair of taking an Indian fortress when he recollected the terrible sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. He had just come to India to succeed sir Edward Paget in the chief command. The duke of Wellington described his old companion-in-arms as having lost no time in joining the army on his arrival in India, and as having travelled upwards of a thousand miles in ten days, in order that he might begin the operations at a proper season. "He had commenced those operations," says the duke, "carried them on with that vigour and activity which insured their success, and had closed them by a military feat which had never been surpassed by any army upon any occasion."‡ Lord Combermere, upon his arrival before Bhurtpore, addressed a letter to the usurper, requesting him to send out the women and children, who should have safe-conduct. This humane request was not acceded to. On the 23rd of November the bombardment commenced. On the morning of the 18th of January the assault began at the signal given by the explosion of a mine, which utterly destroyed the whole of the salient

* Lieut.-Col. Alexander M. Tulloch, quoted in Mac Farlane's "Our Indian Empire," vol. ii. p. 325.

† Mr. Wynn, in debate on Vote of Thanks to the Army, "Hansard," vol. xvii. col. 668.

‡ "Hansard," vol. xvii. col. 771.

angle of the fortress. Our troops rushed in at the breaches. In two hours the whole rampart, though obstinately defended, was in our possession, and early in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The formidable works of Bhurtpore were afterwards destroyed; the rightful prince was reinstated; and the people returned to their allegiance. The rapid and decided success of lord Combermere dissipated the fears which bishop Heber had expressed to his friends at home at the beginning of the siege. He thought that should lord Combermere fail, "all Northern and Western India, every man who owns a sword and can buy or steal a horse, will be up against us, less from disliking us than in the hope of booty."

Before concluding this notice of the affairs of India during the administration of three governors-general, we must advert to a matter of important controversy—the regulation of the Press in India. The first newspaper published under the rule of the Company was one established at Calcutta in 1781. Other newspapers were set up during the next twenty years. In 1799, under the administration of the marquess Wellesley, regulations were issued for the newspaper press, the most important of which was that no paper should be published until it had been previously inspected by the Secretary to the government, or by a person duly authorized by him. The penalty for contravening these regulations was immediate embarkation for Europe. Mr. James Mill, in his "History of British India," describes the Indian press as a great nuisance, in its indecorous attacks upon private life, and its ignorant censures of public measures, to control which lord Wellesley's regulations were framed. In 1818 the marquess of Hastings promulgated new regulations, which did not attempt to establish a censorship, but prohibited animadversions on proceedings in England connected with the government of India; discussions on the political transactions of local administration; private scandal; and disquisitions having a tendency to create alarm amongst the natives as to the probability of any interference with their religious opinions or ceremonies. In 1816 Mr. James Silk Buckingham, who had obtained a licence to reside in Calcutta, purchased the copyright of two of the newspapers published there, and amalgamated them under the title of "The Calcutta Journal." Although the marquess of Hastings had abolished the censorship previous to publication, he had established a tribunal whose business it was to watch the statements and opinions of the Indian newspaper press, and to give to their conductors that sort of warning with which we are familiar enough in the control of the press in a neighbouring country. In India a neglect of such warnings would be followed by the deportation of the offending proprietor, if not by a total suppression of the journal in which he had embarked his property. Mr. Buckingham, according to a statement of Dr. Phillimore in the House of Commons, received three such warnings previous to the marquess of Hastings resigning his administration, one of which, in 1822, was called for by his offence in traducing the government of India respecting the kingdom of Oude.* Mr. Adam, during the interval in which he administered the government previous to the arrival of lord Amherst, took a very summary mode to put an end to the freedom of Mr. Buckingham's strictures upon Indian affairs, and

* "Hansard," vol. xv. col. 1013.

especially of a freedom most obnoxious to the authorities—the disposal of their patronage. The appointment by Mr. Adam of a Scotch clergyman, the head of the Presbyterian establishment in India, to the lucrative agency through which the government was supplied with stationery, called forth the animadversions of “The Calcutta Journal.” Mr. Adam immediately annulled Mr. Buckingham’s licence to remain in India, adding the threat that if he were found in the country after two months he should be sent to England as a prisoner. Mr. Buckingham transferred his paper to a British-born subject of the name of Arnot. At the period of lord Amherst’s arrival, by a series of arbitrary proceedings the deportation of Mr. Arnot was effected; “The Calcutta Journal” suppressed; and its circulation merged in a Calcutta newspaper, over which the government had efficient control by its appointment of an editor. Mr. Buckingham,—who long made England resound with the story of his wrongs, and who was in some degree recompensed by a large public subscription,—appealed to the Privy Council against the regulations of the Bengal government on the subject of the Press. The East India Company contended before the Privy Council, as Dr. Phillimore contended in his place in Parliament in 1826: “When the House considered the vast importance of our possessions in India, and the delicate tie by which they were held—that a handful of Europeans exercised supreme sway over many millions of the native people, and that our empire was maintained by opinion alone—they must see that if the same freedom of discussion were allowed to prevail in that country as we enjoyed in this, and if individuals were permitted to traduce the government through the means of the press, it would be impossible to retain the power which this country held in India.”* Nevertheless, lord Amherst adopted a different policy with regard to the Press, which was undoubtedly the most prudent, as it was the most dignified. He had made one mistake on this subject upon his first arrival in India, seduced, it is alleged, by evil counsels. “Ever after, while his lordship was present in Calcutta to protect it, the Press enjoyed a freedom unknown to it for forty-four years, and experience showed, as it had done before, that that freedom was as safe as it was beneficial.”† Mr. Elphinstone, in a conversation with bishop Heber, whilst maintaining the inconvenience and even danger of unrestricted political discussion, “acknowledged that the dangers ascribed to a free press in India had been exaggerated.”

In the history of British India up to this period, we find very few traces of any effort on the part of the government to call forth the material resources of the Peninsula; to supply by new appliances of modern science the decay of the ancient works by which lands were irrigated and famine prevented; to bring distant places into correspondence by roads and improved navigation. The all-absorbing business of conquest prevented any marked attention to the improvement of the native cultivation of the soil, or of the communications by which produce could be conveyed from the producer to the consumer. The Company was indeed very solicitous about the growth of opium, its great source of revenue, but it did little for the cultivation of cotton, the British demand for which would have formed a sufficient

* “Hansard,” vol. xv. col. 1013.

† “Edinburgh Review,” vol. xlvii. p. 182.

excitement to its growth and preparation for market by improved processes. Some efforts in this direction were however made by the East India Company. As early as 1788 they distributed amongst the natives seeds from different cotton-growing countries. In 1813 they brought an American to teach the people how to cultivate the cotton-plant, and they imported American gins for cleaning the wool. Small progress was made in carrying forward such improvements. The cultivation of cotton, of the sugar cane, of the hemp-plant, and of the cereals, would be always restricted to the local demand, as long as roads and water communications were neglected by the authorities which governed the country. Lord William Bentinck succeeded lord Amherst as Governor-General, and until his administration the roads of the country consisted of little more than native wheel-tracks. "Above Allahabad, and in various other parts, so recently as the year 1830, a regiment proceeding in course of relief from one station to another, had to be preceded by a native guide." *

* "Companion to the Almanac, 1857."

CHAPTER XIII.

Administration of Lord Goderich—Turkey and Greece—The battle of Navarino—Resignation of Lord Goderich—Administration of the duke of Wellington—Parliament—The Schoolmaster abroad—Progress of Education—Mr. Brougham's speech on Law Reform—The New Metropolitan Police—Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts—Mr. Huskisson's retirement from the Ministry—Ireland—Election for Clare of Mr. O'Connell—Ministerial views on Catholic Emancipation—Opening of Parliament—Emancipation referred to in the King's Speech—The Catholic Relief Bill moved by the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel—Continued and violent debates—The Catholic Relief Bill passed—Mr. O'Connell's second return for Clare—Meeting of Parliament—Motions for Reform—Illness and death of George the Fourth.

THE death of Mr. Canning placed Lord Goderich at the head of the government. The composition of the Cabinet was slightly altered. Mr. Huskisson became Colonial Secretary, Mr. Herries Chancellor of the Exchequer. The government was generally considered to be weak, and not calculated for a long endurance. Its greatest accession of strength seemed to be in the acceptance of the office of Commander-in-Chief by the duke of Wellington. Lord Eldon, in serious apprehension that this appointment committed the duke to the support of the administration, wrote to him a letter which called forth this explanation: "If, on the one hand, the administration have no claim upon my services out of my profession, I, on the other hand, can be of no counsel or party against them."* The cabinet of lord Goderich had not a long existence. It lasted scarcely five months, and it fell through the petty jealousies of some of its members, which gave the finishing blow to the tottering fabric.

On the 10th of November it was known in London that despatches had been received at the Admiralty, announcing a great naval battle in the bay of Navarino. If the popular belief in omens of national success or disaster had not nearly passed away, the public might have looked with trembling anxiety to these despatches, in the dread that the battle would prove a defeat. For, at the lord mayor's banquet on the 9th of November, a great device of illuminated lamps representing an anchor suddenly fell down upon the dignitaries below, slightly wounding the duke of Clarence and the lord mayor, scattering unwelcome oil over the dresses of the ladies who graced the civic feast, and altogether marring the usual flow of hollow compliment which is so coarsely proffered and so greedily accepted on these occasions. The Gazette soon pro-

* Twiss, "Life of Eldon," vol. iii. p. 13.

claimed that the Turkish fleet had been nearly annihilated; that the flags of England, France, and Russia floated supreme on the shores of the Morea. Nevertheless, politicians shook their heads at what they considered an aggression, which might lead to an interminable war—an aggression which ultra-Toryism regarded as particularly objectionable, inasmuch as it crippled the means of a despotic Power effectually to crush its rebellious subjects. The Sublime Porte had well learnt the lessons taught by the Congresses of Troppau and Laybach when it proclaimed, in its manifesto of the previous June, that “Almighty wisdom, in dividing the universe into different countries, has assigned to each a Sovereign, into whose hands the reins of absolute authority over the nations subject to his dominion are placed.”

When the demand under the Treaty of London, which was made by England, France, and Russia, for an immediate armistice, as a preliminary and an indispensable condition to the opening of any negotiation, was announced by the Ambassadors of these Powers at Constantinople, the Divan declined to recognize any interference with its conduct towards its rebellious subjects. The Greeks readily accepted the armistice proposed by the Treaty. Ibrahim Pasha had come from Alexandria with the Egyptian fleet during the period of the discussions at Constantinople. The Allied fleets were lying off Navarino, their admirals being without authority to prevent the junction of the Egyptian fleet with the Turkish, already moored in that harbour. The Egyptian commander was informed by sir Edward Codrington that he might return, if he chose, with a safe conduct to Alexandria, but that if he entered the harbour he would not be suffered to come out. Ibrahim Pasha made his choice to join the Turkish fleet. On the 25th of September a conference took place between the admirals and Ibrahim Pasha, at which the Egyptian prince entered into a verbal agreement for a suspension of hostilities during twenty days. The English and French commanders, relying upon this agreement, sailed to Zante to obtain fresh provisions. Ibrahim Pasha then came out of the harbour, with the object of carrying his warfare to some other point in the Morea. Sir Edward Codrington met him near Patras with a small force, and compelled him to return. After that, says the Protocol of the three admirals, “the troops of the Pasha have not ceased carrying on a species of warfare more destructive and exterminating than before, putting women and children to the sword, burning their habitations, and tearing up trees by the roots, in order to complete the devastation of the country.” The despatch of sir Edward Codrington, dated from H.M.S. Asia, in the port of Navarino, narrates the subsequent decisive event. The Count de Hayden, rear-admiral of Russia, and the French rear-admiral the Chevalier de Rigny, having agreed with him to enter the port in order to induce Ibrahim Pasha to discontinue his brutal war of extermination, took up their anchorage about two o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th of October. The Turkish ships were moored in the form of a crescent. The combined fleet was formed in the order of sailing in two columns, the British and French forming the weather or starboard line, and the Russian the lee line. The Asia led in, followed by the Genoa and Albion, and anchored close alongside a ship of the line bearing the flag of the Capitana Bey. The stations of the French and Russian squadrons were marked out by the English admiral, who was the chief in command. “I gave

orders," says sir Edward, "that no gun should be fired unless guns were fired by the Turks, and those orders were strictly observed." The three British ships passed the batteries, and moored without any act of hostility on the part of the Turks, although they were evidently prepared for a general action. At the entrance of the harbour were six Turkish fire-vessels, which a portion of the English squadron were appointed to watch. On the Dartmouth sending a boat towards one of these vessels her crew was fired upon by musketry. The fire was returned from the Dartmouth and *La Syrène*, which bore the flag of admiral de Rigny. An Egyptian ship then fired a cannon-shot at the French admiral's vessel, which was immediately returned; "and thus," says sir Edward Codrington, "very shortly afterwards the battle became general." After describing, with the usual indistinctness, the movements of various ships, he comes to the catastrophe. "This bloody and destructive battle was continued with unabated fury for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination was such as has been seldom before witnessed." Of the Egyptian and Turkish fleets, which numbered about a hundred and twenty men-of-war and transports, one-half were sunk, burnt, or driven on shore. The Allied admirals published a notice after the battle, that as they did not enter Navarino with a hostile intention, but only to renew propositions to the commanders of the Turkish fleet, they would forbear from destroying what ships of the Ottoman navy might still remain, "now that so signal a vengeance has been taken for the first cannon-shot which has been ventured to be fired on the Allied flags." They threatened that if there were any new act of hostility they would immediately destroy the remaining vessels and the forts of Navarino. The despatch of sir Edward announcing the victory contains a frank admission that he was not insensible to other feelings than those of professional obedience to his instructions: "When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honour was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim's good faith, I own I felt a desire to punish the offenders.—But it was my duty to refrain, and refrain I did; and I can assure his royal highness [the duke of Clarence] that I would still have avoided this disastrous extremity, if other means had been open to me."

— The differences upon financial measures between Mr. Herries the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Huskisson Secretary of State for the Colonies, could not be reconciled by lord Goderich, and he therefore tendered his resignation to the king on the 9th of January, 1828. His majesty immediately sent to lord Lyndhurst to desire that he and the duke of Wellington should come to Windsor. The king told the duke that he wished him to form a government of which he should be the head. "He said that he thought the government must be composed of persons of both opinions with respect to the Roman Catholic question; that he approved of all his late and former servants; and that he had no objection to anybody excepting to lord Grey."* It was understood that lord Lyndhurst was to continue in office. The duke of Wellington immediately applied to Mr. Peel, who, returning to his post of Secretary of State for the Home Department,

* "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," part i. p. 12; letter of the duke.

saw the impossibility of re-uniting in this administration those who had formed the Cabinet of lord Liverpool. He desired to strengthen the government of the duke of Wellington by the introduction of some of the more important of Mr. Canning's friends into the Cabinet and to fill some of the lesser offices. The earl of Dudley, Mr. Huskisson, lord Palmerston, and Mr. Charles Grant became members of the new administration. Mr. William Lamb, afterwards lord Melbourne, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. The ultra-Tories were greatly indignant at these arrangements. They groaned and reviled as if the world was unchanged. The duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel had disappointed the country by making a mixed government; Mr. Huskisson was odious to the agricultural and shipping interests; the whole cabinet was composed of a majority of favourers of the Roman Catholic claims; above all, lord Eldon was omitted.* The ex-chancellor considered himself very ill-used, and publicly said, "I don't know why I am not a minister." Mr. Peel, in his private correspondence of this date, shows how clearly he saw that the nation could no longer be governed upon the old exclusive principles. He was fast sliding into that liberality which was incomprehensible to those who had looked upon his previous career. He writes, on the 18th of January, "I care not for the dissatisfaction of ultra-Tories; this country ought not and cannot be governed upon any other principles than those of firmness, no doubt, but of firmness combined with moderation." A fortnight afterwards he asks, in writing to the same correspondent,—What would have been the inevitable fate of a government composed of himself and of some ultra-Tories whom he names, who would indeed be supported by very warm friends, but those very warm friends country gentlemen and fox-hunters, who would attend one night in parliament, but who would quickly weary of sitting up till one, two, or three o'clock in the morning, fighting questions of detail? The greater difficulty was expressed in the fact that the country could no longer be governed by "country gentlemen and fox-hunters." †

On the 29th of January Parliament was opened by Commission. The most important part of the Royal Speech was that which, after reciting the progress of events in the East, and referring to the treaty with France and Russia, says—"With a view to carry into effect the object of the treaty, a collision, wholly unexpected by his Majesty, took place in the port of Navarino between the fleets of the contracting Powers and that of the Ottoman Porte. Notwithstanding the valour displayed by the combined fleet, his Majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains a confident hope that this untoward event will not be followed by further hostilities, and will not impede that amicable adjustment of the existing differences between the Porte and the Greeks, to which it is so manifestly their common interest to accede." The expression "untoward event" produced angry remonstrances from many quarters—from the Whigs, from some of lord Goderich's ministry, from the friends of sir Edward Codrington. But all united in declaring that no blame was attached to that gallant officer. The duke of Wellington, in a few

* "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 534.

† "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," pp. 16, 17.

straightforward words, defended the expression. The Treaty of July was not intended to lead to hostilities. The former government thought the object of the treaty would be effected without hostilities. "Therefore, I say, that when unfortunately the operations under the treaty did lead to hostilities, it was an untoward circumstance."

In the debate upon the Address in the House of Commons, Mr. Brougham raised very strong objections to the appointment of the duke of Wellington as the head of the government. Though he professed to entertain the highest opinion of the noble duke's military genius, he evidently undervalued his administrative talents. He thought a great soldier's experience was no fit preparation for civil duties. Mr. Brougham had not then the advantage of knowing, through the publication of the duke's "Despatches," how equal he was to the highest statesmanship, with probably the one exception of undervaluing the strength of popular opinion. Mr. Brougham in 1828 thought it unconstitutional that almost the whole patronage of the State should be placed in the hands of a military Premier. With his unflinching power of sarcasm, he considered that there was no validity in the objection that the duke was incapable of speaking in public as a First Minister ought to speak, because he had heard last year the duke declare in another place, that he was unfit for the situation of First Minister, "and he really thought he had never heard a better speech in the whole course of his life." Mr. Brougham wound up his objections to the appointment of the duke of Wellington by a passage of splendid declamation, whose concluding words, especially, were echoed through the country with extraordinary fervour—with an enthusiasm which speedily carried forward the small beginnings of a great change to very decided results which would more than ever make the action of the government in a great degree dependent upon the opinion of the people. When he had called the appointment of the duke of Wellington to the head of the government unconstitutional, let it not be supposed, he said, that he was inclined to exaggerate. "He was perfectly satisfied that there would be no unconstitutional attack on the liberties of the people. These were not the times for such an attempt. There had been periods when the country heard with dismay that the soldier was abroad. That was not the case now. Let the soldier be ever so much abroad, in the present age he could do nothing. There was another person abroad—a less important person—in the eyes of some an insignificant person—whose labours had tended to produce this state of things—the Schoolmaster was abroad."*

It was no idle boast of the orator that education was in various ways raising the moral and intellectual character of the community. There had been a real beginning of this great work. Yet it was only a beginning. To imagine, however, that England had been wholly destitute of the means of education, whilst the schoolmaster was doing his work efficiently in Scotland, is to a certain extent a mistake. When the endowed Grammar-schools were founded, it never entered into the minds of their benefactors that all the people—or, in the language of those ages, that all the poor—should be instructed. A few who were unable to pay for their education were to be selected, and these were to receive for ever an education of the highest order. These

* Hansard, vol. xviii. col. 53.

schools were the natural successors of the schools and chantries of the unreformed Church. This was the only system of education in England almost up to the time of the Revolution. The commercial classes had then grown into wealth and importance, and they began to think that schools in which nothing was taught but Latin and Greek were not altogether fitted for those destined to a life of traffic. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were endowments and subscriptions in most towns, not for new Grammar-schools, but for new Free-schools. During the progress of education in recent years, it has been common to speak with contempt of these schools and of the instruction afforded in them. With a comparatively small population, these Free-schools, we venture to think in opposition to modern authorities, were admirable beginnings of the education of the poorer classes. While the Grammar-schools were making divines and lawyers and physicians out of the sons of the professional classes and the wealthier tradesmen, the Free-schools were making clever handicraftsmen and thriving burgesses out of the sons of the mechanics and the labourers; and many a man who had been a charity-boy in his native town, when he had risen to competence, pointed with an honest pride to the institution which had made him what he was, and drew his purse-strings to perpetuate for others the benefits which he had himself enjoyed. The Reports of the Commissioners for Inquiry into Charities presented in 1842, showed that the annual income of the Grammar-schools (some, however, being exempted from the inquiry) was 152,047*l.*, and the income of the Free-schools 141,385*l.* There was also an income amounting to 19,112*l.* belonging to charities for general educational purposes. This income was a small educational foundation for the whole population in England and Wales at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first attempt to place the instruction of the poor upon a broader basis was by the establishment of Sunday schools in 1783. Mr. Malthus (in 1803) described these institutions as very few, some objectionable, and all imperfect. But the Parliamentary Returns of 1818 exhibit 5100 Sunday schools, attended by 452,000 children. In 1833 the number of Sunday school scholars exceeded a million and a half. In 1818, the Returns, under a Circular Letter addressed to the ministers of the respective parishes, showed that there were about 15,000 unendowed day-schools, containing about 500,000 scholars. Of these 336,000 were in the ordinary schools,—the private day-schools, such as have always existed amongst us, for the education of the middle and poorer classes. There were only then, when the systems of Bell and Lancaster had been in operation about twelve years, 175,000 scholars receiving instruction partly or wholly gratuitous through the operation of private benevolence. Four years after Mr. Brougham had declared that the Schoolmaster was abroad, the Government Returns showed that both the paying and the non-paying scholars in the unendowed day-schools were more than doubled.

Moving onwards in other roads than that of school education, the Schoolmaster was abroad. "The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" originated with Mr. Brougham in 1826. It had long been felt that books of sound information were, through their dearness, inaccessible to the bulk of the people. Constable, in 1825, was "meditating nothing less than a total revolution in the art and traffic of bookselling." He would issue "a

three shilling or half-crown volume every month, which must and shall sell, not by thousands or tens of thousands, but by hundreds of thousands—ay, by millions.”* The sanguine bookseller published his “Miscellany,” which led the way in the combination of superior literature with comparative cheapness; but its sale was numbered by hundreds rather than by millions. In 1827, “The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge” commenced the publication of their Sixpenny Treatises—valuable manuals, but still far from supplying what the hard-worked classes wanted in the union of goodness and cheapness. Nevertheless the modern epoch of Cheap Literature was commencing. “The London Mechanics’ Institution” was inaugurated in 1823 by Dr. Birkbeck; and gradually similar institutions were founded in populous towns of England and Scotland. In 1828, “The London University” was opened, the building having been in progress, and the organization nearly completed, in 1826 and 1827. To Mr. Brougham belongs the honour of being amongst the most zealous for the formation of this institution for the higher branches of education, independent of religious opinions. The opposite plan of “King’s College” was developed at a public meeting in 1828. Unquestionably at this period “the schoolmaster was abroad.” In setting forth upon his mission he had to climb the steepest hill, like the prince of the Arabian story, surrounded by a chorus of hisses and execrations. But he went steadily on his way, stopping his ears to these sounds of impotent fury; and the prize which he won was the power of accomplishing all needful reforms by moral force, so that those who once feared and despised the people should never more be ready to proclaim that “the soldier was abroad.”

On the ninth day after the meeting of Parliament, Mr. Brougham took that position which he has ever since maintained, of being the most indefatigable and persevering of Law reformers. The reformation of the Criminal Law was no longer opposed, except by a few whose opinions had very speedily come to be considered as worthless as they were obsolete. A Commission had been appointed to inquire into abuses in Courts of Equity. The course of improvement which was open to Mr. Brougham was to promote an inquiry “into the defects occasioned by time and otherwise in the laws of this realm of England, as administered in the Courts of Common Law.” Mr. Brougham introduced his motion in a speech of nearly six hours. It has been said of this speech, “its huge length and unwieldy dimensions compelled attention.” † These are not the qualities which usually compel attention in the House of Commons. During that extraordinary exhibition of the rare ability to mass an infinity of details, so as to make each contribute something to the general effect, the attention of the House was uninterruptedly sustained. The first listeners were amongst the last. Whilst the orator exhibited no signs of physical exhaustion, scarcely one of his audience seemed to feel a sense of weariness. ‡ The peroration of this great effort of memory and judgment was the only portion that could be properly deemed rhetorical:

* Lockhart’s “Life of Scott,” vol. vi. p. 31.

† Roebuck, “History of the Whig Ministry,” vol. i. p. 50.

‡ We speak from personal observation, having sat under the gallery with the object of preparing the speech for publication in a more enlarged shape than the reports of the daily papers.

—"It was the boast of Augustus—it formed part of the glare in which the perfidies of his earlier years were lost—that he found Rome of brick, and left it of marble; a praise not unworthy a great prince, and to which the present reign also has its claims. But how much nobler will be the sovereign's boast, when he shall have it to say, that he found law dear, and left it cheap; found it a sealed book—left it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich—left it the inheritance of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression—left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence!" On the adjourned debate of the 29th of February, upon Mr. Brougham's proposition for a Commission, the Government, through the Law Officers and the Home Secretary, expressed its intention so far to concur in the motion as to consent that separate Commissions should issue—one for inquiry into the progress of suits at Common Law; the other into the state of the Laws affecting Real Property. Mr. Brougham concurring in this alteration, the two Commissions were forthwith appointed.

The House of Commons was now fairly engaged in the work of improvement. On the motion of Mr. Peel a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the Public Income and Expenditure; to consider measures for an effectual control on all charges connected with this receipt and expenditure; and also for reducing the expenditure without detriment to the public service. No one can trace the course of our parliamentary history after the close of the war, without feeling how much of the tardy recognition by the government of principles of financial economy was due to the unwearied exertions of Mr. Hume. His views, however they might at times be impracticable, produced as a whole the inevitable triumph of all zealous and continuous labour. Mr. Secretary Peel early in the Session proposed another measure which, he said, might at first sight appear limited in its application, and local in its objects, but which was connected with considerations of the highest importance to the well-being of the country. He proposed that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the Police of the Metropolis. In the next Session of Parliament Mr. Peel carried his great plan for abolishing the local establishments of nightly watch and police, for forming the Metropolitan Police District, and for appointing a sufficient number of able men under the direction of the Secretary of State to be the police force for the whole of this district. For several years a prodigious clamour was raised against this force, not only by thieves and street-walkers, but by respectable upholders of the Ancient Watch, and by zealous friends of the nation's freedom, who dreamt that the New Police would have the certain effect of depriving us of our immemorial liberties. The New Police was to be "the most dangerous and effective engine of despotism." Sensible men were satisfied to believe that Mr. Peel's innovation would have no other effect upon our liberties than that of depriving us "of the liberty we have hitherto enjoyed of being robbed and knocked on the head at discretion of their honours the thieves."*

A great parliamentary struggle was at hand in 1828, which was the prelude to a still more important conflict in 1829. This was lord John Russell's motion, on the 26th of February, for a Committee of the whole House to con-

* Fonblanque, "England under Seven Administrations," vol. i. p. 266.

sider of so much of the Acts of the 13 & 25 of Charles II. as requires persons, before admission into any office in corporations, or having accepted any office civil or military, or any place of trust under the Crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the practice of the Church of England. The motion was opposed by Mr. Huskisson, lord Palmerston, and Mr. Peel. It was opposed, says sir Robert Peel in his Memoirs, "with all the influence and authority of the Government recently appointed." Nevertheless, on a division on the motion of lord John Russell, it was carried by a majority of forty-four, there being two hundred and thirty-seven in favour of the motion, and one hundred and ninety-three against it. Sir Robert Peel says, in his Memoirs, that the administration considered that they should not be justified in abandoning the service of the Crown in consequence of this defeat, and farther, that it would have been very unwise hastily to commit the House of Lords to a conflict with the House of Commons on a question of this nature. Mr. Peel eventually proposed a measure of compromise—that a declaration should be substituted in place of the Sacramental Test. The Bill as amended passed the House of Commons, and met with very little effectual opposition in the House of Lords, the two Archbishops and three bishops speaking in its favour. Sir Robert Peel says that the conciliatory adjustment of the question was what he earnestly desired; that had any other course been taken by the Government the final result of parliamentary discussion would probably have been the same—namely, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; and that it may fairly be questioned whether the repeal would have taken place under circumstances more favourable to the true interests of the Church, or more conducive to the maintenance of harmony and goodwill amongst the professors of different religious creeds. It was in vain that lord Eldon described the bill to be "as bad, as mischievous, and as revolutionary as the most captious Dissenter could wish it to be." He nevertheless prophesied truly when he said, "Sooner or later, perhaps in this very year, almost certainly in the next, the concessions to the Dissenters must be followed by the like concessions to the Roman Catholics."* Mr. Huskisson opposed the repeal of the Corporation and Test Act upon the same principle which had determined Mr. Canning's opposition. "I am convinced," said Mr. Huskisson, "that the present measure, so far from being a step in favour of the Catholic claims, would, if successful, be the means of arraying an additional power against them." However eager for the application of religious toleration to themselves, the greater number of English Dissenters were ready to make common cause with the Brunswick clubs, who, without the slightest reference to political dangers, clung to the extremest assertion of Protestant Supremacy.

The support which Mr. Huskisson's opinions derived from his position as a Minister of the Crown very soon came to an end. He entered the Cabinet as a suspected man who was desirous of carrying forward his policy upon the questions of Corn-laws and commercial restrictions much faster than the head of the Government and the majority in Parliament deemed prudent and profitable. There were two cases of borough corruption before the House of Commons, those of Penryn and East Retford, which

* Twiss, vol. iii. p. 38.

imperatively called for disfranchisement. On the discussions with regard to these disfranchisements it had been proposed that the seats of these offending boroughs should be transferred to Manchester and Birmingham. The Ministry opposed the proposition for giving both seats to these great communities. The bill for disfranchising Penryn and giving its seats to Manchester was expected to be thrown out by the Lords. The seats for one borough only would have to be transferred. Mr. Huskisson, in one of these debates, had declared that if there were only one case before the House he would have no hesitation in transferring the franchise to Birmingham. On the 19th of May Mr. Calvert moved that the franchise of East Retford should be extended to the neighbouring hundred. Mr. Huskisson in vain desired the postponement of the question; but when his vote was claimed for Birmingham, upon the ground of consistency, he yielded, and voted with the minority against the Government. He went home, he says, observing the intelligible looks of some, and hearing the audible whispers of others, and, perhaps magnifying the impression which his vote might make, wrote, before he went to rest, a letter to the duke of Wellington, offering him the opportunity of placing the office of Colonial Secretary in other hands, "as the only means in my power of preventing the injury to the king's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his Majesty's councils." The duke immediately took the letter to the king, regarding it as an absolute resignation. The letter was marked "private and confidential." Friends of Mr. Huskisson went to the duke, contending that Mr. Huskisson's letter did not convey a formal resignation; that it was a mistake: "It is no mistake," said the inflexible premier, and the words passed into a common form of speech. Those of Mr. Canning's ministry who had joined the government of the duke of Wellington felt that this stern and resolute attitude was intended to get rid of them altogether. Lord Dudley, Mr. Grant, lord Palmerston, and Mr. Lamb resigned their offices. Sir George Murray succeeded Mr. Huskisson as Secretary of War and the Colonies; sir Henry Hardinge became Secretary at War in the place of lord Palmerston; the earl of Aberdeen Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the place of earl Dudley; and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald President of the Board of Trade in the place of Mr. Charles Grant. Other changes in civil and diplomatic appointments were the necessary consequence of this rupture.

The able French minister, who had ample experience of party conflicts during the term of representative government in his own country, at once assumes that the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, in eagerly seizing the opportunity of removing the four Canningites from the Cabinet, and of supplying their places with Tories, "thus manifested their anxious desire to rally all Protestants beneath the same standard, and to restore unity of principles and purpose in the government."* A little more than a week before the discussion on the disfranchisement of East Retford, sir Francis Burdett had obtained for the first time in the parliament of 1826 a majority of the House of Commons in favour of the Roman Catholic claims. The resolution was affirmed by a majority of 272 to 266. Sir Robert Peel says in his Memoirs that he should have declined to remain Minister for the Home

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 37.

Department and to lead the House of Commons, being in a minority on the most important of domestic questions. The duke of Wellington's government was in danger from the retirement of Mr. Huskisson and his friends, and Mr. Peel therefore remained to give his support to a Cabinet which now appeared to be wholly constructed upon the principle of hostility to the Catholic claims. The resolution for considering the Catholic claims which had been carried in the House of Commons was debated in the House of Lords on the 9th and 10th of June. The majority against the motion which had passed in the House of Commons was forty-four. But there were admissions in the course of the debate which were as important as a majority in favour of the resolution. The lord chancellor and the duke of Wellington had admitted that the Catholic question was a great difficulty, out of which they at present saw no outlet. "This statement," said the marquis of Lansdowne, "having been made by two noblemen so high in the confidence of the sovereign, it almost necessarily follows that it is accompanied with their intention of looking at this difficulty with a view to its final arrangement."*

The appointment of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald to a ministerial office caused a vacancy in the representation of the county of Clare. The contest for this seat produced events in Ireland "of deep importance, especially in their relation to the Catholic question."† Mr. Fitzgerald was a person of great influence in the county of Clare. He had conciliated the Roman Catholics by a constant advocacy in Parliament for the removal of their disabilities. Certainly no Protestant could have had a fairer chance of support, not only from the landlords but from their tenantry. Yet the whole power of the Catholic Association was called forth to prevent his return, and to secure the election of Mr. O'Connell, who, by his faith, was disqualified from sitting in Parliament. During the short administration of Mr. Canning the Association, founded in 1823, had voluntarily dissolved itself, having confidence that the Minister would bring forward some effectual measure of relief. The accession to power of the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, and the subsequent changes in the Cabinet which had disturbed the balance of opinions on the greatest question of domestic policy, revived the Association with new strength, which was calculated to produce the most serious alarm. Lord Anglesey, the Lord-Lieutenant, had gone to Ireland with the decided opinion that concessions to the Catholics should be refused. What he saw there in the summer of 1828 produced in his mind a conviction of the positive danger of persevering in the old system of policy. Mr. O'Connell, whose power as a demagogue was probably never exceeded by any Irishman or Englishman—gifted with a popular oratory which completely won the hearts of a fervid peasantry—professing the utmost deference to the Catholic priesthood, which he swayed as much by his devotion as a son of the Church as by his prompt and versatile ability—wanting perhaps "very determined courage,"‡ but with every other quality for the leader of a rebellion—Mr. O'Connell stirred up his countrymen to a madness of which the Clare election was the type. The Catholics had a common grievance and a common sympathy, which, since the Union, had been a constant source

* Hansard, vol. xix. col. 1292.

† "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. i. p. 105.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 147 (Lord Anglesey's expression).

of irritation and of occasional alarm. But a real sense of the imminent danger of refusing concession had never been produced, until the proof was supplied by the Clare election that local and personal attachments were weakened, that the friendly relations of men in different classes were loosened, and that a power had arisen "to unite the scattered elements of society into a homogeneous and disciplined mass, yielding willing obedience to the assumed authority of superior intelligence, hostile to the law and to the government which administered it."* At the period of the Clare election the Lord-Lieutenant wrote to the Home Secretary that he was quite certain that the agitators could lead on the people to rebellion at a moment's notice, but that the hope of tranquillity, present and future, rested upon the belief of O'Connell and his friends that they could carry their cause by agitation and intimidation, without coming to blows. Lord Anglesey believed their success to be inevitable. "There may be rebellion; you may put to death thousands; you may suppress it; but it will only be to put off the day of compromise, and in the meantime the country is still more impoverished, and the minds of the people are, if possible, still more alienated."† On the 5th of July Mr. O'Connell was elected for Clare. A petition against his return was presented to the House of Commons, but nothing was done, for the Session was nearly at an end. The great Agitator did not attempt to take his seat during the three weeks which elapsed between his return and the prorogation of Parliament. He had six months before him for continued agitation. The Session closed on the 28th of July, without a word in the King's Speech regarding Ireland.

The duke of Wellington, in the course of a debate in May, 1829, said, "It is now well known that during the whole of the last autumn and summer I had those measures in contemplation which have been since brought into effect. It is also well known that my principal object, and that to which all my efforts were directed, was to prevail upon the person in these kingdoms the most interested of all others, from his situation, in the settlement of the Catholic question, to give his consent to its being brought forward."‡ In the autumn and summer of 1828 the duke had not only a difficulty with the king, but with the one of most importance amongst his colleagues. At the beginning of August the Premier and the Lord Chancellor had been in communication with the King. Mr. Peel was invited to participate in the proposed arrangement. He gave his deliberate opinion by letter to the duke of Wellington, that there was upon the whole less of evil in making a decided effort to settle the Catholic question than in leaving it, as it had been left, an open question. Mr. Peel, however, proposed to retire from the government, although he was willing to support it, but unwilling to undertake the management of this business in the House of Commons. Twenty years after, he says that this letter was written with a clear foresight of the penalties to which the course he resolved to take would expose him—"the rage of party, the alienation of private friends, the interruption of family affections." He would not condescend to notice other penalties, such as the loss of office and of royal favour, "if they

* "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," p. 116.

† *Ibid.*, p. 147.

‡ Haussard, vol. xxi. col. 1023.

were not the heaviest in the estimation of vulgar and low-minded men incapable of appreciating higher motives of public conduct.”*

The efforts of the duke of Wellington to obtain the sanction of the king, that the whole subject of Ireland, including the Catholic question, should be taken into consideration by his confidential servants, were not successful during the remaining months of 1828. In his interviews with the duke his majesty manifested much uneasiness and irritation. Lord Eldon represents that the king told him, at an interview on the 28th of March, 1829, that his Ministers had threatened to resign if the measures were not proceeded in, and that he had said to them, “Go on,” when an interview which had lasted several hours had brought him into such a state that he hardly knew what he was about.† Mr. Peel, very early in the course of these discussions, had expressed his opinion that whenever it was once determined that an attempt should be made by the Government to settle the Catholic question, the settlement should be, if possible, a complete one. Partial concessions would be of no use.‡ On the 12th of January, 1829, the six Ministers who had voted uniformly against the Catholic claims, had each a separate interview with his Majesty, when he intimated his consent that the whole question of Ireland should be considered without his being pledged by such consent to adopt the views of his confidential servants, however unanimous they might be. On the 17th the duke of Wellington wrote to Mr. Peel, that he did not see the slightest chance, in consequence of what had passed in interviews with the king, and with certain of the bishops, of getting rid of these difficulties, if Mr. Peel should not continue in office. Mr. Peel yielded to this earnest solicitation. When the draft of the Speech from the Throne was submitted to the king, he gave a reluctant assent to the passage which implied an intention on the part of the Government to make a decisive effort to adjust the Catholic question. The Parliament was opened by Commission on the 5th of February. The day before the meeting of Parliament Mr. Peel addressed a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford expressing his intention to vacate his seat for that University.

In the Speech from the Throne the existence of an Association in Ireland dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution, was pointed out, to ask for such powers as may enable his Majesty to maintain his just authority. “His Majesty recommends that, when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland; and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in Church and State, with the maintenance of the Reformed Religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge.” In the House of Peers the duke of Wellington announced that the measure which it was the intention of the Government to propose for the adoption

* “Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel,” vol. i. p. 188.

† Twiss, vol. iii. p. 83.

‡ “Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel,” vol. i. p. 189.

of Parliament, would extend to the removal generally of all civil disabilities under which the Roman Catholics laboured, with exceptions solely resting on special grounds. In the House of Commons Mr. Peel made a similar announcement. The great contest in Parliament was not to come on till Mr. Peel should be in his place to take his proper share in the discussions. He was persuaded to allow his name to be put in nomination for re-election at Oxford. His friends did not sufficiently estimate the power of a party cry. Sir Robert Inglis, his opponent, was finally returned by a majority of one hundred and forty-six votes. Lord Colchester records the termination of the election, adding, "Cheers for lord Eldon in Convocation, hisses for the King, hisses and groans for Peel." Nevertheless the value of these hisses and groans may be tested from the fact that Mr. Peel polled twice as many first-class men as sir Robert Inglis, and the "No-Popery" and "Church in Danger" cries were not universally successful, for he had three hundred and thirty-three clergymen amongst his supporters. Mr. Peel took his seat for Westbury on the 3rd of March. The Bill for suppressing the Catholic Association had passed during the Secretary's absence from Parliament. In that interval several thousand petitions were presented to Parliament,—the greater part against the proposed measures of concession. Lord Eldon was the most indefatigable in the enforcement of the prayer of these very exclusive productions, which echoed his own assertion on the first night of the Session, that if a Roman Catholic were ever admitted to form part of the Legislature, or to hold any of the great offices of state, from that moment the sun of Great Britain was set for ever. In the House of Commons Mr. Peel gave notice, on the 3rd of March, that on the 5th he would call attention to that part of the speech from the throne which referred to the civil disabilities of the Roman Catholics. On the evening of the 3rd the king commanded the duke of Wellington, lord Lyndhurst, and Mr. Peel, to attend him at Windsor on the following day. The audience lasted five hours. The king most tenaciously insisted that no alteration should be made of the ancient oath of supremacy. The ministers as firmly maintained that without this alteration the measure of relief would be unavailing. They left the royal closet in the assured belief that their official functions were at an end. "At the close of the interview the king took leave of us with great composure and great kindness, gave to each of us a salute on each cheek, and accepted our resignation of office, frequently expressing his sincere regret at the necessity which compelled us to retire from his service."* Before the king went to rest a great and sudden change had come over him. He wrote to the duke of Wellington to acquaint him that he anticipated so much difficulty in the attempt to form another administration that he could not dispense with the services of those whose resignations he had accepted, and that they were at liberty to proceed with the measures of which notice had been given in Parliament. †

On the 5th of March, from ten o'clock in the morning, all the avenues of the House of Commons were crowded by persons who hoped to gain admission to the gallery. The doors were not opened till six o'clock; for, according to a notice previously given, the House was called over. To put an end

* "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. i. p. 347.

† *Ibid.*, p. 349.

to all possible cavil on the part of the king, Mr. Peel had suggested to the duke of Wellington that a distinct authority should be given to them to say to Parliament that the measures in contemplation were proposed with the entire sanction of his Majesty. That authority having been received during the night, Mr. Peel commenced his speech in these words:—"I rise as a Minister of the King, and sustained by the just authority which belongs to that character, to vindicate the advice given to his Majesty by an united Cabinet." With regard to himself, he had for years attempted to maintain the exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament and the high offices of state. He did not think it was an unnatural or unreasonable struggle. He resigned it, in consequence of the conviction that it could no longer be advantageously maintained. As Mr. Peel proceeded to explain the proposed measure, in a speech of four hours, the cheers of the House were occasionally heard in Westminster Hall. The Bill would admit a Roman Catholic to Parliament upon taking an oath, in place of the old oath of supremacy, that he would support the existing institutions of the State, and not injure those of the Church. It would admit a Roman Catholic to all the greatest offices of government, with the exception of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England, and Lord Chancellor and Viceroy of Ireland. All corporate offices and municipal privileges, all that pertained to the administration of justice, would be open to Roman Catholics. From all offices connected with the Church, with its universities and schools, and from Church patronage, they would be necessarily excluded. Commands in the army and navy had been open to them before this measure. Connected with the Bill of Relief, there were securities and restrictions proposed; and by a separate bill the qualification for the freeholder's electoral franchise in Ireland was increased from forty shillings to ten pounds. It is unnecessary to trace the course of the debates in either House during the conflict, which lasted to the 10th of April, when the Relief Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords by a majority of a hundred and four. It had been passed in the House of Commons, on the 30th of March, by a majority of a hundred and seventy-eight. Amidst the passionate invectives, the taunts and sneers, of the opposers of the measure, there was one sentence in the speech of a great man who relied upon no oratorical power for enforcing conviction, which made more impression upon the mind and heart of the nation than the highest displays of argument or declamation. Thus spoke the duke of Wellington, on moving the second reading of the Bill on the 4th of April: "My lords, I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this,—that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. I say that there is nothing which destroys property and prosperity, and demoralizes character, to the degree that civil war does; by it the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother, and against his father; the servant betrays his master, and the whole scene ends in confusion and devastation. Yet, my lords, this is the resource to which we must have looked—these are the means to which we must have applied, in order to have put an end to this state of things, if we had not made the option of bringing forward the measures, for which I hold myself respon-

sible." * The great Captain was assailed as virulently as Mr. Peel was assailed, by the most furious of those who assumed to be the only true supporters of Church and State. The earl of Winchelsea published a letter in which he insinuated that the duke had supported the establishment of King's College, that he "might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State." The duke demanded that the letter should be withdrawn; the earl refused to do so. On the 21st of March the two peers had a hostile meeting in Battersea fields. The duke of Wellington fired without effect; the earl of Winchelsea discharged his pistol in the air, and then tendered a written apology. In a letter to the duke of Buckingham a month after this transaction the duke of Wellington thus defended a conduct which he admitted must have "shocked many good men:"—"The truth is that the duel with lord Winchelsea was as much part of the Roman Catholic question, and it was as necessary to undertake it, and carry it out to the extremity to which I did carry it, as it was to do everything else which I did do to attain the object which I had in view. I was living here in an atmosphere of calumny. I could do nothing that was not misrepresented as having some bad purpose in view." When lord Winchelsea published his letter the duke determined to act upon it. "The atmosphere of calumny in which I had been some time living cleared away. The system of calumny was discontinued." † Mr. Peel had to endure calumnies even more galling than those which the duke of Wellington decided to resist by the course which a brave soldier, jealous upon the point of honour, was then almost compelled to take in deference to the false opinions of society. Twenty years after this great political struggle sir Robert Peel wrote the following solemn appeal to protect his memory—"I can with truth affirm, as I do solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God, 'to whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid,' that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829 I was swayed by no fear except the fear of public calamity, and that I acted throughout on a deep conviction that those measures were not only conducive to the general welfare, but that they had become imperatively necessary in order to avert from interests which had a special claim upon my support—the interests of the Church and of institutions connected with the Church—an imminent and increasing danger." ‡

The Catholic Relief Bill received the royal assent on the 13th of April. Lord Eldon at two previous audiences of George IV. had urged him to refuse the royal assent. The king, who was a great actor, not only in the power of mimicry which he possessed but in exhibiting a well-feigned passion, deceived his ex-chancellor into the belief that his old master would peril everything, even his throne, by this obsolete exercise of the royal prerogative. Dangerous, almost infatuated, as was this advice of lord Eldon, we cannot doubt his sincerity; we cannot believe that any corrupt motive, or even any

* Hansard, vol. xxi. col. 45.

† Duke of Buckingham, "Court of George IV.," vol. ii. p. 397.

‡ "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. i. p. 365.

personal ambition, prompted his interference to avert what he believed would be a great political evil. He distrusted the Roman Catholics, not from a blind adherence to a worn-out bigotry, but from a reliance upon that unstatesmanlike caution which could not look beyond a dark Present into a brighter Future. Happily, he had to deal with a sovereign of different character than he who compelled Pitt—in the fear that he might drive the king into insanity—to lay aside the implied pledges of the Union, and thus to make the Legislature equivocate for thirty years with the just expectations of disappointed millions. A few childish lamentations, and there would be an end of the opposition of George the Fourth to the resolve of his Ministry. He would go to Hanover—he would return no more to England—let them get a Catholic king in Clarence—were his ejaculations at the interview of the 9th of April. On the 14th lord Eldon wrote to his daughter,—“The fatal Bill received the royal assent yesterday afternoon. After all I had heard in my visits not a day's delay.”*

About a month after the passing of the Bill Mr. O'Connell was introduced to the House of Commons for the purpose of taking his seat for Clare. A petition against his return had been referred to a Committee, who declared that he was duly returned. Mr. O'Connell had been elected before the passing of the new Act, and the Clerk of the House accordingly tendered to him the oath of supremacy which was required to be taken under the old law. This oath Mr. O'Connell refused to take, claiming to take the oath set forth in the Relief Act. He was the next day heard at the bar. His courtesy, his moderation, his legal knowledge, surprised the House, and called forth the approving voices of the great law officers who had opposed his claim at once to take his seat. Upon a division a new writ was ordered for Clare. A large subscription was entered into for securing Mr. O'Connell's second return, which took place on the 30th of July. His violence at that election was a painful and disgusting contrast to his assumed gentleness at the bar of the House of Commons. His unmeasured words almost induced a general apprehension that the great measure of Catholic Emancipation had been too readily yielded to that sense of an overwhelming necessity which had converted opposing statesmen into its responsible promoters. There was a higher principle than the expediency which changed the policy of Mr. Peel—a principle thus proclaimed out of the walls of Parliament, to assert the Christian obligation of passing this law:—“It is the direct duty of every Englishman to support the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, even at the hazard of injuring the Protestant Establishment; because those claims cannot be rejected without great injustice; and it is a want of faith in God and an unholy zeal to think that he can be served by injustice, or to guard against contingent evil by committing certain sin.”† This was a great truth, maintained in words not to be forgotten, by a bold thinker who did not fear evil tongues—one whose tolerant zeal for the Church establishment, which he ardently desired to uphold, could not shut his eyes to the exclusive pretensions of those

* Twiss, vol. iii. p. 37.

† Dr. Arnold, “Christian Duty of considering the Roman Catholic Claims.”—Miscellaneous Works, p. 6.

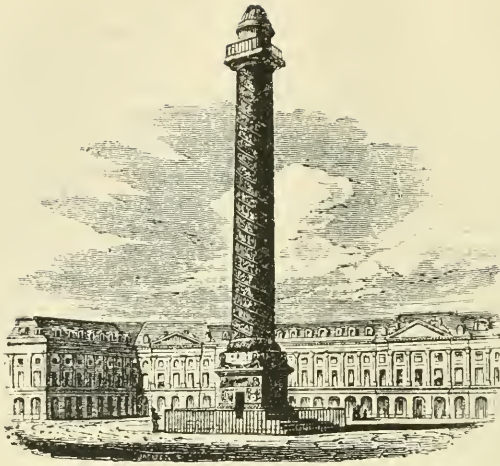
who would have built its security upon a rotten foundation. It was a truth whose constant recognition would support every conscientious statesman through the perils with which Ireland would yet be surrounded; would neutralize the interested agitation for the Repeal of the Union which the chief Agitator would for years carry forward to the verge of rebellion; would produce the general conviction that the "great injustice" being effectually removed, a fair field would be left for the removal or amelioration of social evils; would convert even the terrible calamity of a famine into a final blessing; would "assert eternal Providence" in manifesting that a righteous act would at last have its reward, in rendering the once wronged Ireland no more a terror to England, but the sharer of her liberty and her prosperity—a true sister, no longer to be alienated by just complaints, much less by demagogic violence and priestly stratagem.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of June. The landowners when they returned to their country mansions did not find happy faces amidst either tenants or labourers. The summer and autumn were wet and cold; the harvest was protracted; the crops were ill got in, and were hurried to market. They were found to be of inferior quality, and prices suffered temporarily a great depression. Then came the severest winter since 1813-14. Parliament met on the 4th of February, 1830. The King's Speech lamented that notwithstanding the indication of active commerce afforded by increased exports, distress should prevail amongst the agricultural and manufacturing classes. One effectual mode of mitigating the pressure upon industrial capital was announced in the intention to propose a considerable reduction in the amount of public expenditure. The promise was realized. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed, on the 15th of March, the total remission of the excise duties on beer, cider, and leather. Increased duties on spirits were to supply a portion of the deficiency. The propositions of the government were finally agreed to. Motions for Reform of Parliament were brought forward, with the usual fate of every previous attempt to carry a sweeping or a partial measure. Again it was resolved that the seat which was vacant through the corruption of East Retford should not be transferred to Birmingham. Mr. O'Connell proposed to bring in a Bill to establish universal suffrage, triennial parliaments, and vote by ballot. Lord John Russell had a counter-proposition for additional representatives for populous counties and large unrepresented towns. The solution of this difficult problem seemed as far off as ever. It was helped forward by the imprudent conduct of a great peer who openly proclaimed what too many of the aristocracy felt in their hearts. A petition was presented to the House of Commons complaining of the interference of the duke of Newcastle in the elections for the borough of Newark, and praying that his power of ejecting tenants from the property which he held as lessee of Crown lands, should be prevented in future by the non-renewal of his lease. The government declared that it was not their intention to renew this lease: it was unnecessary, therefore, to grant a committee to inquire into this matter. The debate, however, disclosed a correspondence which roused a feeling of indignation throughout the land. A public meeting had been held at Newark to condemn the proceedings of the nobleman who appeared to have held in small respect the well-known resolution of the House of Commons that it

is a violation of the privileges of Parliament for Peers of the Realm to interfere in elections. The duke of Newcastle was invited to attend that meeting. He declined to attend, and asked the bold question, "May I not do what I will with mine own?" It was the argument of Shylock, when he demanded the pound of flesh, "'Tis mine, and I will have it." These words went forth to teach Englishmen that property had its duties as well as its rights, preparing the way for that quickly-coming change when the democratic element would assert its claim to be more respected—when the franchise would cease to be considered as a chattel which the great could call their own. One measure of great importance was proposed this session by Mr. Brougham, as a specific measure connected with his extensive views of Law Reform which he had developed in 1828. On the 29th of April, 1830, he moved for leave to bring in a Bill to establish Local Jurisdiction in certain districts in England. He showed that to recover small sums in the superior courts was a process involving delay and expense which prevented a creditor obtaining the satisfaction of his just demands. It was his hope that he might be eventually able to establish the system of local jurisdiction, from which he expected benefits unspeakably valuable to the country. That hope was long deferred. The County Courts, which were founded upon the recommendation of the Common Law Commissioners, arising out of Mr. Brougham's views in 1830, and upon their further enforcement when he became Lord Chancellor, were not established till queen Victoria had been eight years upon the throne.

On the 24th of May, a message was sent to both Houses of Parliament by the king, announcing his illness and stating the inconvenience of signing public instruments with his own hand. A Bill was introduced for the appointment of commissioners to affix the king's sign-manual by a stamp, in the king's presence, and by his immediate order given by word of mouth. The Bill received the royal assent on the 29th of May. On the 26th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, king George the Fourth expired at Windsor Castle. It is difficult to look back upon the career of this prince, whose sovereignty either as Regent or King formed one of the most important eras in the annals of our country, without feeling how much his life had been one of great opportunities wasted and of natural powers perverted; how the circumstances by which he had been surrounded from his youth were almost wholly injurious to his character and his happiness. The present generation,—in some degree by the force of contrast—have come to look very severely upon the faults of this erring brother. They were painfully visited upon him by the absence of all domestic happiness, by the feeling that he was not beloved or respected by the people he was appointed to rule over. The duke of Wellington has given a character of the monarch who held in dread the great captain's strong sense and inflexible resolution: "He was indeed," said the duke, "the most extraordinary compound of talent, wit, buffoonery, obstinacy, and good feeling—in short, a medley of the most opposite qualities, with a great preponderance of good—that I ever saw in any character in my life."*

* Raikes's "Diary," vol. i. p. 92



Column in La Place Vendôme.

CHAPTER XIV.

Oath of allegiance taken by Peers and Commons—Business of Parliament commenced—Unmeasured language in the House of Commons—Motion for a Regency in the event of the king's demise—France—Retrospect of government in reign of Charles X.—Prince Polignac appointed President of the Council—Sudden prorogation of the Chambers—Algiers—The Royal Ordinances promulgated—The three days of July—Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom—Abdication of Charles X.—Duke of Orleans King—Recognition by England of the new government of France—Revolution of Belgium—The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway—Early opposition to the Railway system—The Locomotive Engine—George Stephenson—His son Robert—Anticipations of the triumphs of Railways—Death of Mr. Huskisson—Opening of Parliament—Declaration of the duke of Wellington—The king's visit to the City postponed—Defeat of Ministers on the Civil List—They resign—Mr. Brougham's parliamentary position—Administration of earl Grey completed—List of the Ministry.

On Friday, the 25th of June, both Houses of Parliament had adjourned to the following Monday. The death of George the Fourth having taken place at three o'clock on the morning of the 26th, summonses were issued for the immediate attendance of the Peers for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to King William the Fourth as administered by the Lord Chancellor. According to ancient practice the oath to the Commons was to be administered by the Lord Steward. At an early hour, therefore, many members of the Lower House attended in the Long Gallery for the purpose of taking this oath. The Lord Steward, the Marquis of Conyngham, did not arrive till late. When the House did meet, Mr. Brougham made an indignant protest against the treatment which the Commons of England had experienced; for many members had that morning, like himself, been kept for hours dancing attendance in the Long Gallery, and waiting the pleasure of the Lord Steward. On the following Monday Mr. Brougham explained

that he should not have indulged in the remarks which he had made on the Saturday had he been aware that the Lord Steward, being also governor of Windsor Castle, could not leave till he had handed over the body of the king to the Lord Chamberlain. The incident is scarcely worth notice, except as affording a very early indication of the policy of Mr. Brougham—"that he at least had no intention of any longer forming a portion of what was termed his Majesty's opposition, but that he was about to resume in earnest the character of an opponent."* The voice of public scandal, whose echo never died away, asserted that the Marquis of Conyngham and his family had very important private interests to take care of at Windsor Castle, in the few hours that elapsed between the death of the king and their departure from the palace of which they had long been inmates.

On the 29th of June the business of parliament commenced. A message from the king recommended "such temporary provision as may be requisite for the public service in the interval that may elapse between the close of the present session and the meeting of a new parliament." During the remaining three weeks of the session there was much sharp discussion in both Houses. On the 30th of June, in the House of Lords, earl Grey, upon the question of an Address to his Majesty, moved an amendment to adjourn, in order to give time for the consideration of the Civil List, and the expediency of providing a Regency. The original motion was carried by a large majority. In the House of Commons, lord Althorp moved a similar amendment which was also lost. On that night, after the proposed amendment had been negatived, a new debate arose upon the question being put on the original Address. Several years had passed since the House of Commons had heard such unmeasured language as now proceeded from the orator who was the real leader of the Opposition. It is difficult to understand how this fierceness should have been provoked by any act or manifest temper of the government—by anything beyond the popular suspicion that the duke of Wellington was an enemy to the liberties of his country. A threat was supposed to have been held out in the other House by the duke which Mr. Brougham thus interpreted for him—"if you leave government in the minority, I will resign, and where then will you get a Field-Marshal to superintend your finances and your law-courts?" Mr. Brougham then warned the government that in the event of a new election they might look back even to the parliament with some of the pleasures of memory. Their case might be the same as that of prince Polignac, who must needs send the representatives of France to their constituents, and in choosing a new Assembly that great nation was up, not in arms, but in the panoply of reason. "We can perceive, sir, in this country as in that, that the day of force is over, and that the Minister who hopes to rule by an appeal to Royal favour or military power may be overwhelmed, though I in nowise accuse him of such an attempt. Him I accuse not. It is you I accuse—his flatterers—his mean, fawning parasites." Sir Robert Peel rose: "I ask the hon. and learned gentleman, as I am one of those on this side of the House to which he is referring, whether he means to accuse me of such conduct? . . . I ask him whether he presumes—whether he presumes to call me the mean and fawning parasite of any-

* Roebuck, "History of the Whig Ministry," vol. i. p. 251.

body?" The historian of the Whig Ministry says, "Checked thus suddenly in mid-career, Mr. Brougham seemed at once to perceive that the phrase he had used, and the charge he had brought, were not to be justified." He disclaimed every intention of applying the words to sir Robert Peel himself. Sir Robert Peel required something more. Mr. Brougham had "no right to accuse men as honest, upright, and independent as himself, of being parasites. He would make the apology and retractation for the hon. and learned gentleman"—that "these words were uttered in the warmth of debate, and without reference to any individual application."* Mr. Brougham at once adopted the apology thus prescribed to him.

On the 6th of July Mr. R. Grant moved an Address to his Majesty, touching the expediency of making provision against the dangers to which the country might be exposed by a demise of the crown. The motion was rejected by a majority of a hundred and fifty-four. It was on this occasion that Mr. Macaulay, who had very recently been returned to Parliament for the borough of Calne, first exhibited his power of discussing a constitutional question upon broader principles than those of the mere debater. The Solicitor-General had talked about the delicacy due to the new monarch; that in previous cases of interference there had been a suspension of the executive functions. "I should wish," said Mr. Macaulay, "to ask the honourable and learned gentleman what he conceives to be the end and object of Parliament? The history of our hereditary form of government does not present us with any certain security for the wisdom or virtue of the chief magistrate. The destinies of the community may be entrusted to the feeble hands of infancy; and this and other consequences have afforded ample themes to the satirist and the declaimer. Look, at this moment, at the enormous weight and extent of power confided to the hereditary monarch, whether an infant or an adult. . . . Yet this enormous empire, with all its complicated interests, may be placed under the control of a thoughtless boy or girl. For a child, unable to walk or to express the simplest wish in its mother tongue, the claims of veteran Generals and of accomplished Statesmen are passed by. Senates pay it homage, and by the years of its rule laws are numbered and public Acts are dated. To many this system may appear, if not absurd, unreasonable; and what is the answer? Why in this enlightened age do we resist, and would oppose even with our lives any change of that system? What is the advantage that counterbalances its numerous and admitted evils? It may be designated in one word—certainty. . . . Under an hereditary government the Royal authority passes without interval from one Royal depository to another, and none can dispute in whom the right to the supreme magistracy resides. If this certainty be of more value than wisdom, virtues, or public services—if it be paramount to every other consideration, then, I ask, what becomes of all the arguments of the honourable and learned member? He tells us to pause in the appointment of a Regency, and to choose well, rather than to choose soon; but if we follow his advice, we forego the only advantage of our hereditary form of government—its certainty."† A satisfactory measure by which this desirable certainty was attained, the personage in whom the nation could place the utmost confi-

* Hansard, vol. xxv. col. 326.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xxv. col. 1029.

dence being nominated sole Regent, was passed in the new Parliament. The duchess of Kent was appointed to this high office, in the event of the princess Victoria becoming Queen before she had attained the age of eighteen.

The king, on the 23rd of July, prorogued Parliament in person. The royal speech contained these flattering words: "It is with the utmost satisfaction that I find myself enabled to congratulate you upon the general tranquillity of Europe." On the 24th Parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

It has been observed by M. Guizot that the ties, apparent or concealed, that exist between France and England, have never been broken even by their rivalries. "Whether they know or are ignorant of it, whether they acknowledge or deny the fact, they cannot avoid being powerfully acted upon by each other." * Never was this truth more strikingly exemplified than in the effect produced upon English opinion with regard to our domestic politics, by that French revolution of 1830 which, bursting forth within forty-eight hours of the dissolution of our own Parliament, had a most decided influence upon the elections that took place during the month of August, and thus produced a change of administration which immediately led to our own peaceful revolution—the Reform of Parliament. To comprehend in some degree the causes of the great event which hurled the elder branch of the Bourbons from that throne upon which they appeared to be firmly seated after the battle of Waterloo, we must advert very briefly to the course of the government of France after the death of Louis XVIII., on the 16th of September, 1824.

On the 15th of August, a month only before the decease of Louis, the censorship of journals was re-established by a royal ordinance. The state of the king's health appeared to the minister, M. de Villèle, to require that the government should have in its hands this power of controlling the press. The good sense of Louis XVIII., and his desire to govern as far as possible in an enlightened and liberal spirit, preserved France during his reign from any popular convulsion. Under the Charter the struggles of parties were of a constitutional character. There were great orators in the Chamber of Deputies who were opposed to the government; there were bitter satirists in prose and verse, such as Courier and Beranger, who attacked the ultra-royalist party and the priestly party with unsparing ridicule;—nevertheless, the nation had not arrived at the belief that another vital change in its institutions was necessary, and was content to confide in the power of the Charter gradually to repair its own deficiencies. Charles X. came to the throne. The French saw the change with something like dread, for he was considered the representative of ultra-royalist opinions. He at once manifested a solicitude that the people should accept him as a constitutional king. His first act was to abolish the censorship of the journals. He said to the peers and deputies that his great desire was to consolidate the Charter for the happiness of his people. He promised to each religious body protection for its worship. The ceremony of consecrating the king at Rheims was little in accordance with the spirit of the age, or the general character of the French. The people laughed and sneered when the "Moniteur" said:—"There is no doubt that the holy oil which will flow on the forehead of Charles X. in the solemnity of his consecration, is the same as that which,

* Guizot, "Memoirs to illustrate the History of My Time," vol. i. p. 306.

since the time of Clovis, has consecrated the French kings." Napoleon putting the crown upon his own head, was a fitter type of popular sovereignty in France than Charles X. anointed in seven parts of his body by the Archbishop of Rheims. Nevertheless, the king had solemnly promised to maintain the Charter, and the obsolete pageantries of his coronation were not imputed to him as a fault. The people had soon to learn how little dependence could be placed upon the professions, and even upon the liberal actions, of their new king. "Without false calculation or premeditated deceit, Charles X. wavered from contradiction to contradiction, from inconsistency to inconsistency, until the day when, given up to his own will and belief, he committed the error which cost him his throne." * He was at heart "a true emigrant and a submissive bigot." In 1826 a shrewd Englishman, writing from Paris, saw clearly how the bigotry would terminate:—"The French government are behaving very foolishly, flinging themselves into the arms of the Jesuits; making processions through the streets of twelve hundred priests, with the king and royal family at their head; disgusting the people, and laying the foundation of another revolution, which seems to me (if this man lives) to be inevitable." †

M. de Villèle's career, as the chief minister of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., had been of a longer duration than might have been expected from the discordant elements by which he was surrounded. For six years he had been the presiding spirit of the government. When he entered upon power he said, "I am born for the end of revolutions." This belief had little of the spirit of prophecy, however the prudence and sagacity of this minister might have retarded that isolation of the ruler from the ruled which is the beginning of new revolutions. The elections of 1827 were unfavourable to the government; and the minister, not having the cordial support of the whole Royalist party, was compelled to retire from office. The dauphiness said to the king, "in abandoning M. de Villèle, you have descended the first step of your throne." M. de Martignac became the head of the cabinet which replaced that of M. de Villèle. His tendencies were liberal and constitutional; his talents had not their proper influence either with the king or the chambers. He did what was in his power to prevent the measures of repression which one party desired, and to carry forward those measures of conciliation which he thought would retard a rupture between the throne and the nation. Lafayette characterised the policy of Martignac in a very significant sentence:—"Three steps forward and two backward, we have the net product of one little step." To move forward at all, and not to have the power of carrying the chambers in a retrogressive policy, was held at the Tuileries to be the fault of this minister. In August, 1829, a royal ordinance appeared changing the whole of the ministry, and finally appointing Prince Jules de Polignac president of the council. The prince had been ambassador in England; and many of the French, and not a few of the English, chose to believe that he had been appointed to his post through the influence of the duke of Wellington, and that his subsequent measures were taken in concert with our cabinet. Sir Robert Peel, on the 2nd of November, 1830, emphatically denied that the government of this country, directly or indirectly, had inter-

* Guizot, vol. i. p. 255.

† "Letters of Sydney Smith," vol. ii. p. 231.

ferred in this appointment.* In the choice of Polignac as his prime minister, "Charles X.," says M. Guizot, "had hoisted upon the Tuileries the flag of the counter-revolution." On the 2nd of March, 1830, the chambers were opened. There was a half menace in the royal speech, which appeared to presage some exercise of arbitrary power. "If criminal manœuvres were to place obstacles in the way of my government, which I neither can, nor wish to foresee, I should find the power of surmounting them in a resolution to maintain the public peace, in the just confidence of the French people, and in the devotion which they have always demonstrated for their king." The address of the Chamber of Deputies, which was carried by a majority of 221 to 181, affirmed that it was their duty to declare to the king that the Charter supposed, in order to its working, a concurrence between the mind of the sovereign and the interests of his people; that it was their painful duty to declare that such concurrence existed no longer, as the administration ordered all its acts upon the supposition of the disaffection of the people. The next day the chambers were prorogued till the 1st of September. On the 16th of May they were dissolved. New elections were ordered for June and July, and the parliament so elected was to meet on the 3rd of August. Most men saw clearly that a great struggle was at hand. The duke of Orleans, on the 31st of May, gave a fête in honour of his brother-in-law, the King of Naples, at the Palais Royal, at which Charles X. and the royal family were present. M. de Salvandy said to the duke of Orleans, "This is truly a Neapolitan festival; we are dancing on a volcano." The duke agreed with him, adding that he would not have to reproach himself with making no effort to open the eyes of the king. "What am I to do? Nothing is listened to. Heaven only knows where they will be in six months. But I well know where I shall be. Under any circumstances my family and I remain in this palace." †

On the 12th of July, during the progress of the French elections, the news arrived of the capture of Algiers. For two or three years the French government had been carrying on a small war against that barbarian power. But the ministry of Polignac resolved to strike a great blow for the establishment of a colonial dominion, and for the revival of that passion for military glory which had so often bestowed popularity upon the rulers of France, in their neglect of the national industry and their indifference to the growth of the people's liberties. A formidable expedition sailed from Toulon on the 25th of May, of which the three hundred and fifty ships carried forty thousand troops. Before the elections began, the landing of this expedition was announced. Before they were concluded, Algiers had been surrendered, and the Dey had been dethroned. But this triumph produced not the slightest effect upon the elections. In some respects, it made the electors more determined that a military glory should not encourage the tendencies to Absolutism at home. M. Guizot, upon hearing the news of the capture of Algiers, wrote, "I hope this success will not stimulate power to the last madness." The elections being completed, it was ascertained beyond a doubt that a very large majority of the Chamber of Deputies would be opposed to the administration of the prince de Polignac. Charles X. at this juncture was meditating some

* Hansard, Third Series, vol. i. p. 90.

† Guizot, vol. ii. p. 12.

desperate act which would restore what he believed to be his legitimate rights. "The Charter contained, for a prudent and patient monarch, certain means of exercising the royal authority, and of securing the Crown. But Charles X. had lost confidence in France and in the Charter."* The historian of his own time relates that the Russian ambassador, count Pozzo di Borgo, a few days before the government was committed to its fatal determination, had an audience with the King, in which his Majesty's conversation led the shrewd diplomatist to have little doubt as to the measures in preparation. He had found the King studying the fourteenth article of the Charter, "seeking with honest inquietude the interpretation he wanted to find there: in such cases we always discover what we are in search of."† The fourteenth article of the French Constitution says that the King is supreme head of the State. How Charles X. interpreted this is disclosed in that Revolution of July for which it is affirmed France had no desire. "The spirit of legality and sound political reason had made remarkable progress. Even during the ferment of the elections, public feeling loudly repudiated all idea of a new revolution."‡

On the 21st of July a Report, signed by the prince de Polignac, was presented to the King in council, in which it was represented that signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy presented themselves in every part of the kingdom; that the periodical press was the chief instrument of disorder and sedition. It had endeavoured to eradicate every germ of religious sentiment from the heart of the people; worst of all, it had dared to criticise the causes, the means, the preparations, and the chances of success of that expedition whose glory had cast such a pure and durable brilliancy over the crown of France. The laws were insufficient to restrain the licence of the press; it was time, it was more than time, to stop its ravages. The report then set forth that the ordinary conditions of representative government did not then exist in France; that a turbulent democracy had disposed of a majority of the elections through the means of the journals and by affiliated societies. The fourteenth article of the Charter was then appealed to as giving to the King a sufficient power, not indeed for the change of institutions, but for their consolidation and immutability. No government on earth could stand if it had not the power of providing for its own security, which is pre-existent to laws, because it is in the nature of things. The moment was come to have recourse to measures which were in the spirit of the Charter, but which are beyond the limits of legal order, the resources of which have been exhausted in vain. Such was the tenor of the document which an infatuated ministry presented to an infatuated king, as a justification of the decrees which they proposed for the overthrow of the Constitution.

The three ordinances by which the liberty of the periodical press was suspended, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the number of deputies was lessened, and their term of office regulated, were kept profoundly secret till nearly midnight of the 25th of July. No communication whatever was made to the heads of the police, nor to the commanders of the forces, that any unusual amount of vigilance or energy might be required in the possible event of a popular movement. The ministers had not the least idea that any effect would be produced by their acts beyond the suspension of obnoxious journals,

* Guizot, vol. i. p. 357.

† *Ibid.*, p. 358.‡ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

and the re-election of a Chamber of Deputies under conditions more favourable to the government. At eleven o'clock on the evening of Sunday, the 25th of July, copies of the memorial of the ministers to the King, and of the three ordinances which had been signed in Council on that day, were sent to the responsible editor of the "Moniteur," to be published in his paper of the following morning.

On Monday morning, the 26th of July, whilst the population of Paris were quietly proceeding to their various duties or pleasures, Paris was shaken to its centre as by a political earthquake. Before the doors of the Bourse were opened, the holders of stock were crowding thither to sell. More important than the operations of commerce were the proceedings of the journalists. The proprietors and editors of the chief opposition papers took a wise and prudent course in the first instance. They consulted the most eminent lawyers, who gave their opinion that the ordinances were illegal, and ought not to be submitted to. One of the judges of the Tribunal of First Instance authorized the "Journal of Commerce" to continue its publication provisionally, because the ordinances had not been promulgated in legal forms. Forty-four conductors of newspapers assembled at the office of the "National," signed a protest in which they declared their intention to resist the ordinances as regarded their own interests, and invited the deputies to meet on the 3rd of August as if no decree had gone forth for new elections. The Government, said this protest, has this day lost that character of legality which commands obedience; we resist it as far as we are concerned; it remains for France to judge how far it should carry its own resistance. On that Monday there was no appearance of popular insurrection. There was occasionally a cry in the streets of "Long live the Charter!—Down with the ministers!"

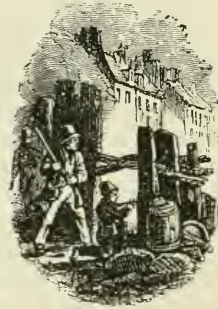
The next day a more ominous cry went forth—"Up with Liberty—Down with the Bourbons." The provisions of the decrees respecting the Press were to be carried through by naked force. Four of the most popular journals had been printed without the licence which was required by the ordinance. Sentinels were placed around the offices to prevent their sale; but copies of the journals, which not only contained the ordinances, but the protest of the journalists, were thrown out of the windows, and were quickly circulated throughout Paris. The old scenes of the Revolution of 1789 were rapidly developed. In the Palais Royal, and other public places, men mounted upon chairs read the ordinances and the bitter comments upon them to assembled crowds. The steps taken by the police to prevent the farther issue of these papers were calculated to stimulate the excitement of the people into absolute fury. The doors of the offices where they were printed were broken open, and the presses rendered unserviceable. The printers thrown out of their employ joined the crowds in the streets; and they are not a class to be injured without lifting up their voices against the wrong. In the course of that Tuesday the resistance to the acts of the government began to be transferred to men who might have been able to guide its course more safely than the declamation of the journalists or the passions of the populace. The Deputies were beginning to arrive in Paris. M. Guizot describes how, on reaching the city on the morning of the 27th, he found a note from M. Casimir Périer, inviting him to a meeting of some of their colleagues. "A few hours before," he says, "and within a short distance of Paris, the decrees were unknown to

me; and, by the side of legal opposition, I saw on my arrival revolutionary and unchained insurrection." * He went to the meeting at the house of M. Casimir Périer, and was selected, in conjunction with MM. Villemain and Dupin, to draw up in the name of the deputies present a protest against the decrees. This protest was adopted on the 28th. It was signed by sixty-three deputies. Its tone was moderate, and did not close the door against conciliation. It left to the king and his advisers a *locus penitentiæ*.

The solution of the great question was very soon to be taken out of the hands of deputies who entertained a diversity of opinion; some wishing to carry resistance to the utmost limit of legal order and not beyond, some desiring a change of dynasty, and a few sighing for a republic. The people in the streets were not distracted by contending opinions; they were not inclined to look forward to "the fashion of uncertain evils." They saw that the government had forfeited its claim to their obedience, and they little cared what form of government might succeed to the one that had betrayed its trust. There were ten thousand soldiers in Paris under the command of Marmont. The immediate business which presented itself to the minds of the people was to fight, if necessary. Guizot relates that, whilst he and a few other deputies were consulting on the evening of the 28th of July, in a drawing-room of the ground-floor of a private residence, whose windows were open, a crowd of labouring people, youths, children, and combatants of every kind, filled the court-yard, and addressing the deputies, said, they were ready to defend them, if soldiers and police, as was stated, were coming to arrest them. At the same time they demanded an instant adhesion to their revolutionary proceedings. M. Guizot says, that the revolutionists at any price, the dreamers of an imaginary future, had rapidly thrown themselves into the movement, and became hourly more influential and exacting. "Some firm well-regulated minds ventured to resist and show themselves resolved not to become revolutionists even while promoting a revolution." This was a subtle distinction, which certainly did not enter into the views of the great body of the bourgeoisie, who entered almost with one accord into the contest with unconstitutional power, although they had everything to lose by the spread of anarchy. The manufacturers had closed their workshops, and sent their men into the streets to contend for their common liberties. The members of the National Guard, which had been disbanded in 1827, had again put on their uniforms and taken their arms, which the greater part of them had retained. The crowd which on the evening of the 28th surrounded the drawing-room with open windows had been fighting themselves throughout the day, or knew that there had been fighting in almost every quarter of Paris. From daybreak, multitudes had begun to assemble, armed with sticks and pikes, old guns and sabres. They unpaved the streets; they threw up barricades of timber and of carts filled with the paving-stones; they seized the Hôtel de Ville; they hoisted the tri-coloured flag on its roof, and on the towers of Nôtre-Dame. The bells of the municipal palace and of the metropolitan church again called the citizens to arms as in the days of the first Revolution. Terror was in every family now as then; but there were no frightful excesses, no sanguinary scenes of popular vengeance, to make even

* Guizot, "My Own Time," vol. ii. p. 3.

the name of Liberty hateful. The people stood prepared for the struggle with the regular troops that was coming upon them—for Paris, on that morning of the 28th, had been declared by the government to be in a state of siege. Marmont had not begun to act after receiving the ordinance, which thus declared that the military power was the sole arbiter, before the insurgents were in possession of the chief part of the capital. He finally formed his troops in four columns, which were directed upon different points. It was not long before the sanguinary conflict began. It would be beyond the object of this history, even if it were in the power of the writer, to furnish a clear detail in a small compass of the struggles of this memorable day. Those who witnessed some of the many occurrences which were proceeding simultaneously in distant parts of Paris felt this difficulty in the subsequent discharge of their official duty. "The events," said M. Martignac, in the defence of Polignac, "so press upon, jostle, and confound each other, that the imagination can scarcely follow them, or the understanding range them in order." The first serious fighting appears to have taken place in the narrow street of St. Antoine, which was closed by barricades. From the houses approaching this street, paving-stones, broken bottles, and even articles of furniture, were showered upon the heads of the unfortunate soldiery. The column which was ordered to force this street returned to the Tuileries where Marmont had his head-quarters. Another column had to sustain an obstinate fight about the Hôtel de Ville. The general who commanded the troops obtained possession of the place, but he was compelled to confine his resistance to the populace to defensive operations. Another column lost many men at the Marché des Innocens. The fourth column sustained less loss. Night came on. The firing was still continued; the tocsin was rung from every church; the lamps were extinguished in the streets. Neither mail nor diligence left Paris. The communication with the provinces by telegraph was cut off. During the afternoon five deputies headed by M. Lafitte had waited upon Marshal Marmont at the Tuileries to ask for a suspension of hostilities, that in the interval they might send a deputation to the King. The marshal said he could only despatch a messenger to the King to inform him of the proceedings of the assembled deputies and of the state of affairs in Paris. His aide-de-camp received at St. Cloud a verbal answer directing Marmont to hold out, to collect his forces, and to act in masses. In conformity with these orders, the column which had held the Hôtel de Ville returned at midnight to the Tuileries, having left in the streets several hundred men killed or wounded. The King in his suburban palace had no conception of the magnitude of the danger; but was passing his evening at cards, whilst the court routine went forward as if the distant boom of the cannon was a sound which should inspire no fear and awaken little sympathy.



On the 28th the working classes had almost exclusively borne the brunt of the battle. On the morning of the 29th, hostilities had again commenced by seven o'clock. National Guards, young students, and even deputies, were

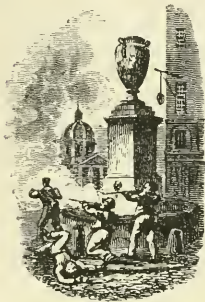
now at the barricades. The stately Faubourg St. Germain was now as ready for battle as the dingy Faubourg St. Antoine. The posts of the Luxembourg were disarmed. At a very early hour several royalists of high rank went to the Tuileries and had an interview with Marmont and Polignac. They urged the minister to recall the ordinances. He was calm and polite, but would promise nothing. He would consult his colleagues. They then suggested to Marmont that he should arrest the ministers. He seemed somewhat inclined to take their advice, when Peyronnet, one of the most obnoxious of the cabinet, came in, and exclaimed, "What! are you not gone yet?" They had stated their intention to go to St. Cloud. They set out, but Polignac got there before them. According to M. Guizot, the duke de Mortémart, Messrs. de Sémonville, d'Argout, de Vitrolles, and de Sussy, were "the enlightened royalists who attempted to give legal satisfaction to the country, and to bring about an arrangement between the inert royalty at St. Cloud and the boiling revolution at Paris. But when they demanded an audience of the king they were met by the unseasonable hour, by etiquette, the countersign, and repose." From Charles X., whose inconsistency in this trying hour of his destiny was as remarkable as in all his previous actions, they at last extorted a promise for the dismissal of the Polignac ministry, the appointment of the duke de Mortémart as President of the Council, and for other appointments which would be a guarantee for constitutional government. Still the king lingered and delayed the proper signatures till late in the day to the necessary ordinances. The duke de Mortémart, who set out on his return to Paris without a proper passport, met with a succession of interruptions from the royal guards. He had equal difficulty with the people in passing the barricades. The battle was raging all around Marmont at the Tuileries. The detachment at the Palais Bourbon was attacked, and the commander retired with his troops into the garden, and promised to be neutral. The Louvre was surrounded by masses of the populace, of whom a great number fell by the fire of the Swiss from the windows. At the Place Vendôme two regiments of the line were stationed, and a remnant of the gendarmerie. They were surrounded by the people, who, manifesting no inclination to regard the soldiers as enemies, the whole body of the troops with their officers went over to the side of the insurgents. On a second attack the Swiss were driven from the Louvre. The defection of the army, which was beginning to spread, proclaimed to Marmont that it was impossible to continue this contest. The insurrection had become a revolution. He hastily quitted the Tuileries with his troops to repair to St. Cloud. The populace as quickly broke into the palace. The tri-colour was hoisted on the staff where the white flag of the Bourbons had floated for fifteen years. The deputies who had met in the morning had determined to establish a provisional government. Lafayette, who had received from them the command of the forces in Paris, had, in the uniform of a National Guard, gone to take possession of the Hôtel de Ville. Upon the news of the defection of the two regiments, and the capture of the Louvre and the Tuileries, a municipal commission that had been formed by ballot, with authority to take all measures that the public safety might require, installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville, surrounded by dead bodies heaped up on the Place. In a few hours the National Guard was organized; the adminis-

tration of finance was provided for; the Post-office was again set in action; the mails and the diligences left Paris bearing the tri-colour flag. Three of the Royalists who had been at St. Cloud arrived at ten o'clock at night with the ordinances already mentioned, and with a further ordinance, repealing those of the 25th July, and appointing the Chamber of Deputies to meet on the 3rd of August. The three Royalists from St. Cloud came to negotiate for the preservation of the Crown to Charles X. They were interrupted by cries of "It is too late!" The sovereignty of France had vanished from the grasp of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

On the 30th of July the deputies who had held their previous meetings at private houses, met more formally in the Hall of the Chamber of Deputies, inviting their absent colleagues to join them there. They came to a resolution of soliciting the duke of Orleans, who was at his country seat at Neuilly, to repair to the capital to assume the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Forty deputies signed this resolution. Three only declined being parties to it, considering this as a decisive step towards a change of dynasty.* On the 31st the deputies so assembled published a proclamation which thus commenced: "France is free! Absolute power elevated its standard; the heroic population of Paris has beaten it down. Paris, under attack, has made the sacred cause triumph by arms which had succeeded already through the constitutional elections." The proclamation then announced that the deputies, in anticipation of the regular concurrence of the Chambers, had invited a true Frenchman, one who had never fought but for France,—the duke of Orleans,—to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. "We shall secure to ourselves by law all the guarantees we require to render liberty strong and permanent." On the 1st of August the duke of Orleans was at the Palais Royal, had accepted the office, and proceeded on horseback to the Hôtel de Ville, as a mark of courtesy to the National Guard, and to their commander Lafayette. M. Guizot relates that the deputies accompanied the duke on foot across the barricades. Women and children surrounded them, dancing and singing the Marseillaise. Cries and questions of every kind burst incessantly from the crowd. Who was that gentleman on horseback? was he a Prince? A hope was expressed that he was not a Bourbon. "I was much more deeply impressed," says Guizot, "by our situation in the midst of that crowd, and their attitude, than even by the scene which followed a few moments after at the Hôtel de Ville. What future perils already reveal themselves for that new-born monarchy!" Lafayette, surrounded by his staff, advanced to the steps to meet the duke, who cordially embraced him. In the Great Hall the proclamation of the deputies was read, and received with cheers. The Lieutenant-General of the kingdom advanced to the window, holding Lafayette by the hand and waving the tri-colour flag. He then appointed provisional ministers, of whom M. Guizot was Minister of the Interior. Meanwhile it was known at St. Cloud that the king's authority was at an end. The crowd of courtiers quickly dropped off from him. In his restlessness he went to Trianon and then to Rambouillet. He was still surrounded by a large body of soldiery.

* Guizot, vol. ii. p. 9.

On the 2nd of August he addressed a letter to the duke of Orleans, inclosing a formal act of abdication in favour of his grandson the duke of Bordeaux. Remaining at Rambouillet with numerous soldiers around him, the provisional government began to be uneasy as to the possibility of another conflict. Three commissioners were sent to confer with Charles and to urge him to depart. Their recommendations were backed by the presence of six thousand of the National Guard, who marched to Rambouillet, accompanied by vast numbers of Parisians on foot and in vehicles of every description. The king consented to leave, and to proceed to Cherbourg, escorted by the Garde-du-Corps. Throughout his journey the unfortunate king and his family received no indignities from the people, but they saw on every steeple the tri-coloured flag, and the tri-coloured cockade in many a hat. They embarked for England on the 16th, and were carried to the coast of Devonshire, the king having decided that England should be his place of refuge. For a short time he resided at Lulworth Castle. He subsequently occupied Holyrood House. Some ultra-liberals in Edinburgh having shown an inclination to treat the



fallen monarch with disrespect upon his arrival, sir Walter Scott published a manly and touching appeal to the more honourable feelings of his fellow-citizens. "If there can be any who retain angry or invidious recollections of late events in France, they ought to remark that the ex-monarch has, by his abdication, renounced the conflict into which, perhaps, he was engaged by bad advisers; that he can no longer be the object of resentment to the brave, but remains to all the most striking emblem of the mutability of human affairs which our mutable times have afforded." *

On the 3rd of August the duke of Orleans opened the legislative session in the Chamber of Deputies. In that Chamber during the next four days there was a partial opposition from the adherents of the fallen dynasty against the manifest tendency to a solution of the difficult question of a future government by the appointment of the duke of Orleans as king. The Charter of Louis XVIII. received some alterations, and then it was declared by a large majority, that, subject to the acceptance of the modified Charter, the universal and urgent interests of the French nation called to the throne the duke of Orleans. On the 9th of August the duke of Orleans in the Chamber of Deputies declared his acceptance of the Crown, with the title King of the French, and took this oath: "In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration; to govern only by the laws and according to the laws; to cause good and true justice to be rendered to each according to his right; and to act in all things only with a view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people."

"While two American packets, escorted by two French men-of-war, rapidly conveyed the old king and his family from France, all France hastened to Paris."† An English historian may add that no inconsiderable portion of

* Lockhart's "Life of Scott," vol. vii. p. 226.

† Guizot, vol. ii. p. 36.

the population of this kingdom were, as he himself witnessed, looking with intense interest upon the localities of the great events of the three days. Some were fraternizing with National Guards in the *cafés*; others were mingling in a crowd of all nations at the evening *réceptions* of general La Fayette; a privileged few were banqueting at some shady *guinguette* with a great company of French, English, Belgian, and Polish liberals, whose fervid eloquence seemed the prelude to a very unsettled future of European Society. There was, however, so much to admire in the conduct of the French people, that although the traces of carnage were everywhere around—although men of education joined their voices in the common cry of “death to the ministers,” as an atonement for the blood of the slain whose graves were daily strewn with *immortelles*,—the old idea of revolution had lost something of its terrors. There had been more bold speaking at our elections for the new Parliament than was considered in some quarters safe or decorous. Yet the sympathy of the British population with the revolution of France was not to be mistaken for an approbation of levelling and destructive doctrines, such as had led astray many enthusiasts amongst us in 1789. It was “a contrast to the first revolution;” it “vindicated the cause of knowledge and liberty, showing how humanizing to all classes of society are the spread of thought and information, and improved political institutions.”* The sympathy was too manifest to be set at nought by the government of this country, even if it had been as much disposed to uphold “a royal rebellion against society,” as it was the fashion unjustly to ascribe to the great warrior who was the head of the Cabinet. He, it has been stated, was for a short time perplexed and undecided. “When nothing was known beyond the ordinances of July, some one asked the duke of Wellington, ‘What are we to think of this?’ ‘It is a new dynasty,’ answered the duke. ‘And what course shall you take?’ inquired his friend. ‘First, a long silence, and then we will concert with our allies what we shall say.’”† A wiser and nobler policy than “a long silence” and “concert with our allies,” was speedily adopted. When the new parliament was opened on the 2nd of November, “the ready manner in which ministers recognized the new government of France” was cordially approved by earl Grey.

The Revolution of France necessarily produced a great effect upon the popular feeling throughout Europe, and especially in the kingdom of the Netherlands. Since the settlement of Europe in 1815, when the Congress of Vienna decided that Belgium and Liège, together with the Seven United Provinces, should be formed into one kingdom, there had been constant dissensions between the Belgian and Dutch subjects of William Frederick I. The union with Holland had imparted an extraordinary impulse to the commerce and manufactures of Belgium, but this material prosperity could not blend the two peoples into one nation. The differences of religion and of language, and the inequality upon several financial matters of the northern and southern kingdoms, kept up the acrimony which was exhibited, not only in the public journals, but in the debates of the States-General. In April, 1830, Messrs. Potter, Tielmans, Bartells, and others, were tried at Brussels

* Dr. Arnold, August, 1830. “Life,” vol. i. p. 294.

† Guizot, “Memoirs of Sir R. Peel,” p. 46.

on a charge of conspiracy against the government of the Netherlands. The three named were found guilty, and sentenced to be banished. Potter was in Paris during the Revolution of July, the events of which period were not calculated to moderate his revolutionary zeal. He was an active agent in promoting the rising of the populace in Brussels on the 25th of August. In a second insurrection, of September, the Dutch troops were compelled to retreat before the armed insurgents. The contest went on in various sanguinary conflicts, until the five great Powers imposed a cessation of arms on both nations and recognized the independence of Belgium by a protocol of the 4th of November.

The autumn of 1830 witnessed in England the most remarkable contrast between the triumphs of intellect and the disgraces of ignorance. On the 15th of September the first Railway for the conveyance of passengers was opened, the carriages being drawn by a locomotive engine, at the speed of a racehorse. Immediately after the harvest the Southern Agricultural Counties were given over to more havoc and alarm than had ever attended the operations of the frame-breaking general Ludd. There was a war of the labourer against the farmer, in the shape of incendiary fires of barns and corn-stacks, and the destruction of threshing-machines and other implements of industry beyond the commonest tool. Before we proceed to trace the course of the universal political excitement of the next two years, let us rapidly view the rise of the new power of Communication which was destined to produce results beyond all possible conception in the progress of civilized communities. The simultaneous manifestation of the belief of large bodies of labourers, that their condition would be bettered by driving back society to the commonest inventive arts of savage tribes, and to the barbaric ignorance which, in destroying capital, would make all poorer, may be more fitly treated of in a subsequent view of the condition of the labourers in husbandry, when incendiary fires and the destruction of machinery were traced to causes of no temporary nature.

On the 2nd of March, 1825, there was a debate in the House of Commons on the motion for the second reading of the Bill for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. The subscribers to this undertaking were the bankers, merchants, traders, and manufacturers of Liverpool and Manchester. They had not engaged in this project with a view to individual profit as shareholders, for it had been agreed that no person should hold more than ten shares, and they would be satisfied if they received ten per cent., or even five per cent. upon their investment. Their great object was the increase of commerce. It was alleged that no such encouragement was necessary; for there were two or three canals, which were sufficient for every purpose of commerce in the districts through which the railway was to pass. The answer was, that under the existing system cotton had been detained at Liverpool for a fortnight, whilst the manufacturers of Manchester were obliged to suspend their labours, and goods manufactured at Manchester could not be transmitted to Liverpool in time for shipment, on account of the tardy canal conveyance. Then came the rejoinder. The experiment of conveying goods on a railway had been tried, and had completely failed. The best locomotive engine that could be found had been selected; and the average rate on a plane surface was not three miles and three-quarters per

hour, which was slower than canal conveyance.* Before a Committee upon the Bill, Telford and others expressed an opinion that with the improvement of the locomotive the speed upon a railway might be fifteen miles, and even twenty miles an hour. These opinions were called "the gross exaggerations of the powers of the locomotive steam-engine;" and it was contended that even if such a speed could be attained, the dangers of bursting boilers and broken wheels would be so great, that we should as soon expect that "people would suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's ricochet rockets, as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine going at such a rate." In the same article from which we quote, the general question of railways is thus summarily disposed of: "As to those persons who speculate on making railways general throughout the kingdom, and superseding all the canals, all the waggons, mail and stage-coaches, post-chaises, and, in short, every other mode of conveyance by land and by water, we deem them and their visionary schemes unworthy of notice."†

The Bill for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway passed, in spite of the most strenuous opposition from canal companies, and from proprietors of land through or near which the line was intended to run. For four years the works went on. Difficulties were overcome which then appeared insuperable, but which would be deemed trifles in the great engineering operations of a later period of railway speculation. Nevertheless, satisfactory as was this progress, no one believed that a passenger traffic would arise that would dispense in any considerable degree with mails and stage coaches. Railways were not a new invention; nor were locomotive engines. Tram-roads were used in collieries; and the construction of a steam-engine that would move forward with a weight behind it had been attempted by various projectors. But the tramways were laid on yielding beds, and out of level; and the engines would either not go at all or very soon come to a stand. The alliance of the railway and the locomotive was still far distant. In 1813 there was a superintendent engineer of a colliery at Killingworth, who had gradually risen from the humble position of an engine-fireman to be worthy of an employ which placed him above the condition of a labourer. This self-taught man was George Stephenson. His mind was ever active. He had constructed an incline and an apparatus by which waggons descending from the coal-pit to the loading-place were made to draw up the empty waggons. At the time when Davy had invented his safety-lamp, Stephenson had constructed a similar lamp, without any knowledge of the contemporary invention, and this lamp is still in use in the pit at Killingworth. In 1814 he had constructed a locomotive engine for the colliery in which he was engaged. It was a success, drawing eight loaded waggons along the tramway at the rate of four miles an hour. He then declared that there was no limit to the speed of such an engine, if the works could be made to stand it. During the next ten years his skill and perseverance raised him into employment as the engineer of railways connected with colliery properties. A more important undertaking was the construction of the Stockton and Darlington Railway, on which an engine was employed which drew a

* Hansard, 2nd series, vol. xii. cols. 845 to 854.

† "Quarterly Review," vol. xxxi. p. 361.

load of ninety tons, at the rate of eight miles an hour. In 1824 he surveyed the line for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and superintended that work till the line was opened in 1830. Great were the objections of engineers to locomotives being employed on this line; but, with the true confidence of genius, George Stephenson persevered in working out, with the aid of his son Robert, the plans of an engine which would produce results undreamt of by the most sanguine believers in the wonders to be effected by the appliances of science to the industrial arts. He persuaded the directors of the railway to offer a prize for the best locomotive. The Rocket engine constructed by him won the prize. The old modes of transit were from the hour of that experiment changed throughout the whole civilized world. Burke has described in glowing imagery the beneficent angel of a noble house unfolding to lord Bathurst, in the reign of Anne, the commercial grandeur of his country; but pointing to America, a little speck, a seminal principle, then scarcely visible in the national interests, which, seventy years afterwards, should give to England a commerce equal to the whole of that which the young man saw at the beginning of the century. We may imagine the angel of the humble house of Stephenson showing to the father and the son, intently meditating over their models and their plans, what would be the effect of their projects upon themselves and upon the world. To the father he might have said—you shall not only construct mighty works yourself, but be the precursor of a great race of engineers who will cover England, Scotland, and Ireland with a web of railways, bringing districts once inaccessible to commercial interchange into easy communication, equalizing prices throughout the land, cutting tunnels through the adamantine rock, carrying bridges over great rivers. You were the first that should realize the dream of the poet's "Car of Miracle,"

"Steady and swift the self-moved chariot went." *

Before ye both shall "taste of death,"—the one in the fullness of years, the other too soon called away from his appointed task—the whistle of the Locomotive shall have been heard upon the continent of Europe, from the Garonne to the Danube. France, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Italy, shall have welcomed the sound; Russia shall not have forbidden its approach. It shall have penetrated the densest forests of North America; its jubilant voice shall tell that a railway has connected the coasts of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Wherever England has colonized there shall have come this sound, the herald of the never-resting spread of her arts, her laws, and her language. To the son the angel might have foretold,—it shall be yours to connect Birmingham with London, as your father connected Liverpool with Manchester; you shall carry the ponderous train over the broad Tyne at Newcastle, and, more daring, over the Menai Strait, by a tubular bridge that shall be a wonder of the world; you shall complete the railway communication between West Canada and the United States without interruption by the waters of the St. Lawrence; you shall unite Alexandria with Cairo, to perfect the overland route to India, by works as grand and far more useful than the Pyramids, and "forty centuries shall look down upon

* Southey, "Curse of Kehama," xxiii.

you," the true conqueror.* The aggregate results in their own country that followed that auspicious, and yet so melancholy, opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, might have been shown to them in a vision too vast to be comprehended by us, except by the aid of common computation. Four hundred millions sterling expended upon ten thousand five hundred miles of railway; the receipts of these lines in one year, that of 1860, nearly twenty-eight millions; the passengers in that year, one hundred and sixty three millions, exclusive of periodical ticket-holders; in that year the merchandise carried, nearly thirty million tons; the coal and other minerals above fifty million tons; the live-stock, consisting of cattle, sheep, and pigs, about thirteen millions.† Extend the view beyond our own land, and even figures convey an inadequate idea of the effect produced upon civilization by the untutored genius of the engine fireman of Killingworth, and the more cultivated mind of his equally illustrious son.

Glimpses of the coming era of railways might have filled the mind of the great economist who led the advancing steps of Commercial Freedom, and who, of all statesmen, was best fitted to deal with the difficulties that would surround the rush of speculation to this novel species of enterprise. At the public meeting of the 18th of June, 1824, for erecting a monument to James Watt, Mr. Huskisson said, that the man to whose memory they owed a tribute of national gratitude had, by his discovery, "subdued and regulated the most terrific power in the universe,—that power which, by the joint operation of pressure and heat, probably produces those tremendous convulsions of the earth, which in a moment subvert whole cities, and almost change the face of the inhabited globe. This apparently ungovernable power Mr. Watt reduced to a state of such perfect organization and discipline—if I may use the expression—that it may now be safely manœuvred and brought into irresistible action—irresistible, but still regulated, measured, and ascertained—or lulled into the most complete and secure repose, at the will of man, and under the guidance of his feeble hand. Thus one man directs it into the bowels of the earth, to tear asunder its very elements, and bring to light its hidden treasures; another places it upon the surface of the waters, to control the winds of heaven, to stem the tides, to check the currents, and defy the waves of the ocean; a third, perhaps, and a fourth, are destined to apply this mighty power to other purposes, still unthought of and unsuspected, but leading to consequences, possibly, not less important than those which it has already produced."‡ The "other purposes still unthought of and unsuspected" might be dimly contemplated in the triumphs of the locomotive engine.

Mr. Huskisson had been returned as the representative of Liverpool to the new Parliament. Being in ill-health he was unable to appear on the hustings when his constituents re-elected him; but he was sufficiently recovered to attend the intended magnificent ceremonial of opening the railway. On the morning of the 15th of September he took his seat in the

* *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 254.

† For details of these results in England, Scotland, and Ireland, see "Companion to the Almanac" for 1862.

‡ "Huskisson's Speeches," vol. iii. p. 672.

first of the eight carriages that were to proceed to Manchester. At the other end of that carriage was the duke of Wellington. There were eight locomotive engines with their attached carriages forming this procession. On quitting the tunnel at Liverpool the Northumbrian engine, which drew the three carriages containing the directors and their most distinguished visitors, took the south line of the railway, the seven other engines with their carriages proceeding along the north line. The speed of the Northumbrian was accelerated or retarded, as the visitors might desire, to look at particular portions of the works. At Parkside there was a stoppage. Many of the gentlemen in the Northumbrian carriages got out. Mr. Huskisson was induced by a friend to go forward to speak to the duke of Wellington, from whom he had been estranged by his vote on the transfer of the seat of East Retford. As Mr. Huskisson approached, the duke held out his hand. It was a moment of agitation for the sensitive commoner. Suddenly a cry was heard—"Get in—get in." The Rocket was coming. There was a space of four feet between the two lines; and only eighteen inches between the carriages as they overhung the lines. Many ran round to the end of the stationary carriage. Mr. Huskisson lost his presence of mind; fell upon the north rail as he attempted to escape; and his right leg being crushed by the Rocket, he felt at once that the injury was fatal. He was carried to the vicarage of Eccles. The surgeons, who were quickly in attendance, declared that he would sink under amputation. From the moment he was struck he received the solace of the presence of his wife. He died that night after nine hours of agony; and was buried in the cemetery at Liverpool, followed to the grave by thousands of his sorrowing constituents.

The formal commencement of the first session of the ninth parliament of the United Kingdom had taken place on the 26th of October; the members of the two Houses had taken the customary oaths; Mr. Manners Sutton had been re-elected Speaker of the Commons;—when, on the 2nd of November, King William the Fourth opened the parliament in person. Never had public expectation been so roused to discuss the probable tone of the King's Speech; never was one of the great parties more exultant, or the other more indignant,—not so much at that portion of the speech which had reference to the revolutions of France and the Netherlands, or the outrages of the Southern counties, or the efforts to produce a clamour in Ireland for a repeal of the union, but at the concluding paragraph, in which it was indirectly but unmistakeably intimated, that a reform in parliament, for whose necessity public opinion had been so loudly expressed in the recent elections, would have no sanction from the government. The obscurity of the oracle was soon dissipated by the interpretation of the chief priest. In the House of Lords, when earl Grey had said that the only mode to avert from this country the dangers which were apprehended from the political convulsions of Europe was to secure the affections of the people; to redress their grievances; "and, my lords, I will pronounce the word, by reform in parliament," the duke of Wellington thus replied: "He was fully convinced that the country possessed at the present moment a legislature which answered all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any legislature ever had answered in any country whatever. He would go further, and say, that the legislature and the system of representation possessed the

full and entire confidence of the country. . . . He was not prepared to bring forward any measure of the description alluded to by the noble lord. He was not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but he would at once declare that as far as he was concerned, as long as he held any station in the government of the country, he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others."* In the House of Commons not a moment was lost by the real leader of the House,—whose importance as a leader of the people had been unequivocally pronounced by his election as one of the representatives of Yorkshire—in declaring his determination to bring the great question of reform to an immediate practical issue. The Commons have a constitutional right to do whatever business they please before the king's speech is taken into consideration. On the motion that the usual sessional orders be agreed to, Mr. Brougham said "he could not allow the opportunity which that question presented to pass over without giving notice of his intention on that day fortnight to bring the great question of a reform of the Commons' House of Parliament fully under consideration. His object was not revolution but restoration." On that day fortnight the government of the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel was at an end. "Never," says Sydney Smith, "was any administration so completely and so suddenly destroyed; and, I believe, entirely by the duke's declaration, made, I suspect, in perfect ignorance of the state of public feeling and opinion."† During that fortnight men's minds in the metropolis and throughout the country were in a most unusual and, in some respects, alarming state of ferment. In parliament it was sufficiently evident, not only from the altered character of the Lower House in the distribution of seats, but from the unmeasured language against ministers of some of their former supporters in both Houses, that upon the first important question the government would be in a minority. Sir Robert Peel is reported to have said, immediately after his retirement from office, "We have alienated the Tories without conciliating the Whigs."

It is usual some time after the commencement of a new reign that the sovereign should go in state to the city and dine in Guildhall. The King had promised to dine with the Lord Mayor on Tuesday, the 9th of November. The Lord Mayor elect, Mr. John Key, on the previous Saturday, wrote to the duke of Wellington that while the feelings of all the respectable citizens were decidedly loyal, and they were desirous to testify their loyalty on the approaching occasion, he had learned that there were some desperate characters who would take the opportunity of making an attack on his grace's person on his approach to the hall. He therefore suggested the propriety of the duke coming strongly and sufficiently guarded. The king was advised upon this warning to decline fulfilling the promise which he had made to the Lord Mayor. On the 8th of November lord Althorp asked sir Robert Peel for an explanation "of one of the most extraordinary and alarming events that he had ever known in the course of his public experience. . . . It was not in London alone that the most serious effects would result from this affair. The alarm throughout the kingdom would be excessive." Sir Robert Peel explained that it was not fitting that the duke of Wellington,

* Hansard, 3rd series, vol. i. col. 52.

† "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 313.

after all the services he had rendered to his country, should be seen going to Guildhall with a large military guard. In the course of the Saturday and Sunday the most industrious attempts had been made to inflame the public mind against the new police. On the night of the 2nd, after the King had been to parliament, there had been sixty-six cases of assault committed on the police constables. He sincerely believed that if his Majesty had not been advised to forego the satisfaction of visiting the city of London, there would have been such a disturbance of the public peace as would have rendered it necessary to resort to military authority for its preservation. The explanation seemed in some degree satisfactory to the House, but it was contended by many of the journals that the too ready credence of the government to a. d. rman Key's alarm was to disseminate alarm throughout the country. It was more rationally contended in parliament that the unpopularity of the duke of Wellington, produced chiefly by his declaration against reform, ought not to have cast a doubt upon the universal popularity of the King. Sir William Knighton records that the duke of Wellington told him that he advised the King and Queen not to go, because the probability was that bloodshed would have happened in their presence. " 'In regard to myself,' he said, 'I have no desire to be massacred; which would have happened. I would have gone, if the law had been equal to protect me; but that was not the case. Fifty dragoons on horseback would have done it; but that was a military force. If firing had begun, who could tell where it was to end? I know what street firing is; one guilty person would fall, and ten innocent be destroyed. Would this have been wise or humane, for a little bravado, or that the country might not be alarmed for a day or two? It is all over now, and in another week or two will be forgotten.' " *

For another week the business of Parliament went on with tolerable smoothness. On the 15th of November, on the order of the day for the House to go into a Committee upon the Civil List, sir Henry Parnell moved, as an amendment, that a Select Committee be appointed to examine the accounts presented to the House by order of his Majesty connected with the Civil List, and to report thereon. The debate was very short, being principally confined to the mover of the amendment and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goulburn, who met the motion of sir Henry Parnell by a decided negative. The division was very quickly taken, showing, in a house of four hundred and thirty-seven members, the Ministers to be in a minority of twenty-nine. The next day lord Sidmouth thus expressed himself in a private letter: " Last night's division was a surprise to the Ministers and their opponents. The general expectation appears to be that the duke will resign to-day. In that case the regrets of the good and the fears of the wise will be almost universal." † Lord Sidmouth appears to have had a confused recollection of Johnson's line,

"Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise."

There were fears, and there were follies, which drove the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel from power. Sir Robert Peel is reported to have said

* "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton," vol. ii. p. 132.

† "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 423.

immediately after his retiring from office, "The downfall of the Cabinet was inevitable. The duke, by his declaration against all Reform, hastened the catastrophe. The head of the government ought never to allow his secrets to be discovered."* The follies of the wise were associated with the fears of the brave. "I was defeated," the duke subsequently said, "on the Civil List. . . . I admit I resigned next morning because I did not wish to expose his Majesty and the country to the consequences that might result from the government going out on the success of the question of Parliamentary Reform." Sir Robert Peel corroborated this: "Though we retired on the Civil List question, yet it is impossible to deny that the anticipation of the probable manifestation of opinion on the question of Reform in this house entered into the consideration of the government."

The resignations of the Ministers were formally announced in both Houses on the 16th of November, it having been previously known that Earl Grey had been sent for by the King. On that evening Lord Althorp said he hoped that, as there was [no longer any administration in existence, Mr. Brougham would not submit to the House that evening a question of so much importance as that of which he had given notice. Mr. Brougham said, if the motion were put off it would be contrary to his opinion and to his wishes, but that if he gave up his opinion he would do so in deference to the wishes of the House. "And further, as no change that may take place in the administration can by any possibility affect me, I beg it to be understood that, in putting off the motion, I will put it off until the 25th of this month, and no longer. I will then, and at no more distant period, bring forward the question of Parliamentary Reform, whatever may be the condition of circumstances, and whosoever may be his Majesty's Ministers."† On the 22nd of November the Commoner who had so decidedly proclaimed his isolation from the expectant Ministry—further declaring on the 17th, "I have nothing to do with them except in the respect I bear them,"—took his seat as Chancellor in the House of Lords. The patent by which he was created a Peer was not then in the hands of the Clerk of Parliament. As Mr. Brougham he could be Speaker of the House of Lords, but he had only power to put the question. The negotiations which had been carried on for Mr. Brougham's acceptance of a minor office than that of Lord Chancellor are for the most part matter of conjecture, with the exception of the fact that he refused the office of Attorney-General. We personally know, as we knew thirty years ago, that Mr. Brougham's reluctance to leave the House of Commons was almost insuperable; that the high dignity of Lord Chancellor was not the object of his ambition; that there was no coquetting on his part, having the Great Seal in prospect, when he made in the House of Commons the declarations that we have recited. Lord Althorp himself said—and it is now, through the lapse of time, no violation of confidence to repeat his words—"I almost forced the Great Seal upon Mr. Brougham. I told him that if he did not consent to join the administration the possibility of forming a government of his political friends would be broken up. Slowly, most unwillingly, was his consent wrung from him. 'What,' he said, 'leave the House of

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Peel," p. 51.

† Hansard, 3rd series, vol. i. col. 563.

Commons? If I yield, do not be surprised if my repentance should urge me to some rash act of which you may too soon hear.' ”

The administration of earl Grey had been readily completed, when the difficulty about Mr. Brougham had been surmounted. On the 22nd of November the principal members of the government kissed hands on their appointments; and on that evening earl Grey, in the House of Lords, made his statement, as Prime Minister, of the principles which would determine the conduct of his government. . Moderate Reform; Economy and Retrenchment; repression of Outrage and relief of Distress; the preservation of Peace with foreign Powers—these were the principles which he and his friends would uphold, and for the maintenance of which they threw themselves upon the confidence and support of their sovereign, of their lordships, and of the country. In the course of a fortnight all the minor offices were filled up, and were printed in the Gazette. The two Houses continued to sit for a month after the accession of the Whigs to power; but, in consequence of the necessity for re-election of various members of the Lower House, the proceedings were of little permanent interest. On the 23rd of December earl Grey, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved the adjournment of the Houses to the 3rd of February.

MINISTRY, DECEMBER, 1830.

CABINET.

Marquis of Lansdowne	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Brougham and Vaux	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Durham	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl Grey	First Lord of the Treasury.
Viscount Althorp	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Sir James Graham, Bart.	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Viscount Melbourne	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Viscount Goderich	Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Right Hon. Charles Grant	President of the Board of Control.
Lord Holland	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Lord Auckland	President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. C. W. W. Wynn	Secretary at War.
Sir James Kempth	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord John Russell	Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Right Hon. G. A. Ellis	First Commissioner of Land Revenue.
Duke of Richmond, K.G.	Postmaster-General.
Right Hon. Robert Grant	Judge Advocate-General.
Lord Nugent, Robert Vernon Smith, Esq., Francis T. Baring, Esq., Hon. G. Ponsonby	Lords of the Treasury.
Right Hon. E. Ellice, Right Hon. Spring Rice	
Right Hon. Poulett Thomson	Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir Thomas Denman	Attorney-General.
Sir William Horne	Solicitor-General.

GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

Marquis Wellesley	Lord Steward.
Duke of Devonshire	Lord Chamberlain.
Earl of Albemarle	Master of the Horse.
Marquis of Winchester	Groom of the Stole.

IRELAND.

Marquis of Anglesey	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Plunkett	Lord High Chancellor.
Hon. E. G. S. Stanley	Chief Secretary.

SCOTLAND.

Francis Jeffrey, Esq.	Lord Advocate.
Henry Cockburn, Esq.	Solicitor-General.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND RULERS, 1815-1837.

GREAT BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.
1815 Regency	Louis XVIII.	Francis I.	Frederic William III.	Charles XIII.	Alexander I.	Ferdinand VII.
1818 —	—	—	—	Charles John XIV.	—	—
1820 George IV.	Charles X.	—	—	—	Nicolas I.	—
1824 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1825 —	Louis Philippe.	—	—	—	—	—
1830 William IV.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1833 —	Ferdinand I.	—	—	—	—	Regency.
1835 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1837 Victoria.	—	—	—	—	—	—
GREAT BRITAIN.	DENMARK.	PORTUGAL.	PAPAL STATES.	NAPLES.	SARDINIA.	UNITED STATES.
1815 Regency.	Frederic VI.	John VI.	Pius VII.	[Josch. Murat,] Ferdinand IV.	Victor Emanuel.	Thomas Madison, (President).
1817 —	—	—	—	—	—	James Monroe.
1820 George IV.	—	—	—	Ferdinand I.	Charles Felix.	James Monroe. Re-elected 1821.
1821 —	—	—	—	—	—	John Quincy Adams.
1823 —	—	—	Leo. XII.	—	—	—
1825 —	—	—	—	Francis.	—	—
1826 —	Pedro IV.	—	—	—	—	—
1828 —	Maria da Gloria.	—	—	—	—	—
1829 —	—	—	—	Ferdinand II.	—	Andrew Jackson.
1830 William IV.	—	—	Gregory XVI.	—	Charles Albert.	—
1831 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1833 —	—	—	—	—	—	Andrew Jackson. Re-elected 1833.
1837 Victoria.	—	—	—	—	—	—

POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.	1821.	1831.	COUNTIES OF WALES.	1821.	1831.
	Bedford	83,716		95,383	Anglesey
Berks	131,977	145,289	Brecon	43,613	47,763
Bucks	134,068	146,529	Cardigan	57,784	64,780
Cambridge	121,909	143,955	Carmarthen	90,239	100,655
Chester	270,098	334,410	Carnarvon	57,958	65,753
Cornwall	257,447	302,440	Denbigh	76,511	83,167
Cumberland	156,124	169,681	Flint	53,784	60,012
Derby	213,333	237,170	Glamorgan	101,737	126,612
Devon	439,040	494,168	Merioneth	34,332	35,609
Dorset	144,499	159,252	Montgomery	59,899	66,485
Durham	207,673	253,827	Pembroke	74,009	81,424
Essex	289,424	317,237	Radnor	22,459	24,651
Gloucester	335,843	386,904			
Hampshire	233,298	314,313	Total	717,433	805,236
Hereford	103,243	110,976			
Hertford	129,714	143,341			
Huntingdon	48,771	53,149			
Kent	426,616	479,155			
Lancaster	1,052,859	1,336,854	SHIRES OF SCOTLAND.	1821.	1831.
Leicester	174,571	197,003	Aberdeen	155,387	177,651
Lincoln	233,058	317,244	Argyll	97,316	101,425
Middlesex	1,144,531	1,358,541	Ayr	127,299	145,055
Monmouth	71,833	98,130	Banff	43,561	48,604
Norfolk	344,368	390,054	Berwick	33,385	34,048
Northampton	162,483	179,276	Bute	13,797	14,151
Northumberland	198,965	222,912	Caithness	30,238	34,529
Nottingham	186,873	225,320	Clackmannan	13,263	14,729
Oxford	136,971	151,726	Dumbarton	27,317	33,211
Rutland	18,487	19,385	Dumfries	70,878	73,770
Salop	206,158	222,563	Edinburgh	191,514	219,592
Somerset	355,314	403,908	Elgin	31,162	34,231
Stafford	341,040	410,483	Fife	114,556	123,839
Suffolk	270,542	296,304	Forfar	113,430	139,606
Surrey	398,658	486,326	Haddington	35,127	36,145
Sussex	233,619	272,328	Inverness	90,157	94,797
Warwick	274,392	336,988	Kincardine	29,118	31,431
Westmoreland	51,359	55,041	Kinross	7,762	9,072
Wilts	222,157	239,181	Kirkcudbright	38,903	40,590
Worcester	184,424	211,356	Lanark	244,387	316,818
York, } East Riding	190,449	204,068	Linlithgow	22,685	23,291
} North Riding	183,381	190,873	Nairn	9,606	9,354
} West Riding	799,357	976,415	Orkney & Shetland	53,124	58,239
Total	11,261,437	13,089,338	Peebles	10,046	10,578
			Perth	139,050	142,894
PROVINCES OF IRELAND.	1821.	1831.	Renfrew	112,175	133,443
Leinster	1,757,492	1,909,713	Ross and Cromarty	68,828	74,820
Munster	1,935,612	2,227,152	Roxburgh	40,892	43,663
Ulster	1,993,494	2,286,622	Selkirk	6,637	6,833
Connaught	1,110,229	1,343,914	Stirling	65,376	72,621
			Sutherland	23,840	25,518
			Wigton	32,240	36,258
Total	6,801,827	7,767,401	Total	2,093,456	2,365,807

	1821.			1831.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
England	5,483,679	5,777,758	11,261,437	6,375,394	6,713,944	13,089,338
Wales	350,487	366,951	717,438	394,075	411,161	805,236
Scotland	983,552	1,103,904	2,093,456	1,115,132	1,250,675	2,365,807
Ireland	3,341,926	3,459,901	6,801,827	3,794,880	3,972,521	7,767,401
Total	10,159,644	10,714,514	20,874,158	11,679,481	12,348,301	24,027,782

CHAPTER XV.

Re-assembling of Parliament—Reform Bill prepared by the Cabinet—Lord John Russell introduces the Reform Bill—Wonder and alarm at its contemplated provisions—Fears of the Aristocracy—The Debates on the First Reading—The Debates on the Second Reading—Defeat of the Ministry in Committee—Lord Grey and Lord Brougham urge the King to Dissolve—The Dissolution and General Election—The Reform Bill carried—The Bill in Committee—It is passed—The Bill in the House of Lords—The Bill rejected upon the Second Reading—Resolutions of the House of Commons—Parliament prorogued.

WHEN the Legislature re-assembled on the 3rd of February, numerous petitions were presented to the House of Commons praying for Reform of Parliament. Lord Althorp then informed the House that on Tuesday the 1st of March the government would be prepared to submit their plan for the improvement of the representative system; and that the task of explaining the nature and extent of the reform which they contemplated would be confided to Lord John Russell. He was best entitled to propose a full and efficient improvement of the representation who had so often failed in his most zealous attempts to procure a partial one. In the House of Lords earl Grey stated that a measure of reform which would be effective, without exceeding the bounds of a just and well-advised moderation, had received the unanimous consent of the whole government, and would at as early a period as possible be submitted to the other House of Parliament. It is now known that a Committee of four members of the government, two of whom were of the Cabinet, had been selected by lord Grey to consider the manifold details connected with so large a change, and to prepare a Bill. That Committee consisted of lord Durham, sir James Graham, lord John Russell, and viscount Duncannon. The assertion of a son of earl Grey that his father "laid down the principles on which the measure was to be founded, the details of which were to be worked out by other members of the government," is no doubt substantially correct.* The measure prepared by the Committee, which was finally adopted by the Cabinet, was submitted to the king on the 30th of January. The time had gone by, as far as regarded England, when, on that day which was then called the anniversary of a martyrdom, according

* "Life and Opinions of Charles Earl Grey," by Lieut.-General Hon. C. Grey, 1861.

to Voltaire every king in Europe rises from his bed with a crick in his neck. William IV. is represented to have been anxious to postpone the proposal of the measure to parliament. Lord Grey would have had little difficulty in convincing him that the Crown was most safe when the three branches of the Constitution were working in harmony with the just desires of the people.

In the interval between the announcement of the 3rd of February, and the bringing forward the Reform Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had introduced his budget, of which some portions were carried and others abandoned. The duties on newspapers and advertisements were to be reduced; those on coals, on candles, and on printed cottons were to be abolished. The propositions to reduce the duty on glass and the duty on tobacco were withdrawn; for some of the taxes offered as substitutes had been strenuously opposed. The Whig ministry had not learnt to know the ministerial safety of firmness. It was to be the privilege of the financial minister of fourteen years later to produce improvements in our architectural taste and in our domestic comforts, which few could have anticipated, by relieving the manufacturers of glass altogether from the payment of duty and from the interference of the officers of revenue with their processes. In that same interval lord Brougham had also introduced a Bill for establishing a new Court in Bankruptcy, which was read a first time.

During the month of February the scope of the Reform Bill had been kept profoundly secret. A few persons were in the confidence of the government whose judgment and experience were valuable in the arrangement of its details. But when on the 1st of March the Speaker came down to prayers, and not only found the House remarkably full, but every empty seat bearing a label of the name of its proposed occupant, not a dozen of that crowd had the slightest conception of the nature of that measure which they might be called upon to support or to oppose. The speech with which lord John Russell introduced the proposition of the government was lucid, slightly argumentative, entirely free from rhetorical ornament. The proposed reform was far too great to require more than the simplest and most intelligible statement. It was intelligible enough to produce both wonder and ridicule. It was proposed to a House of Commons of which one hundred and sixty-eight members for England were returned by boroughs. They could scarcely imagine that the whole system of nomination should come to an end. Sixty boroughs were proposed to be wholly disfranchised, as having each less than two thousand inhabitants; forty-seven boroughs, having less than four thousand inhabitants each, were to return one member instead of two; and a single borough which had formerly returned four members was to be reduced to half its number of representatives. It was not proposed wholly to fill up the seats thus to be disposed of, but to reduce the number of members of the House of Commons. The existing number of six hundred and fifty-eight was to be curtailed to five hundred and ninety-six. Seven unrepresented large towns were to have the right of returning two members each. Twenty smaller towns unrepresented were to return one member each. London was to be divided into four districts, each having two members. Fifty-four members were to be added to the county representation. These and other details of the measure were subsequently altered. Instead of

the old rights of election in boroughs, a household franchise of 10*l*. was substituted. Corporations were deprived of the exclusive privileges which some possessed of returning members. The duration of elections was to be remedied by a previous registration. When lord John Russell proceeded to read the names of the boroughs to be disfranchised wholly or in part, then indeed was the excitement of the House at an unprecedented height. For once in the grave records of Parliamentary debate we find a morsel of description upon which the imagination may raise up a picture of a most extraordinary scene. "The noble lord accordingly read the following list, in the course of which he was frequently interrupted by shouts of laughter, cries of 'Hear, Hear,' from members for these boroughs, and by various interlocutions across the table."* For many members it was indeed a personal question of the last importance. Statesmen, too, who looked beyond individual interests were aghast at a proposal so sweeping, so revolutionary as they were warranted in believing. It was left to Opposition members somewhat below the highest mark to reply that night to lord John Russell. Sir Robert Peel sat rigid as a statue, his face working with internal emotion, his brow furrowed as by the wrinkles of age. Around him were many of his supporters, bursting again and again into uncontrollable laughter at what appeared to them the prelude to a certain and speedy downfall of the ministry. There were fashionable parties that night where the hosts and the guests sat late in anxious expectation of intelligence from the House. At one of these was the duke of Wellington. As news of the ministerial proposition was read or told there was a burst of merriment in the company. "It is no joke," said the duke; "you will find it no laughing matter." All London knew the next day what the ministerial project meant. Lord Eldon wrote, in his first moments of surprise, "There is no describing the amazement this plan of reform has occasioned." †

Sir Robert Inglis, the member for the University of Oxford, was the first to reply to the arguments of lord John Russell. His speech was an able one, anticipating most of the arguments which were employed for the seven wearisome nights of debate on the introduction of the Bill, and making a free use of that great weapon of alarm which had been so successfully employed by his party, from the time when Pitt abandoned his position as a reformer in the general terror at the first outbreak of the French revolution. The lapse of forty years had furnished a new argument to prove the danger of any accession to the strength of the democratic principle. Sir Robert Inglis maintained the impossibility of the co-existence of a monarchy with a free press and a purely popular representation. "Sir, I am fully persuaded that a representative system so exclusively popular as that which the noble lord wishes to introduce, has never yet been found in juxtaposition with a free press on the one hand and with a monarchy on the other." ‡ The destruction of the monarchy was to involve the simultaneous destruction of the House of Peers. On the very day, said sir Robert Inglis, when the House of Commons of 1648 murdered their king they voted the Lords to

* Hansard, vol. ii. col. 1077.

† Twiss, vol. iii. p. 120.

‡ Hansard, vol. ii. col. 1122.

be useless and dangerous. The abolition of the House of Lords was the most stirring and practical of the prophecies of the alarmists. "Whatever," added sir Robert Inglis, "the intentions of the framers or of the supporters of this measure may be, I am quite sure that, if carried, it will sweep clean the House of Peers in ten years." In or out of Parliament the cry was that the destruction of the aristocracy by the passing of the democratic Reform Bill was inevitable.

The word aristocracy was used, both by the enemies and friends of reform, with a very loose signification. By some it was intended exclusively to mean the nobility; to others it more properly signified the governing body of the great and wealthy families, and not a particular class whose rank was hereditary. It is recorded that during one of the debates on the Reform Bill lord Sidmouth said to lord Grey, "I hope God will forgive you on account of this Bill; I don't think I can:" to which lord Grey replied, "Mark my words; within two years you will find that we shall have become unpopular, for having brought forward the most aristocratic measure that ever was proposed in parliament."* We have understood that lord Althorp expressed pretty much the same opinion. Neither of the two ministers could have meant to say that the Reform Bill would especially increase the power and influence of the Peers. Lord Eldon must also have used "aristocracy" in the extended sense of a governing body not wholly composed of a privileged order, when he said at a Pitt dinner in May, "The aristocracy once destroyed, the best supporters of the lower classes would be swept away. In using the term lower classes he meant nothing offensive. How could he do so? He himself had been one of the lower classes."† To see nothing in the social condition of our country but a governing body of great families and the "lower classes," was one of the defects of the able lawyer's mental vision. He boasted, and not improperly so, that, like himself, "the humblest in the realm might, by a life of industry, propriety, and good moral and religious conduct, rise to eminence."‡ But the father of lord Eldon and of lord Stowell would have been indignant enough could he have foreseen that his distinguished son would have ranked him as one of "the lower classes;" the father being, according to the description of his other remarkable son, "a considerable merchant, who by a successful application of his industry to various branches of commerce raised a competent fortune."‡ The ex-Chancellor, when he thus talked about "the lower classes," looked at them with the prejudices of caste which, singular enough, were most cherished by the new nobility. That system had not only been modified, but almost destroyed, a century before John Scott sat in the House of Peers. "The nobility and the middle classes in England followed the same business, embraced the same professions, and what is far more significant, intermarried with each other."§ There was another mode of amalgamation in England between the highest and the humblest, which was more rare and yet not less instructive. In the lapse of time, some of the lower classes—some even of

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 439, note.

† Twiss, vol. iii. p. 127.

‡ Twiss, vol. i. p. 23.

§ De Tocqueville, "France before the Revolution," book ii. chap. ix.

the lowliest—could, by right of blood, have stood upon the same level as the proudest peer of the realm, who in common with them could trace his lineage to one of the three great fountains of honour, Edward III., Edward I., or Henry III. The Marquis of Chandos, who was one of the most conspicuous of the noble opponents of the Reform Bill, was christened Richard Plantagenet, by reason of his descent from Elizabeth of York. There were others of his time not so highly placed, but perhaps more happily, who could carry up their lineage even higher than himself. In 1845, John Penny, apprentice to Mr. Watson, saddler, of Windmill-street, the only surviving son of Stephen James Penny, late sexton of St. George's, Hanover-square, could claim undoubted descent from Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, fifth son of king Edward the Third. At the same period George Wilmot, keeping the turnpike-gate at Cooper's Bank, near Dudley, who is shown to have descended from Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, sixth son of king Edward the First, was taking toll "almost under the very walls of those feudal towers that gave the name to the barony of which he is a co-heir." * The aristocracy and the lower classes were not wholly separated by an exclusive right of quartering coat armour. The author of "Royal Descents" thinks that the princely blood of Plantagenet might be found to flow through veins even more humble than some of those which he has recorded. He adds, "This is as it should be. There is no prescriptive right of interminable gentility, any more than of great talents or personal attractions." The intermarriages that prevented the aristocracy becoming a caste in England, and the constant elevation of what lord Eldon denominated "the lower classes" to form part of the governing body, rendered it quite certain that the revolution, as it was called,—the Reform measure of 1831,—would resolve itself into something very different from the government of a democracy; and that no fears were more idle than those which proclaimed that the degradation of rank and the destruction of property were close at hand.

The second night of the debate was memorable for the speeches of Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Stanley, of which sir James Mackintosh said, they were "two of the finest speeches ever spoken in Parliament." M. Guizot, having affirmed that "the loftiest minds, the most eloquent orators of England, called for reform with earnest conviction, and seemed to regard it as even more indispensable than irresistible," † then quotes, though imperfectly, the peroration of Macaulay's speech:—"Turn where we may, within, around, the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, Reform, that you may preserve. Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age, now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the continent is still resounding in our ears, now, while the roof of a British palace affords an ignominious shelter to the exiled heir of forty kings, now, while we see on every side ancient institutions subverted and great societies dissolved, now, while the heart of England is still sound, now, while old feelings and old associations retain a power and a charm which may too soon pass away, now, in this your accepted

* We derive these particulars from the curious and interesting volume of the late Mr. C. E. Long, entitled "Royal Descents: a Genealogical List of the several persons entitled to Quarter the Arms of the Royal Houses of England," 1845.

† "Memoirs of Peel," p. 56.

time, now, in this your day of salvation, take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party spirit, not of the ignominious pride of a fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this most portentous time. Pronounce in a manner worthy of the expectation with which this great debate has been anticipated, and of the long remembrance which it will leave behind. Renew the youth of the State. Save property, divided against itself. Save the multitude, endangered by its own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest, and fairest, and most highly civilized community that ever existed, from calamities which may in a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory." * The comment of M. Guizot upon this burst of eloquence is: "These sombre prognostics, this powerful language, carried some disturbance into the soul of Peel."

The third night of the debate presented unusual interest in the antagonism of lord Palmerston and sir Robert Peel. The minister who had quitted office when the friends of Mr. Canning appeared to be insulted in the ejection of Mr. Huskisson from the Cabinet, now stood forward as the advocate of a measure of reform compared with which the case of East Retford was but a drop in the ocean. Lord Palmerston ventured to assert that if Mr. Canning "had lived to mark the signs of the present times, and to bring his great and comprehensive intellect to an examination of the difficulties to be overcome, he would have been as ardent a supporter of the measure now proposed by the government as any of the friends he saw around him." † Sir Robert Peel, in his reply, exclaimed, would to God that Mr. Canning were here, "to confound the sophistry and fallacies of reformers, and to win back the people by the charms of truth and eloquence to a right appreciation of the form of government under which they live." Sir Robert Peel concluded his speech by a solemn admonition to the ministers: "It was the duty of the government to calm, not to stimulate, the fever of popular excitement. They have adopted a different course—they have sent through the land the fire-brand of agitation, and no one can now recal it." ‡ The debate on lord John Russell's motion for leave to bring in the Bill was closed on the seventh night without a division; and when the Speaker had decided that the ayes had it, the cheers from the ministerial benches were enthusiastic. The bill was read a first time on the 14th of March.

On the 21st of March, lord John Russell moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Reform Bill. Sir Richard Vivian moved, as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time that day six months. The second reading was carried by a majority of one only in a house of six hundred and eight; "probably the greatest number which up to that time had ever been assembled at a division." § In ordinary times this bare majority would have compelled the retirement of a ministry from office. They had now the support of the great body of the people, and they must fight the battle till the proper time should arrive for an appeal to the consti-

* "Speeches of T. B. Macaulay, corrected by himself," p. 18.

† Hansard, vol. ii. col. 1323.

‡ Hansard, vol. ii. col. 1334 and 1356.

§ May, "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 352.

tencies that had returned the unreformed parliament. On the 18th of April the House went into Committee on the order of the day, to consider the provisions of the bill for the amendment of the representation. General Gascoigne, following lord John Russell, moved, "that it is the opinion of this House that the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses, returned to parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, ought not to be diminished." The debate was adjourned to the 19th. At a late hour the House divided; for General Gascoigne's amendment, 299; against it, 291. The ministry were beaten by a majority of eight. A man of the rarest genius, though not a striking parliamentary orator,—Francis Jeffrey—has left an exquisite picture of an outdoor scene on this memorable day-break: "It was a beautiful, rosy, dead calm morning, when we broke up a little before five to-day; and I took three pensive turns along the solitude of Westminster Bridge; admiring the sharp clearness of St. Paul's, and all the city spires soaring up in a cloudless sky, the orange red light that was beginning to play on the trees of the Abbey and the old windows of the Speaker's house, and the flat, green mist of the river floating upon a few lazy hulks on the tide and moving low under the arches. It was a curious contrast with the long previous imprisonment in the stifling roaring House, amidst dying candles, and every sort of exhalation." *

On the 21st of April, in the House of Peers, lord Wharncliffe gave notice that he should the next day move that an address be presented to his Majesty praying that he would be graciously pleased not to exercise his undoubted prerogative of dissolving parliament. On the same evening in the House of Commons, ministers were again defeated by a majority of twenty-two on a question of adjournment. Mr. May states that this vote could not bear the construction which lord Brougham affirmed on the following day, that it amounted to "stopping the supplies." The question before the House was a question concerning the Liverpool election. "Late down in the list of Orders for the day a report from the Committee of Supply was to be received, which dropped by reason of the adjournment." †

On the morning of Friday the 22nd, the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor were with the King. They had come either to lay the resignations of the Ministry at his Majesty's feet, or to request him to dissolve the Parliament. The popular story of the time was that the King was reluctant to dissolve until the notice given by lord Wharncliffe was felt by him to be an interference with his prerogative; that then he was impatient to go at once to Parliament, and said, if the royal carriages were not ready send for a hackney coach. Mr. Roebuck has given a most interesting relation of "the whole scene of this interview of the King and his Ministers, as related by those who could alone describe it." ‡ The Chancellor was requested to manage the King on the occasion. His Majesty was startled at their proposition of a dissolution—how could he, after such a fashion, repay the kindness of Parliament in granting him a most liberal civil list, and giving to the Queen a splendid annuity in case she survived him. Nevertheless the Chancellor said

* Cockburn, "Life of Lord Jeffrey," p. 317.

† "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 352.

‡ "History of the Whig Ministry," vol. ii. p. 148.

that the further existence of the present House of Commons was incompatible with the peace and safety of the kingdom. Lord Grey stated that without a dissolution they could not continue to conduct the affairs of the country. But nothing is arranged, said the King, the great officers of State are not summoned—the crown and the robes are not prepared—the Guards, the troops, have had no orders, and cannot be ready in time. The “daring Chancellor,” as Mr. Roebuck terms him, replied, deferentially, that the officers of State had been prepared to be summoned, and that the crown and robes would be ready. The difficulty about the troops was not so easily answered. The orders for the attendance of the troops upon such occasions always emanate from the sovereign. “Pardon me, Sir,” said the Chancellor, “I have given orders, and the troops are ready.” The King then burst out, “You, my Lord Chancellor, ought to know that such an act is treason, high treason, my lord.” The Chancellor humbly acknowledged that he did know it, and that nothing but his own solemn belief that the safety of the State depended upon that day’s proceedings could have emboldened him to venture upon so improper a proceeding. The King cooled down; the speech to be read by his Majesty was in the Chancellor’s pocket; and the Ministers were dismissed with something like a menace and a joke upon the audacity of their proceedings. The Lords had begun to assemble at two o’clock. At twenty minutes before three the Lord Chancellor took his seat, and almost immediately withdrew from the House, lord Shaftesbury being called to the chair. Lord Wharncliffe rose to make his motion. At the moment of completing the reading of his resolution, the Lord Chancellor entered the House, and immediately addressing it said, with great emphasis, “I never yet heard that the Crown ought not to dissolve Parliament whenever it thought fit, particularly at a moment when the House of Commons had thought fit to take the extreme and unprecedented step of stopping the supplies.”* There was great confusion, with cries of “The King, the King.” Lord Londonderry rose in fury, and exclaimed, “I protest, my Lords, I will not submit to”—— The Chancellor, hearing the King approaching, clutched up the Seals and rushed again out of the House. There was again terrible confusion. The earl of Shaftesbury resumed the chair, and the earl of Mansfield proceeded to deliver a general harangue against the Reform Bill. The Lord Chancellor had met the King whilst the noise of the House was distinctly audible. “What’s that?” said his Majesty. “Only, may it please you, Sir, the House of Lords amusing themselves while awaiting your Majesty’s coming.” The King entered the House, cut short lord Mansfield’s oration, and after the Speaker of the House of Commons and about a hundred members had attended at the bar, commenced his Speech with these very decisive words: “My Lords and Gentlemen, I have come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution.” The House of Commons, before the Usher of the Black Rod had tapped at the door, had been a scene of turbulence and confusion—even outrivalling that of the Lords—which the Speaker had vainly endeavoured to repress. Lord Campbell, at that time member for Stafford, says, “Never shall I forget the scene then exhibited in the House of Commons, which might convey an adequate idea

* Hansard, vol. iii. col. 1807.

of the tumultuary dissolutions in the times of the Stuarts. The most exciting moment of my public life was when we cheered the guns which announced his Majesty's approach."* Had those guns been heard a day later, the probability is that both Houses would have resolved upon an Address to the King against dissolution, and the royal prerogative would not have been exercised at all, or exercised under circumstances of great difficulty and danger.

On the dissolution of Parliament there was an illumination in London, sanctioned by the Lord Mayor, which was attended with more mischief from the turbulence of a mob—who broke the windows of the duke of Wellington and other anti-reformers,—than productive of any real advantage to the popular cause. After the Edinburgh election the Lord Provost was rudely assaulted, and was with difficulty rescued by the soldiery. These things were disclaimed by Reformers as being the acts of blackguards; but it must be acknowledged that there was a very slight approach to justice in the charge that sir Robert Peel had made against the government, that they had, "like the giant enemy of the Philistines, lighted three hundred brands and scattered through the country discord and dismay."† The zeal of their supporters, we fear, was not everywhere satisfied with the formation of Political Unions; but that they read without much dissatisfaction the newspaper reports of smashed glass, and rude assaults during the elections in towns where the magistrates were supine and the police feeble. Such proceedings seriously damaged the just cause of peaceable Reform. The cry that went through the country of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," delighted the Government, for it set aside all minor differences of opinion amongst Reformers, and materially influenced the elections by the application of this simple test to a candidate,—would he support the Bill? But the mob-violence became to them a source of anxiety and alarm, producing distrust and desertion amongst the ranks of Reformers. "For God's sake keep the people quiet in Scotland," wrote the Lord Advocate a few months later; "nothing in the world would do such fatal mischief as riot and violence."‡

The appeal to the people was signally triumphant. Parliament opened on the 14th of June, when Mr. Manners Sutton was chosen Speaker for the sixth time. The king went in state to the House of Lords on the 21st of June, and in his speech recommended the important question of reform in the representation to the earliest and most attentive consideration of parliament. On the 24th lord John Russell again brought in the Reform Bill, with a few alterations. The measure thus proposed was confined to England. There was to be a separate bill for Scotland, which was brought in by the Lord Advocate on the 1st of July; and a separate bill for Ireland, which was brought in by Mr. Stanley on the 30th of June. The discussion upon the English bill was to take place on the second reading, which was moved by lord John Russell on the 4th of July. There were three nights of debate. Mr. Macaulay's speech on the second night was described by lord Jeffrey as putting him "clearly at the head of the great speakers, if not the debaters, of the House." One passage of that speech may be now read with especial interest.

* "Lives of the Chancellors," chap. cex., note.

† Hansard, vol. ii. col. 1356.

‡ "Life of Jeffrey," p. 324.

"Your great objection to this bill is that it will not be final. I ask you whether you think that any Reform Bill which you can frame will be final? For my part, I do believe that the settlement proposed by his majesty's ministers will be final, in the only sense in which a wise man ever uses that word. I believe that it will last during that time for which alone we ought at present to think of legislating. Another generation may find in the new representative system defects such as we find in the old representative system. Civilization will proceed. Wealth will increase. Industry and trade will find out new seats. The same causes which have turned so many villages into great towns, which have turned so many thousands of square miles of fir and heath into cornfields and orchards, will continue to operate. . . . For our children we do not pretend to legislate. All that we can do for them is to leave to them a memorable example of the manner in which great reforms ought to be made."* On the third night of debate the House divided: for the second reading, 367; against it, 231. On the 12th of July the House went into Committee. It was not till the 6th of September that the bill came out of this harassing stage of its progress, being the thirty-ninth sitting of the Committee. Night after night there were debates upon every clause of disfranchisement and every clause of enfranchisement. The leader of this mode of opposition was Mr. John Wilson Croker, whose power of mastering the most obscure details, whether in politics or literature, was perhaps unrivalled, and, we fear we must add, whose application of his minute researches was not always quite honest. His mind was formed by nature and habit for controversy. His acuteness and his energy were supported by his determined will, and his passionate resolve to look only at one side of the shield. He was a master of sarcasm, which, however, was not unaccompanied by a kindly spirit. Guizot, with a just discrimination between the value of set speeches and real business, assigns to this "man of vigorous, clear, precise, and practical mind,"† the real leadership in the opposition to the Reform Bill in the House of Commons. The minister who was always ready to repel his attacks was one of very different character. Lord Althorp subdued his adversaries, and was a buckler to his supporters, by his singleness of purpose. Never was any one more truly described than the Chancellor of the Exchequer was by Jeffrey: "There is something to me quite delightful in his calm, clumsy, courageous, immutable probity and well-meaning, and it seems to have a charm for every body."‡ Mr. Croker was to the last a most unyielding advocate of principles which had ceased to have any consistent application. When the Reform Bill passed, he believed, with men of more timidity and less intellectual grasp, that the time was not far distant when all that England prized would perish under a reformed parliament. In September, 1832, it was written of Mr. Croker by one of his own party, that "no words can describe his desponding, hopeless view of all public matters; national ruin and bankruptcy with him are inevitable."§ In 1836 his friends observed that he absolutely seemed to rejoice at any

* "Speeches of T. B. Macaulay, corrected by himself," p. 322.

† "Memoirs of Peel," p. 56.

‡ Cockburn, "Life of Jeffrey," p. 322.

§ Raikes's "Diary," vol. i. p. 87.

partial fulfilment of his prophecies. "Fitzgerald once said to lord Wellesley at the Castle, 'I have had a very melancholy letter from C—— this morning.' 'Aye!' said lord Wellesley, 'written, I suppose, in a strain of the most sanguine despondency.'" * It is satisfactory to contrast the opinions of the duke of Wellington after the passing of the Reform Bill, as reported by the same authority: "He said, we have seen great changes; we can only hope for the best; we cannot foresee what will happen; but few people will be sanguine enough to imagine that we shall ever again be as prosperous as we have been. His language breathed no bitterness, neither sunk into despondency." †

Before the Reform Bill came out of Committee, an important alteration was carried by the marquis of Chandos,—that tenants-at-will paying fifty pounds per annum for their holdings should have a vote for the county. This proposal, which involved other amendments of a similar tendency, was carried by a majority of eighty-four. It was contended that this clause, instead of making the farmers more independent, as was alleged, would make a tenant wholly dependent upon the will of his laudlord in the exercise of his franchise. Undoubtedly, before the repeal of the corn-laws, which, in freeing the farmers from the shackles of protection, gave scope for the exercise of their skill and capital, the tenant-at-will was more subservient to the commands of the owner of the soil. It may, however, be doubted now, when the interests of landlord and tenant have become more identified, because the social relations of each are better understood, whether it would be possible, as apprehended by lord Milton, that "a knot of persons, of great landed possessions, would combine for the purpose of securing the representation, and by the power which the adoption of these proposed amendments would give them, would fix the whole representation in the hands of an oligarchy." ‡ Freed from the committee; having been read a third time, after a division in a House whose diminished numbers showed how wearisome were the protracted discussions; the Reform Bill passed the House of Commons on the 21st of September, the numbers being three hundred and forty-five for the measure, and two hundred and thirty-six against it.

On the 22nd of September the House of Lords presented an unusual attendance of Peers. Peeresses were accommodated at the bar, and the space allotted to strangers was thronged to an overflow. The Lord Chancellor takes his seat at the Woolsack. The Deputy-Usher of the Black Rod announces "A Message from the Commons:" the doors are thrown open; and lord Althorp and lord John Russell, bearing the Reform Bill in their hands, appear at the head of a hundred members of the Lower House. Lord John Russell, in delivering the Bill to the Lord Chancellor, who had come to the bar, says with a firm and audible voice, "My Lords, the House of Commons have passed an Act to Amend the Representation of England and Wales, to which they desire your Lordships' concurrence." § The words, usually of mere form and ceremony, by which a Message of the Commons is communicated to the Lords, were spoken by the Lord Chancellor with unusual

* Raikes's "Diary," vol. iii. p. 43.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 68.

‡ Hansard, vol. vi. col. 274.

§ This scene forms the subject of a historical painting.

solemnity of tone and manner amidst breathless silence.* The Bill was then read a first time, and was ordered to be read a second time on Monday the 3rd of October.

During the five nights of debate in this memorable week, the House of Lords stood before the nation presenting examples of the highest eloquence that ever characterized a great deliberative assembly. Whatever adverse sentiments the Reports of these debates might excite, they could not fail to impress the thinking part of the nation with the conviction that the House of Lords fitly represented the most powerful nobility in Europe, not only because it was the most wealthy and the best educated of any aristocratic assembly; not only that it was surrounded with grand historical associations; but that, however it might be opposed for a time to the prevailing popular opinion, it was in many essentials so intimately allied with the body of the people that they could never be in a long continued state of isolation or antagonism. This debate was opened by earl Grey. There was a calmness and solemnity in his words and manner which well befitted the statesman who now, in his sixty-eighth year, stood prominently forward as the advocate of a measure which he had proposed in the House of Commons forty years before; and, more than advocate, as the responsible author of a Reform Bill of far greater scope and of more practical importance than any plan which he had supported during his long parliamentary career. But it was not enough, he said, for a public man, pretending to the character of a Statesman, to show that what he has to propose is in conformity with opinions long established in his mind; he is bound to feel the conviction that in proposing a measure affecting the mighty interests of the State, the course he takes is called for by justice and necessity. He has further to prove that he has not brought right opinions into notice rashly, precipitately, or at a dangerous season. Having explained the general character of the proposed Bill, he thus vindicated its extent and comprehensiveness. † "I felt that the most prudent and the safest measure of Reform would be a bold one, because, when I looked at the condition of the country—when I considered how just the claims of the people were—and when, above all, I reflected upon the absolute necessity of satisfying the respectable and reasonable part of the community, in order that thereby the Government and Legislature might be furnished with a ground on which a firm and safe stand might be made in defence of the principles of the constitution, if ever they should be really assailed—from all these considerations, I say, I was satisfied that nothing but a bold and decisive measure would give such general satisfaction and content as would set the question at rest." ‡ Earl Grey was followed by lord Wharncliffe, who moved an amendment to the effect that the Bill be rejected altogether.

On the second night of debate the duke of Wellington spoke at much greater length than he usually spake. He maintained that this country having enjoyed a larger share of happiness, comfort, and prosperity than were ever enjoyed by any nation, could any man believe that these advantages would remain if such a democratic assembly as that proposed should once be established in England? "A democracy has never been established in any

* Hansard, vol. vii. col. 480.

† *Ibid.*, col. 935.

‡ *Ibid.*, col. 1242.

part of the world that it has not immediately declared war against property, against the payment of the public debt, and against all the principles of conservation which are secured by, and are in fact the principal objects of, the British Constitution as it now exists." The duke of Wellington's speech gave a very significant anticipation of the rejection of the Bill by the Lords, and of the probability that, the government being defeated, there would be another ministry who would propose a reform that might not be dreaded as "a bold and decisive measure." "I recommend to you to keep yourselves free to adopt any measure upon this subject which should secure to this country the blessings of a government."* The duke, after the passing of the Bill, always asked, How is the King's government to be carried on? The long continued Tory belief was that lord Grey's vital change—"that sweeping Bill which prevented him, and will prevent any other government, from ruling the country again,"†—would render any government impossible but that which was dictated by the will of a turbulent democracy. The great soldier's notion of "ruling," which was the one idea of his party, was something different from that which we entertain at this day, when the best rule which England has ever lived under is the most in harmony with the sober desires of the great middle class, and most careful of the rights and liberties of the universal people.

Lord Dudley, upon the third night of debate, delivered an elegant and classical speech opposing the Bill, which lord Brougham subsequently characterized as "an exercise or essay of the highest merit, on change, on democracies, on republicanism,—an essay or exercitation on some other thesis, but not on this Bill."‡ One part of the speech of lord Dudley was however anything but irrelevant to the measure before the House. In a very few words it comprehended volumes of declamation that had been already spoken, of the well working of nomination boroughs and of all the other anomalies of the representative system. "It was only by the abuses of the Constitution, as they were called, that the due balance was maintained, and the evils which would arise from the superiority of the popular branch of the Legislature prevented, or at least mitigated. It was only because the Crown and the House of Lords had an influence in that of the Commons, which was wholly unacknowledged by the theory of the Constitution, that the Constitution had been maintained."§ The fourth night of the debate was chiefly occupied by the able speeches of lord Carnarvon and lord Plunkett.

On the fifth and last night the speech of lord Eldon was affecting, from his allusions to his great age, and to his early education upon cheap terms in the Corporation school of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He appeared to think that the school would be destroyed by lessening the influence of the Corporation and that of freemen of the borough; and that thus a hope which he had cherished would not be realized. "I had hoped that when my ashes were laid in the grave, where they probably soon will be, that I might have given some memorandum that boys there, situated as I was, might rise to be Chancellors

* Hansard, vol. vii. col. 1205.

† Raikes's "Diary," vol. iii. p. 7.

‡ Speech on Reform, October 7th.

§ Hansard, vol. vii. col. 1342.

of England." On that night the great lawyers had almost exclusive possession of the House,—two ex-chancellors and he who now sat on the Woolsack. Lord Brougham rose to speak before his friend and rival, lord Lyndhurst. To attempt a selection of passages from this speech—from what lord Lyndhurst described as "a splendid declamation which had never been surpassed on any occasion even by the noble and learned lord himself"—would be to carry us beyond our proper limits. One passage however in the peroration may be fitly given: "Hear the parable of the Sibyl; for it conveys a wise and wholesome moral. She now appears at your gate, and offers you mildly the volumes—the precious volumes of wisdom and peace. The price she asks is reasonable; to restore the franchise, which, without any bargain, you ought voluntarily to give: you refuse her terms—her moderate terms,—she darkens the porch no longer. But soon, for you cannot do without her wares, you call her back;—again she comes, but with diminished treasures; the leaves of the book are in part torn away by lawless hands,—in part defaced with characters of blood. But the prophetic maid has risen in her demands—it is Parliament by the Year—it is Vote by the Ballot—it is Suffrage by the Million! From this you turn away indignant, and for the second time she departs. Beware of her third coming; for the treasure you must have; and what price she may next demand, who shall tell? It may even be the mace which rests upon that woolsack. What may follow your course of obstinacy, if persisted in, I cannot take upon me to predict, nor do I wish to conjecture. But this I know full well, that, as sure as man is mortal, and to err is human, justice deferred enhances the price at which you must purchase safety and peace;—nor can you expect to gather in another crop than they did who went before you, if you persevere in their utterly abominable husbandry, of sowing injustice and reaping rebellion."* Lord Lyndhurst followed. The debate was concluded by a reply of earl Grey to the principal arguments against the Bill which had been adduced during those five nights. He was exhausted, as were nearly all his listeners, but his intellectual vigour was never more signally manifested. Of the sincerity of his concluding words not even the bitterest of his political adversaries could doubt: "I have lived a long life of exclusion from office; I had no official habits; I possessed not the advantages which those official habits confer. I am fond of retirement and domestic life, and I lived happy and content in the bosom of my family; I was surrounded by those to whom I am attached by the warmest ties of affection. What, then, but a sense of duty could have induced me to plunge into all the difficulties, not unforeseen, of my present situation? What else, in my declining age,—

‘What else could tempt me on those stormy seas,
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease?’ †

Between six and seven o'clock on the morning of Saturday the 8th of October, the House of Lords divided upon the second reading of the Reform Bill:

* "Brougham's Speeches," vol. ii. p. 384.

† Hansard, vol. viii. col. 335.

Non-contents, present 150, proxies 49 — 199
 Contents, present 128, proxies 30 — 158

Majority against the Bill— 41

Lord Eldon rejoices, in a letter of the next day, that the mob would not stay for the close of the debate.* Their patience during a cold and drizzling night of waiting in Palace Yard had been worn out; and when the Peers came forth there were none to salute them with cheers or hisses. The rolling of the carriages alone was heard, as Reformers or Conservatives, in the broad daylight, went to their homes as quietly as if a whole nation had not been anxiously awaking that morning to know how the great work was so far concluded.

The rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords was not unforeseen. The disproportion of the two parties in that House was perfectly well known. During the reigns of George III. and George IV., the creation of peers had been almost exclusively confined to the Tory party;—the bishops had, with very few exceptions, been selected with no forgetfulness of their political opinions. To remedy, in some degree, this disproportion, sixteen new peers had been created before the second reading of the Bill. Lord Grey, in moving that reading, had addressed to the bishops a very significant warning “to put their house in order.” Many of the peers had refrained from voting; but on the 7th of October the bishops were on their bench in strong numbers; and, of thirteen present, twelve voted against the bill, nine others sending their proxies for the same object of defeating the measure which had so triumphantly passed the House of Commons. The great contest was yet, however, to be fought out in another campaign. The Lords had gone from the house on the Saturday morning, after such a night of excitement and fatigue as few had before encountered. On the following Monday lord Ebrington, member for Devonshire, moved in the House of Commons a resolution to the effect that the House lamenting the present fate of the bill for amending the representation, feels itself called upon to re-assert its firm adherence to the principle and leading provisions of that great measure, and to express its unabated confidence in the integrity, perseverance, and ability of those ministers who, in introducing and conducting it, had so well consulted the best interests of the country. The resolution was carried by 329 votes to 198. The public enthusiasm gave a hearty assent to the principle urged on that occasion by Mr. Macaulay, when he asked, “ought we to abandon the bill merely because the Lords have rejected it? We ought to respect the lawful privileges of their House, but we ought also to assert our own.” Riot and outrage at Derby; and at Nottingham the burning of the Castle by a frantic mob, clouded for a time the hope which all honest reformers entertained that reason and justice should alone prevail. The saddest, however, could relish the wit, which, however pungent, was like oil upon the waves. “Mrs. Partington” became famous throughout the land:—“As for the possibility of the House of Lords preventing ere long a reform of parliament, I hold it to be the most absurd notion that

* “Life,” vol. i. p. 329.

ever entered into human imagination. I do not mean to be disrespectful, but the attempt of the Lords to stop the progress of reform reminds me very forcibly of the great storm of Sidmouth, and of the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824, there set in a great flood upon that town—the tide rose to an incredible height—the waves rushed in upon the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house with mop and patters, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea-water, and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused. Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but I need not tell you that the contest was unequal. The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop, or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease—be quiet and steady. You will beat Mrs. Partington.”*

The ministry stood firm, although they were taunted with their continuance in power after they had found themselves opposed by such a majority in the House of Lords as no minister had ever encountered a second time. There was no wavering in the king. He went to the House of Peers on the 20th of October; and having given the royal assent to lord Brougham's Bankruptcy Court Bill, amongst other bills, he prorogued the parliament, stating that its attention must necessarily be called upon at the opening of the ensuing session to the important question of a constitutional reform in the Commons House of Parliament.

* Sydney Smith: "Speech at Taunton," Oct. 12, 1831.

CHAPTER XVI.

Intense excitement during the prorogation—Dangers from popular ignorance—Incendiary fires and machine-breaking—The Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol Riots—Destruction of property at Bristol—The Cholera approaching—Cowardly alarmists—Central Board of Health formed—Parliament—New Reform Bill passed by the Commons—The Bill in the Lords, read a second time—Political Unions—The Lords' Committee, and the majority against Ministers—The King refuses to create Peers—The Ministry resign—The Duke of Wellington attempts to form a Government—The negotiations fail—The Reform Ministry returns to power—The King's consent to a creation of Peers given, but not exercised—Final passing of the Reform Bill.

It is impossible to look back at the interval between the prorogation of Parliament on the 20th of October, 1831, and the conclusion of the labours of the last unreformed Parliament on the 16th of August, 1832, without a sense of relief in feeling that the country had passed without permanent damage through a crisis of unexampled danger, aggravated by a special visitation of Providence which many persons regarded as a judgment. The times were truly alarming. Nevertheless, during the great political conflict of seven months,—during the terrific outbreak of a knot of miscreants at Bristol, the occasional violence of the mob in London, the partial outrages of the peasantry of the southern counties, the terrors of a new and frightful disease for which no medical authority could prescribe a satisfactory treatment and which no public regulation could arrest—the political excitement was so great and universal, that, like combatants on a field of battle, the energy of the hour was sufficient to repress, whether amongst reformers or anti-reformers, any sentiment of fear that would have amounted to a panic. The nation, whether ranged on one side or the other, had never been so much in earnest since the days of the Long Parliament. It is true that the popular cause could number its supporters by thousands, whilst those on the other side might be counted by hundreds. But the leaders of the hundreds believed that they had everything to lose, and they not only fought with desperation themselves, but were cheered on by a most zealous following, who sincerely dreaded that the end of all government and the destruction of all property were close at hand. There were everywhere wrong-headed men in popular assemblies ranting about the unequal distribution of wealth; pretended teachers of political economy proclaiming the tyranny of Capital, and showing how easily a change might be made by

which the labourers, without any intervention, might till the fields and work the looms. Some more modestly proposed that at the death of any member of the community his widow and children should have no exclusive claim; and that all his property should be divided amongst every member of society of adult age. The absurdities that hung around every scheme for the "division of property" neutralized their possible effect upon the great body of mechanics, who were not without some means of instruction that had been placed within their reach. There was another class more open to dangerous advice, and more incapable of weighing the probable consequences of lawless acts.

The labourers in husbandry had been often told that they had a claim upon a much higher rate of allowance from the poor's-rates, whilst at this very time the enormous pressure of those rates was driving the land even of whole parishes out of cultivation. The labourers believed, as they had been long encouraged by magistrates to believe, that the parish was bound to find work and pay wherever there was no profitable work to be done. The "Organization du Travail" of the French political philosophers in 1848 was not an original invention. In England we had not the National Workshop, but we had the Parish Gravel-pit. The gravel-pit lowered the wages of all agricultural labour, by confounding the distinctions between industry and idleness, between strength and weakness, between dexterity and clumsiness. All the moral qualifications that made one labourer more valuable than another were utterly broken down. And so, when the weekly pittance for unprofitable labour was doled out by the overseer of the poor,—when the farmer equalized the rate of wages by reducing his ploughman and carter almost to the level of the gravel diggers, and sent their wives to the overseers to make up by allowance the just payment of which they were defrauded—the peasantry took to burning ricks and breaking machines. The machine breaking was intelligible. Machines were held to be substitutes for manual labour, and thus to diminish profitable employment. But the rick burning: How could arson be a relief for hunger? The destruction of food raised the price of food. The excessive ignorance of the peasantry—the hateful isolation of their class from their employers—the neglect of the rich—made them apt listeners to the devilish promptings of some village Cade in the beer-shop. They had undoubted grievances; and we can scarcely wonder that paupers and poachers became rick-burners and machine breakers, in the belief that those above them in rank were in a conspiracy to oppress them. The southern labourers knew nothing of the Reform Bill, and cared nothing. They thought only of the misery and neglect of their own unhappy lot. "Swing" was at work months before lord Grey came into power—"Swing" was their one reform leader. They took their own course of proclaiming their wretchedness and their ignorance, to the terror and shame of those who had kept them ignorant, and passed them by in the haughty indifference which regarded a peasant and a slave as something near akin—"slaves in ignorance, without having them chained and watched to prevent them hurting us."* The jail and the gallows seemed the only remedies when property became unsafe—

* Dr. Arnold, "Life," vol. i. p. 232.

“ The blind mole casts
Copp'd hills toward heaven, to tell, the earth is throng'd
By man's oppression, and the poor worm doth die for 't.”*

In the same state of ignorance, especially of political ignorance, as the southern peasantry, but not with equal provocation for their outrages, were the dregs of the people who broke open the city jail at Derby and set the prisoners at liberty, and those who burnt down Nottingham Castle. More entirely distinct, even than the agricultural labourers, from those who cherished any over-zealous aspirations for an amended representation of the people, were those who formed the mass of rioters at Bristol. There, an insignificant mob of the merest outcasts of a seaport long remarkable for a filthy, ignorant, and drunken horde of labourers of the lowest class,—many of the so-called workers habitual thieves,—held during a Saturday afternoon, and the whole of Sunday till daybreak on Monday, the lives and property of the inhabitants of one of the great cities of the empire at the mercy of their reckless brutality.

Sir Charles Wetherell had been amongst the most determined opponents of the Reform Bill during its passage through the House of Commons. He was Recorder of Bristol, and being a man of as much eccentricity as talent, he disregarded the warnings which were given him, that it might be more prudent to open the City Sessions on the 29th of October without any public entry. Recorders now-a-days go more modestly about their business; but sir Charles Wetherell determined to have a procession. A large number of influential inhabitants, whether as political supporters, or to maintain the dignity of his judicial function, formed a great cavalcade around the sheriff's carriage in which the Recorder was to enter the city. He reached the Guildhall amidst the hisses of the populace, but with no injury from the few stones that were thrown at his carriage. There was some confusion in the hall during the opening of the Commission: but the preliminary business having been gone through, and the Court adjourned till Monday morning, the Recorder retired, the people giving three cheers for the king. Sir Charles Wetherell took up his residence at the Mansion-house. This, during the whole of the afternoon, was surrounded by a mob, upon which constables occasionally rushed to seize some prominent offender, boy or man, who manifested his spirit by hurling some missile at an irritated guardian of the peace. The evening came on; the mob of blackguards became more daring; colliers came in from the neighbouring pits to join the fun, and the Mansion-house was attacked in a far more formidable manner than at the earlier hour in the afternoon; for the greater number of constables had left the rioters to their diversion, and had quietly gone away to seek refreshment. In the darkness of that autumnal night, the windows of the Chief Magistrate's residence were shattered, the doors were forced, and preparations were made to set the Mansion-house on fire. Sir Charles Wetherell during the tumult effected his retreat. The troops arrived, and arrested the conflagration. The soldiers were cheered as they trotted their horses backward and forward; the Commander of the district, Colonel Brereton, exhorted the mob to peace, but he did not effectually clear the

* “ Pericles,” act i. scene 1.

streets. The ragged populace were triumphant for that Saturday. On the Sunday morning the consequences of a too humane lenity were signally exhibited. The troops had remained in the streets all night. On the Sunday morning, all being quiet, they retired to their quarters. The churches and chapels were filled as usual, without any apprehension of danger. A crowd was again collected before the Mansion-house. They burst into the hall, and reaching the upper rooms threw the furniture into the street. They penetrated to the wine-cellars, and carrying off the corporation stores of the choicest port, were soon lying upon pavements dead with drunkenness. The troops again came out, and the tumult, which might have been quelled without bloodshed if the respectable inhabitants had been sworn in on the Saturday as special constables, which they entreated to be, now became a wide-wasting career of rapine and destruction. There was a little firing of the 14th Light Dragoons upon the mob, who assaulted them with brick-bats. Still there was a belief that the worst had passed. The soldiers were then, for the most part, withdrawn from the city. The subsequent proceedings of the mob sufficiently indicated the class of persons of which it was composed. They beat in the doors of the Bridewell with sledge-hammers, set free the prisoners, and fired the building. Another party conducted the same operations with equal success at the New Borough Jail. A third manifested their zeal for Liberty by releasing all confined in the Gloucester County Jail. There were to be no more prisons in Bristol. From these three places of confinement the flames were rising at one and the same time. Fire now became the great manifestation of the savagery which some dreaded, or pretended to dread, as the natural result of the Reform agitation. The Mansion-house was set on fire. The demoniacs ran from room to room, kindling the flames, and when the roof fell in the progress of the conflagration had been so rapid that many were cut off from a retreat. The bishop's palace was reduced to ashes. The Custom-house followed. This building was near the Mansion-house in Queen's Square. Prisons and stately buildings were not the sole objects of this most causeless outbreak. There was no rallying-cry in the streets, such as that of "No Popery" in 1780, and of "Church and King" in 1791. No voice was heard to exclaim "The Bill." It was all mad fury without any possible object except plunder and the indulgence of the grossest sensuality. At three o'clock in the morning there were forty-two dwelling-houses and warehouses burning. Two sides of Queen's Square, with the exception of two houses, were destroyed. The flames were lighting the ruffians who paraded the streets and, knocking at the doors of ale-houses and liquor-shops, were demanding "drink or blood." Their intoxication quelled the outrages even more effectually than the soldiery, who were now brought back into the city, and hesitated not to fire and charge, as they might have done far more advantageously had force been employed at the commencement of the outbreak. The outrages were at an end; not through this final act of tardy vigour by direction of the magistracy, but through the exhaustion of the handful of blackguards when the daylight showed the extent of the ruin which they had perpetrated. It was a lamentable circumstance, though one not without its lesson, that Colonel Brereton, having been brought to trial at a court-martial for neglect of duty, shot himself on the fourth day of the inquiry. The law avenged

itself in January on the rioters. Bristol had for many a year to levy a rate of 10,000*l.* for compensation to the losers of property.

The Author of the "Popular History" ventures to obtrude some words which he wrote at this fearful season—not as containing any very striking reasoning or exhortation, but as expressing his own feelings in common with those of the eminent men with whom he was then associated in the diffusion of knowledge: "In moments such as these, when we hear of a few hundreds of abandoned miscreants,—not working men in any sense of the title, but thieves and outcasts,—not knowing the first interests of working men, because wanton destroyers of the capital by which labour must be supported,—when we hear of a small band of these most ignorant of mankind, in this enlightened country, in this intellectual age, holding the lives and possessions of a community of eighty thousand people,* even for a single hour at the mercy of their lawless passions, we could almost be tempted to think that real freedom should never be the birthright of such spurners of the laws of God and man. Cast your eyes for a moment upon such scenes of frantic riot, of desperate outrage, of grovelling drunkenness in the lowest stage of brutal abandonment; think of the terror of the peaceful inhabitants of such a place in those hours of midnight plunder and Sabbath riots; and picture to yourselves the wives and children of those once happy families clinging to their husbands and their parents to shield them from the destruction that was let loose in such unnatural and hideous shapes. When you have pondered upon these things, look round for the remedy. It is the diffusion of sound knowledge which leads to the cultivation of genuine religion. Unless you, each in your own circle, put down that ignorant spirit that would make this temple of our once industrious and peaceful island 'a den of thieves,' our liberties are at an end, because our security is at an end. There can be no liberty without security. Unless you, each in your own circle, endeavour to instruct the less informed in the knowledge of their rights in connexion with their duties, we shall all go backward in freedom, and therefore in national prosperity." †

Whilst Bristol was burning, the cholera had come to England. At the beginning of November, cases which had terminated fatally were reported from Sunderland. A true Christian,—one whose honour it was to lead the way in the establishment of a better system than prevailed in great public schools,—a liberal thinker who regarded "the Ministerial Reform Bill as a safe and necessary measure,"—is described as filled with the most anxious fears towards the end of 1831. Dr. Arnold was accustomed to preach a practical sermon to his school on Sundays. His biographer says,—“There are those among his pupils who can never forget the moment when, on that dark November afternoon, after the simple preface, stating in what sense worldly thoughts were or were not to be brought into that place, he at once began with that solemnity which marked his voice and manner when speaking of what deeply moved him:—‘I need not tell you that this is a marked time,—a time such as neither we, nor our fathers for many generations before us, have experienced; and to those who know what the past has been, it is

* The population of Bristol in 1831, as shown by the Population Returns published in 1832, was above 100,000.

† "The Rights of Industry: addressed to the Working Men of the United Kingdom. By the Author of 'The Results of Machinery.'" 1831.

no doubt awful to think of the change which we are now about to encounter.' But in him the sight of evil, and the endeavour to remove it, were hardly ever disjoined; and whilst everything which he felt partook of the dependency with which that sermon opens, everything which he did partakes of that cheerful activity with which the same sermon closes in urging the example of the Apostle's 'wise and manly conduct amidst the dangers of storm and shipwreck.'"* Very different from a counsellor of "wise and manly conduct" was a writer in a periodical work of the highest authority, published in November, 1831. To produce a terror amongst the community for a political object has been considered the especial function of a corrupt minister. To exaggerate real causes of alarm, in the endeavour to terrify the heads of families into a retreat from the political battle-field, was now the object of a factious journalist. He asked, what has been done to meet this fatal contagion? Anticipating the sudden paralysation of commerce through every limb of our body politic,—with prodigious masses of artisans sunk at once into the depths of pauperism,—he asks whether the ministers have considered the necessity of guarding against the rapacity of monopolists as respects food and fuel; whether they had begun to think of public stores of bread? Have they considered what ought to be done for the supply of our markets, the regulations as to travellers, inns, and public conveyances of all kinds? "Have they even dreamed of the enormous burden of care that may within a week devolve upon them as a cabinet?" Unquestionably the ministers had not so dreamed. They knew perfectly well, as the author of this article most probably knew, that any interference with the laws of demand and supply would render a temporary disturbance of the ordinary intercourse between man and man, between town and country, ten thousand times more dangerous. The advice to private persons is as remarkable for the most extravagant selfishness, as the advice to the government is conspicuous for ignorance of the commonest laws of political economy. Such families as mean to quit the town in which they reside ought to hold themselves prepared for immediate flight; the civil power should be prepared to take charge of the houses and property left behind; the opulent must expect to pay dearly for such protection, "but they have a right to expect it." When the desire to quit the town becomes general, the more that go the better; but none must go unless they have the means of conveyance. There should be lazarettoes out of town to which families might if they pleased remove; care being taken that families of the same class be placed together. Encampments might be allowed under proper regulations. All these recommendations are for the runaways. Those who have the courage to remain in great cities, such as London, are not to be less scrupulous in manifesting the same selfish cowardice. To the utmost practicable extent disfurnish the house. Get rid of all superfluous domestics, and take care that it shall be impossible for those that are retained to communicate with any one out of doors. All letters and supplies of food must be received from the police messengers. They must be drawn up to a window of the first floor by means of a rope having a yard of chain and an iron pail attached to it. Mixed up with some semi-medical precautions, the article sets forth how in some cities this pest destroys here a

* "Life of Dr. Arnold," vol. i. p. 272.

sixth, there a fourth, and in a third town a half of the population. The plague of Marseilles, the plague of Messina, are examples of false confidence. To excite fear is a true mode of being safe. At Messina, where no precaution was adopted, "all at once the pest was found raging, and the populace rose in the frenzy of wrath and despair, and glutted themselves with murder."* Marseilles was named without a word of "Marseilles' good bishop." There were many in England, lay and clerical, who remembered noble examples in their own country, of the duty of the rich to the poor in such a season of calamity, and they followed them in the spirit of Christian brotherhood. Perhaps the cholera awakened some of this feeling which had been too long slumbering.

The Ministers were solemnly warned by this writer of the responsibility they incurred, if they neglected those preparations which they alone could make. "The more rigorous the laws, and the more strictly they are enforced, the more certainly will the government be pronounced a merciful one." The government did not neglect preparations, and did not shrink from wise precautions; but these were of a very different character than such as would have plunged the whole country into a confusion far more dreadful than any visitation of the most pestilent disease. A Central Board of Health was formed, which, in a circular letter dated from the Council Office, recommended as to precautionary measures, that every large community should be divided into sections to form distinct Boards of Health, each to consist, if possible, of a resident clergyman, of a number of substantial householders, and of one medical man at least. Such boards were to appoint inspectors, each of whom was daily to visit a hundred houses, and upon their reports to endeavour to remedy such deficiencies as might be found to exist in the primary elements of public health, namely, food, clothing, bedding, ventilation, space, cleanliness, habits of temperance, prevention of panic. With regard to intercourse with suspected or infected persons or places, they strongly deprecated all measures of coercion for avoiding communication, which measures, when tried upon the Continent, had invariably been found productive of evil. Temporary cholera hospitals, detached, insulated, and thoroughly exposed to free and open air, were recommended to be established. Fortunately the good sense of the English people prevented a natural and wholesome alarm being degraded into a panic. Religious trust and active benevolence were much better supports than the practical atheism which would have turned domestic servants out of doors, and have fled from the duties of social life to seek some imaginary hiding-place where the destroyer could not come. On the 6th of November the people knelt in their churches to utter a form of prayer, whose words would not be forgotten in their private orisons: "Lord! have pity on thy people, both here and abroad; withdraw thy heavy hand from those who are suffering under thy judgments, and turn away from us that grievous calamity, against which our only security is in thy compassion." The visitation of this calamity, although very fatal in some districts, was by no means extensive, compared with the aggregate number of the population. It had died out after the ensuing summer. There had not been during its continuance any marked inter-

* "Quarterly Review," No. xci. November, 1831, article viii.

ruption in the ordinary intercourse of life, and in the communications between place and place. The cholera left a real blessing behind it. The care of the public health from that time became a duty which no ministry could neglect, and which, after many experiments in the organization of a fit machinery, placed us in a condition not only to mitigate the effects of any pest in recurring years, but to elevate the whole body of the people in habits of cleanliness and comfort, and to prolong the duration of life in village and in city, in the pleasant fields and in the close factories.

In the midst of the cholera visitation, Parliament assembled on the 6th of December. In the King's Speech, first of all was recommended a careful consideration of the measures to be proposed for the Reform of Parliament; a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question becoming daily of more pressing importance to the security of the State and to the contentment and welfare of his majesty's people. On the 12th of December, lord John Russell introduced the new Bill for Parliamentary Reform. It was in many respects really a new measure. The results of the Census of April had been obtained. The Census of 1821 had been found a fallacious guide as to what boroughs ought or ought not to be disfranchised. Taking the Census of 1831 as the basis of the population test, the boundaries of towns, which had been carefully surveyed, were included in the boroughs of which they had previously formed no part. A mixed test of the importance of boroughs was to be determined by the number of persons, the number of houses, and the amount of assessed taxes paid. The disfranchised boroughs were still to be fifty-six, though the list of those to be placed in what was called Schedule A was materially varied from that formerly proposed. Schedule B, of boroughs to return only one member, was now reduced from forty-one to thirty, whilst others which had formerly been in this schedule were to be taken out, and to return two members. These variations from the former scheme were rendered necessary chiefly by the determination of the government not to diminish the number of the House of Commons, continuing the number as it then stood of six hundred and fifty-eight. Some of the most ardent Reformers thought that the Bill was impaired by these alterations. Sir Robert Peel taunted the ministers with having adopted amendments offered from his side of the House, but nevertheless expressed his determination of giving to the principle of this Bill a steady and firm opposition. On the second reading in the House of Commons there was a debate of two nights, terminating on the morning of Sunday the 18th, when the ministerial majority was a hundred and sixty-two. Parliament was now adjourned to the 17th of January.

To follow the progress of the Reform Bill through the House of Commons during the next two months would be impossible for us to attempt, even if the details of the conflict—in which the cleverness, pertinacity, and unfairness of the opposition were strikingly in contrast with the good-humoured steadiness of lord Althorp, and the impassability of lord John Russell—were less wearisome than they now would be when the interest of such a session of skirmishes is wholly lost in the result of the great battle. The Scotch and Irish bills were brought in on the 19th of January. On the 20th, the House went into Committee on the English Bill, which Committee was not ended till the 10th of March, the Report being considered on the 14th. On the

19th, the third reading of the Bill was moved. There was again a final debate, in which the combatants on each side were marshalled in as great numbers as on any previous occasion. In a House of five hundred and ninety-four members the Bill was passed by a majority of a hundred and sixteen.

On Monday the 26th of March the Reform Bill was carried up to the House of Lords, and was read a first time on that day. There was a general opinion that the Bill would not pass unscathed through the Upper House without a large creation of Peers. On the 7th of January Sydney Smith wrote to the countess Grey, that everybody expected a creation as a matter of course. "I am for forty, to make things safe in Committee."* It was impossible that lord Grey should not have felt the most extreme reluctance to resort to so bold and hazardous a measure. Somewhat later, Sydney Smith wrote, "If you wish to be happy three months hence, create Peers. If you wish to avoid an old age of sorrow and reproach, create Peers." Upon this letter of Sydney Smith, which was addressed to lady Grey, the following note is written by herself: "Many of lord Grey's friends, as represented by Mr. S. Smith, concurred in the opinions expressed in this letter, and the whole of the liberal press, the 'Times' in particular, urged the necessity of creating Peers, with alarming violence, and did not scruple to assert that even the life of an old and timid man should be sacrificed for the good of the country! And had the Bill been again thrown out, there is every probability that lord Grey would have run considerable risk. Fully aware of this fact, it was therefore an act of no inconsiderable courage to resist the entreaties of his friends and the opinion of the public; but the event justified the wisdom of his decision."† The "alarming violence" of the liberal press at this subsequent period was only the reflection of the more alarming violence which then prevailed throughout the country. In the concluding portion of his speech on moving the second reading, lord Grey said, "My lords, I admit that we have of late heard none of that outcry on the part of the people which first marked the progress of this Bill. In its place, a fearful silence at present prevails,—a silence which may, perhaps, lead some persons foolishly to imagine that the people are no longer looking at this question with the same feelings of interest. But I caution your lordships to beware how you form that opinion."‡ The previous strong manifestation of popular opinion; the formation of Political Unions throughout the country; the open talk of making force prevail if reason could not prevail, had produced some alarm in the Court. Communications, it is affirmed, had passed between the king's private secretary and lord Wharncliffe, in which the royal wish had been expressed that the opposition to the Bill in the House of Lords should be less decided. Lord Grey was aware of some partial change of opinion. He said on this first debate on the second reading, "I must confess that I look with something like hope to that which appears to be a sort of approach to a favourable decision on the part of this House." Lord Wharncliffe and lord Harrowby had announced to him that they intended to vote for the second reading, but with a full intention of striking from the Bill

* "Memoir," vol. ii. p. 334.

† "Life and Opinions of Charles, Earl Grey, by his son, the Hon C Grey," p. 16.

‡ Hansard, vol. xii. col. 25.

those parts which they deemed the most obnoxious.* The debate was carried on for four nights, lord Ellenborough having moved as an amendment that the Bill be read that day six months. At seven o'clock in the morning of the 14th of April, the Bill was read a second time by a majority of nine—a hundred and eighty-four contents; a hundred and seventy-five non-contents. There were votes for the Bill from some who had been absent from the division in 1831; some who had voted against it now abstained from voting; seventeen who had voted against the previous Bill now voted for this Bill. Jeffrey, who was present through the debate, described it as not very brilliant, but in its latter stage excessively interesting. Lyndhurst's, he said, was by far the cleverest and most dangerous speech against the government; lord Grey's reply, considering his age and the time, really astonishing,—he having spoken near an hour and a half after five o'clock, from the kindling dawn into full sunlight. Of the aspect of the House through that night the Lord-Advocate has left a striking picture.† The benches of the Peers very full; their demeanour, on the whole, still and solemn; nearly three hundred members of the Commons clustered in the space around the throne, or standing in a row of three deep below the bar; the candles renewed before the blue beams of the day came across their red light, and blazing on after the sun came in at the high windows, producing a strange effect on the red draperies and dusky tapestries on the walls.

Parliament was adjourned for the Easter recess till the 7th of May. Although there might be some rejoicing at the majority for the second reading of the Bill, the popular conviction was, that it was not safe from mutilations which would have materially changed its character. For three weeks there was incessant agitation, far more formidable than riot and window-breaking. Petitions from almost every populous place exhorted "King William, the father of his country," not to hesitate if a necessity should arise for creating Peers. The petition from Birmingham to the Lords implored them to pass the Reform Bill into a law unimpaired in any of its great parts and provisions. On the day appointed for the Parliament to meet, the Political Unions of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford were assembled in Birmingham, at New Hall Hill. It was considered to be the largest meeting ever held in Great Britain. There was a solemnity in the enthusiasm of this vast body of people which may awake the memory of the fervid zeal of the old Puritans. One of the speakers, Mr. Salt, called upon the vast multitude to repeat, with head uncovered, and in the face of Heaven, the words which he should repeat—and every man bared his head, and slowly uttered word by word this comprehensive resolve—"With unbroken faith through every peril and privation we here devote ourselves and our children to our country's cause." On that afternoon the House of Lords went into Committee on the Reform Bill. The first great principle of the measure was the disfranchising of the boroughs. Lord Lyndhurst moved, that the first and second clauses of the Bill be postponed. These were the disfranchising clauses; and the motion was carried against ministers by a majority of thirty-five. Lord Grey, on that Monday night, moved that the Chairman of the Committee should report progress, and ask

* Roebuck's "Whig Ministry," vol. ii. p. 261.

† Cockburn—"Life of Lord Jeffrey," vol. i. p. 330.

leave to sit again on Thursday. His motion was carried. That interval of two days preceded a week of intense excitement, such as the country had not witnessed in any previous stages of this contest,—such as had certainly not occurred in the memory of man,—perhaps had not occurred since the Revolution of 1688.

On the morning of the 8th of May the Cabinet, not without some apprehensions of the ultimate consequences of such a proceeding, resolved upon asking the king to give his sanction to a large creation of Peers. Lord Brougham has recorded his doubts as to this step in the following words:—"I had a strong feeling of the necessity of the case, in the very peculiar circumstances we were placed in; but such was my deep sense of the dreadful consequences of the act, that I much question whether I should not have preferred running the risk of confusion that attended the loss of the Bill as it then stood, rather than expose the Constitution to so imminent a hazard of subversion."* The king without any hesitation refused his assent to the proposition. "His Majesty's resolution had already been shaken by the threatening aspect of affairs, and by the apprehensions of his family and Court, and he not unnaturally shrank from so startling an exercise of his prerogative."† The resignation of the ministers was at once tendered to the sovereign, and the next day was formally accepted by letter. The details of this audience have not yet escaped into the materials for history which are found in private memoirs. Let us stray a moment from the dull highway of politics into the pleasanter by-path of a private interview between lord Althorp and the Lord Advocate of Scotland. "I went," writes Jeffrey on the 9th, "to Althorp at ten o'clock, and had a characteristic scene with that most honest, frank, true, and stout-hearted of all God's creatures. He had not come down stairs, and I was led up to his dressing-room, where I found him sitting on a stool, in a dark duffle dressing-gown, with his arms (very rough and hairy), bare above the elbows, and his beard half shaved, and half staring through the lather, with a desperate razor in one hand and a great soap-brush in the other. He gave me the loose finger of the brush hand, and with the usual twinkle of his bright eye and radiant smile, he said, 'You need not be anxious about your Scotch bill for to-night, for I have the pleasure to tell you, we are no longer his Majesty's ministers.'" Lord Althorp's parting exhortation to the Lord Advocate was, "Do what you can to keep peace, and with your last official breath exhort and conjure lovers of liberty to be lovers of order and tolerance." On the evening of the 9th, lord Grey announced to the Lords, and lord Althorp to the Commons, the resignation of ministers. On the 10th lord Ebrington moved, that the House should address the King, expressing their deep regret at the change which had taken place in the Councils of his Majesty, and to implore him "to call to his Councils such persons only as will carry into effect, unimpaired in all its essential provisions, that Bill for reforming the representation of the people which has recently passed this House." The motion was carried by a majority of eighty—ayes, 288; noes, 208.

For one week the nation was left to its conjectures, to its fears, to its

* "British Constitution," 1861, p. 270.

† May—"Constitutional History," p. 119.

anger, at the position of the government. The functions, indeed, of a government were suspended. The Whig Cabinet had gone out without leaving one holder of a subordinate office who would consent to join the government which the duke of Wellington had received authority from his sovereign to form. But though the nation was in suspense, that week was not a time of inactivity. In every populous place there were public meetings; and there was scarcely a town or city where resolutions were not entered into that petitions should be presented to the House of Commons, praying that no supplies should be granted till the Bill was passed unimpaired. Mr. John Wood,—whose political character was distinguished through many years of public service for his temperate support of liberal principles,—on presenting a petition from Manchester, signed in the space of three hours by twenty-five thousand persons, stated that the whole of the north of England, as a deputation which brought the petition informed him, was in a state of indignation which it was impossible to describe. It was his firm conviction that if a boroughmongering faction should prevail, the people would themselves take the most effectual mode of stopping the supplies, by telling the tax-gatherer to call again when the Reform Bill was passed. The danger seemed coming on which Mr. Macaulay had dreaded when the first Reform Bill was rejected by the House of Lords: “I do not predict, I do not expect, open armed insurrection. What I apprehend is this,—that the people may engage in a silent but extensive and persevering war against the law. I fear that we may, before long, see the tribunals defied, the tax-gatherer resisted, public credit shaken, property insecure, the whole frame of society hastening to dissolution.”* All these possible consequences presented a greater danger than the threats of some Political Unions that they would march to London and bivouack in the squares; more fearful than the protestations of the Birmingham Union that two hundred thousand men should go forth from their shops and forges to encamp on Hampstead Heath, and there become the arbiters of the nation’s destiny. Much of this was wild talk, and equally wild were the speculations that the duke of Wellington had resolved to put an end to such popular demonstrations by the power of the sword. A debate ensued upon the presentation of the Manchester petition, in which violent expressions were employed, touching “a fighting duke and a military government,”—of a people not to be diverted from their purpose by “swords and bayonets.” It was stated that the duke of Wellington had stood pledged since the 9th to quiet the country in ten days. The Scots Greys, quartered at Birmingham, had been employed on the Sunday in grinding their swords, as was afterwards told the world in the *Autobiography of a trooper* who held some strong political opinions in common with other members of his corps, and was punished, as many averred with some appearance of truth, for the too free expression of those opinions.† The duke of Wellington had other business in hand far more pressing, and with far more promise of success, than an attempt to govern England by the sword. He set out with confidence upon a royal commission to endeavour to give the necessary cohesion to the variously shaped atoms whose parliamentary union had

* “Speeches of T. B. Macaulay, corrected by himself,” p. 59.

† “*Autobiography of a Working Man*” (Somerville).

thrown out the Reform Bill. Out of the conglomeration of these, a road was to be formed over which the state carriage might travel in safety,—not a macadamised road, but one constructed of round and square, smooth and rough materials, thrown together in a heap, to become serviceable when the people had sustained many accidents with fortitude, had ceased to be impatient of unavoidable obstruction, and were reconciled to what they deemed tyrannous. Of the failure of this plan the duke of Wellington gave a narrative to the House of Lords on the 17th of May. His majesty, when he was left entirely alone by his ministers, had sent for lord Lyndhurst, “to inquire if, in his opinion, there were any means, and if so, what means of forming a government for his majesty, on the principle of carrying an extensive Reform in the representation of the people.”* Lord Lyndhurst communicated with the duke of Wellington, and the duke found that a large number of his friends were not unwilling to give their support to a government formed upon such a principle, and especially to resist the advice which had been given to the king by his retiring ministers. His majesty thought an extensive measure of Reform should be carried. He, the duke, was always of opinion that Reform was unnecessary, and would prove most injurious. Nevertheless, he went about his task without any object of personal ambition. No part of the Bill before Parliament was safe, but undoubtedly a part of the Bill would be less injurious than the whole Bill. The duke very clearly pointed to a sufficient cause for his failure,—he had differed with some right honourable friends with whom he had been for many years in habits of cordial union. Sir Robert Peel, the next night in the House of Commons made the whole course of the negotiation perfectly intelligible. Lord Lyndhurst had conferred with him, although no communication was then made by the express command of his majesty—and had asked whether he, sir Robert Peel, would enter into the king’s service at this crisis—whether he would accept that office which in political life is supposed to be the highest office of ambition, on the clear understanding that his majesty’s past declarations with regard to Reform should be fulfilled. “I answered,” said sir Robert, “under the influence of feelings which no reasoning could abate, that it would not be for my honour, or the advantage of the country, that I should accept office on the condition of introducing an extensive measure of Reform.”† The different courses taken by the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel were characteristic of the two men. The first impulse of the duke was to obey the wishes of his sovereign, not caring for a sacrifice of consistency. Sir Robert Peel took a broader view than that of a dutiful obedience to the wishes of his sovereign. He saw very clearly that no compromise of the principle of Reform would now satisfy the expectations of the people. He had made a sacrifice of his consistency on a previous great occasion. He would now maintain it, and let others carry the measure which he held to be dangerous. These personal questions are, to a certain extent, of a temporary nature. More important and permanent are the Constitutional questions which became prominent in this ministerial crisis. In the debate of the 17th the duke of Wellington said, with reference to the proposed creation of peers:—“I ask,

* Hansard, vol. xii. col. 993.

† *Ibid.*, col. 1074.

my lords, is there any one blind enough not to see that if a minister can with impunity advise his sovereign to such an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative, as to thereby decide all questions in this House, there is absolutely an end to the power and objects of deliberation in this House, and an end to all just and proper means of decision?" In answer to this question lord Grey said: "And I ask, what would be the consequences if we were to suppose that such a prerogative did not exist, or could not be constitutionally exercised? The Commons have a control over the power of the Crown by the privilege, in extreme cases, of refusing the supplies; and the Crown has, by means of its power to dissolve the House of Commons, a control upon any violent and rash proceedings on the part of the Commons; but if a majority of this House is to have the power, whenever they please, of opposing the declared and decided wishes both of the Crown and the people, without any means of modifying that power, then this country is placed entirely under the influence of an uncontrollable oligarchy."*

On the 15th of May it was announced in both Houses that ministers had resumed their communication with his majesty. As the news went through the land the people everywhere settled down, in patience to abide the result. On the 18th lord Grey declared in the House of Lords that he now entertained a confident expectation of being able to carry the Reform Bill unimpaired and immediately. Upon what grounds did this confidence rest? Lord Grey and lord Brougham had an audience of the King at Windsor, on the 17th. The King, it is stated, was alarmed, and manifested not only emotion, but displeasure. He kept the two peers standing, contrary to usage, during their audience. He retained his private secretary, sir Herbert Taylor, in the room, during the whole time. Lord Grey and lord Brougham declined to return to office unless the King gave a promise to the necessary creation of Peers. The promise was most reluctantly given. Lord Brougham requested permission to have it in writing. The words of this document were as follows: "The King grants permission to earl Grey, and to his chancellor, lord Brougham, to create such a number of Peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill—first calling up peers' eldest sons. (Signed) William R., Windsor, May 17, 1832."† The power of creation was never called into exercise. The King, through sir Herbert Taylor, employed his personal influence with the opposition Peers to induce them to desist from further attempts to arrest the course of the Reform Bill. It has been stated that his private secretary—a man of remarkable sagacity and discretion—had communicated to some of the more vehement of the Peers a narrative of what had passed at the interview at Windsor, and had thereby incurred a tremendous responsibility. There was no personal danger in his writing a circular letter to the anti-Reform Peers in general, stating "that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House to-night from a sufficient number of Peers, that, in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay,

* Hansard, vol. xii. col. 1006.

† Roebuck's "History of the Whig Ministry," vol. ii. p. 331. Mr. Roebuck states that the document is missing from the papers of Lord Brougham, but that it was seen by many persons at the time.

and as nearly as possible in its present shape." The pressure of the royal will upon the Peers was unconstitutional. "This interference of the King with the independent deliberations of the House of Lords was in truth a more unconstitutional act than a creation of Peers."* But it overcame the difficulties of an alarming crisis. It saved the necessity of what was popularly called "swamping the House of Lords;" it averted the manifold dangers of a continued resistance to the wishes of the people; it removed a great embarrassment from the Cabinet,—for unquestionably the prime minister, the lord chancellor, and others, would have hesitated to use at all, certainly to use to their full extent, the powers which were granted to them. The advice tendered by sir Herbert Taylor was at once adopted. The duke of Wellington withdrew after his explanation on the 17th, and did not return to the House of Lords till the night after the passing of the Reform Bill. His wise and patriotic example was followed by a sufficient number of Peers to afford a decided majority for the ministers. On the 21st of May the discussion of the Bill was resumed. The duke of Newcastle, after several of the clauses had been passed, said, with bitter irony, that he would recommend to the Committee to vote all the details of the Bill at once, and send it up to a third reading. The business in Committee was finished on the last day of May. On the 4th of June the Bill was passed by a majority of eighty-four. The Commons next day agreed to the unimportant amendments proposed by the Lords, and on the 7th of June the English Reform Bill received the royal assent. The Reform Act for Scotland and the Reform Act for Ireland were also quickly passed—the Scotch Bill on the 13th of July; the Irish on the 18th. After the experience of thirty years this measure has been described by one perfectly well acquainted with the theory and practice of Parliament, as "a measure at once bold, comprehensive, moderate and constitutional; popular but not democratic, it extended liberty without hazarding revolution. . . . That it was theoretically complete, and left nothing for future statesmen to effect, its authors never affirmed; but it was a masterly settlement of a perilous question."†

* May, vol. i. p. 120.

† May, "Constitutional History," p. 357.



Bramber Castle.

CHAPTER XVII.

Dissolution of Parliament—Proceedings for Elections under the Reform Act—Effect of Changes in the system of Representation—Condition of the Nomination Boroughs—Electoral changes in close Corporations—The new Representation—Metropolitan Boroughs—Manufacturing Towns—Scotland—Ireland—Approaching meeting of the Reformed Parliament—Fears of Anti-Reformers—Extension of Popular Literature during the Crisis.

PARLIAMENT, having been prorogued on the 16th of August, was dissolved by proclamation on the 3rd of December. A new parliament was then summoned. During the autumn and early winter the entire population had been engaged in preparing for that reconstruction of the entire framework of the representative system with which, according to some, a new and more glorious temple of liberty should be built up. According to others, this disjointed and dangerous scaffolding of modern experiment would perish in that whirlwind of anarchy which was soon to sweep over the land. The preparations for a general election were altogether so new,—so entirely different from the rough and ready license long associated with the exercise of the suffrage—that many in England began to think with regret of the

good old times when the oath at the election-booth, amidst the bluster of counsel and the cheers or hisses of the mob, was the sole test of the freeholder's or occupier's right to vote. What formalities were now to be gone through. On the 20th of June there was affixed on the door of every church and chapel a notice, requiring all persons who might be entitled to vote for Knights of the Shire in respect of property situate in that parish or township, to send the particulars of their claims to the overseers. Of the claims thus made the overseers were to prepare a list, and publish it in the same manner before the last day of July. A similar process, with some slight variation, was to be pursued in boroughs. The overseers were to prepare the list, and parties who had been omitted were to demand the insertion of their names. But now arises a second process which, whether in village or in town, is for a fortnight to be a perpetual source of discussion and dispute, at every market dinner-table and in every club-room. Objectors to the names in the lists are to send their objections to certain authorities. The cavillings are hushed for awhile. The objections are made; but these are no more than the pleas for a judicial investigation. A new and strange machinery is to come into operation between the 15th of September and the 25th of October, to separate the wheat from the chaff. The great winnow is the revising-barrister. A day or two of dispute in every county town and in every borough, and then the object is accomplished which is set forth in the Act—"it is expedient to form a Register." The lists are duly attested and copied into proper books. All the work of swearing, and cross-examination, and decision of the returning-officer,—who, if he were the mayor of a borough, had as little legal knowledge as mayors commonly possessed,—was at an end. The marginal note to the statute describes in a few words what would be the result of this preliminary investigation—"no inquiry at the time of election, except as to the identity of the voter, the continuance of his qualification, and whether he has voted before at the same election."

The proclamation summoning a new parliament has gone forth. But what a change has taken place in the arrangements for the approaching hour of battle. For county elections the polling was to continue for two days, and to last during seven hours of the first day, and eight hours of the second. To accomplish this the counties were to be divided into convenient districts for polling. In the same way the elections for boroughs were to occupy only two days, and if necessary, polling-booths were to be erected at separate places of the same borough. Not altogether would the immemorial election-row, the speeches, the fun and the fight below the hustings, be discontinued. There would be a nomination-day, on which protestations and pledges might be duly given, and the troublesome querist bowed off or hooted down. After the nomination the humours of an election were pretty nearly over. There was much real business to be done in committee-rooms, and zealous partizans hurried to and fro, and whispered magical words of encouragement to voters whose consciences were too scrupulous for a sudden resolve. Eight-and-forty hours saw the end of all this. The day of payment was to come for the unhappy candidate; probably the petition to the House of Commons against an undue return; the determination of a committee to

put down bribery; the ranker growth of the weed after the scratching over of the ground on which it flourished.

If the modes of election were altered in this most revolutionary fashion, in places which had retained their old, or acquired their new, privilege of sending members to parliament, how much more revolutionary was the change which took away this right from fifty-six English boroughs returning collectively a hundred and eleven members: and which reduced the number of representatives in other boroughs so as to take a hundred and forty-three members out of the old scheme of representation.

The history of our ancient system of summoning to Parliament for cities and boroughs is full of obscurity. It is difficult at first to understand how places which could never have been very populous or wealthy should have been selected, in common with towns which in very early times were great marts of commerce, possessing as they did all the organization of municipal government which was so marked a characteristic of the life of England in the days of feudality. These seats of industry were fitted for electoral rights. Gradually many of the municipal authorities usurped the rights of the freemen, and became themselves the sole possessors of the franchise. The earliest record of the regular existence of the House of Commons is from the reign of Edward the First. The list up to the time of Henry the Eighth of cities and boroughs sending representatives is strikingly illustrative of the stability as well as the mutability of human affairs. Of the hundred and sixty-three places of this early period which had not intermitted their privilege at the time of the Reform Bill,—returning collectively three hundred and thirteen members,—there were only twenty-nine wholly disqualified, and twenty-five partially disqualified, for want of a sufficient population in 1832. Mr. Hallam was of opinion that it would be difficult to name any town of the least consideration in the 14th or 15th centuries which did not at some time or other return members to parliament; and he concluded that if we found any inland town or seaport which had never enjoyed the elective franchise, we must suppose that it had since emerged from obscurity. He subsequently qualified this opinion, although true in the main, by recollecting exceptions in the northern part of England, such as Sheffield and Manchester.* Of the petty boroughs of the 15th and 16th centuries that passed into schedule A, we can scarcely understand why the number should have been so few, except by referring to the undoubted fact that representation was often regarded by the burgesses as a burden rather than a privilege. Their old custom of returning members to parliament often dropped into disuse. John Paston, in 1472, writes to his brother Sir John, "If ye miss to be burgess of Maldon, and my lord Chamberlain will, ye may be in another place. There be a dozen towns in England that choose no burgess which ought to do it. Ye may be set in for one of those towns, if ye be friended."† In the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, there were forty-six new writs addressed to comparatively petty places with the exception of the City of Westminster. Few of these were derived from a popular principle, such as had influenced the early constitution of the House of Commons. They

* "Constitutional History," chap. xiii.

† "Paston Letters," Ramsay's edition, vol. ii. p. 71.

were called into parliamentary existence for the purpose of strengthening the government, whether Protestant or Popish, in the revolutions of religion. Of the boroughs of Edward the Sixth, seven passed into Schedule A; of those of Mary, five were thus disfranchised; and of those of Elizabeth sixteen. Of these comparatively modern seats of venality twelve were in Cornwall.

Of the fifty-six English boroughs which had been scheduled into a political death, the representative history would be exceedingly curious if it could be traced not merely from the dry rolls of parliament, but from the secret records of great peers, who held not only these very obscure places to do what they would with their own, but dominated over others which had their mark upon them in schedule B, and even over others which had no mark at all. "What right," exclaimed Sydney Smith, during the discussions on the Reform Bill, "has this lord or that marquis to buy ten seats in Parliament in the shape of boroughs, and then to make laws to govern me?"* This was not a rhetorical flourish; the question was founded upon a well-known fact. "The duke of Norfolk was represented by eleven members; lord Lonsdale by nine; lord Darlington by seven; the duke of Rutland, the marquis of Buckingham, and lord Carrington, each by six. Seats were held, in both Houses alike, by hereditary right."† Marvellous is it to look back upon the condition of some of the nomination boroughs, which my lord handed over to his son just come from Eton, or to Vellum the Steward, or to Mr. Plumpkin, a neighbouring country gentleman, or to the distant relation in the County Militia who calls up the carriage at the Opera, or to the barrister who has written an article in the "Quarterly,"—as these nominees are described by the reverend humorist. Foremost is Old Sarum, which, in 1831, returned two members, absolutely with a population that stands in the census thus, —, as too small to be enumerated. Nevertheless, a ceremony of choosing two burgesses who should interpret his patriotic wishes in Parliament was gone through by the one elector of the borough, who kept the ale-house at the foot of the venerable mound. Bramber borough, also returning two members, was in schedule A—borough and parish having twenty-one inhabited houses and six uninhabited, with a male population of fifty-six. The railway traveller approaching the Redhill station may look upon the picturesque woods and beautiful mansion of Gatton. Its glory is departed, for no longer come out upon the lawn the seven electors enjoying household suffrage to return the two right honourables who were nominated by the owner of that great house. Dunwich, once the seat of the first East-Anglian bishop, was washed away by the sea; but it had not lost all its splendour, for, out of its forty-four hovels came the half-dozen voters who returned the earl of Brecknock and a Commoner to represent them in Parliament. The changes in the coast line had made Winchelsea desolate, but no changes of society could deprive Winchelsea of its glorious privilege of having as potent a voice in the legislature as Liverpool. Most valuable were such places as property, for the nomination to them was notoriously sold. The nomination for Gatton, without the estate, was held to be worth a hundred thousand pounds as an investment. There is a passage

* Speech at Taunton.

† May, "Constitutional History," p. 277.

in Locke's famous "Treatise on Civil Government" which sufficiently shows that such anomalies of English representation existed at the time of the Revolution, as they would continue to exist for nearly a century and a half later. "Things not always changing equally, and private interest often keeping up customs and privileges when the reasons of them are ceased, it often comes to pass, that in governments, where part of the legislative consists of representatives chosen by the people, in tract of time this representation becomes very unequal and disproportionate to the reasons it was at first established upon. To what gross absurdities the following of a custom, when reason has left it, may lead, we may be satisfied when we see the bare name of a town, of which there remains not so much as the ruins, where scarce so much housing as a sheep-cote, or more inhabitants than a shepherd is to be found, sends as many representatives to the grand assembly of law-makers as a whole county, numerous in people and powerful in riches. This strangers stand amazed at, and every one must confess needs a remedy."

The electors of the favoured Nomination Boroughs, whether voters by scot and lot, or potwallopers, or holding by burgage tenure, had little cause to weep over what some parliamentary orators called the extinction of ancient rights. They had a very small share in the division of the spoil. A leg of mutton and trimmings at the Chequers was their general reward for the discreet exercise of their noble privileges. The borough patrons, Whigs or Tories,—for each party had a tolerably equal share in this species of property,—put the purchase-money into their pockets at every election, without caring to oil the machinery which worked the mine. When Romilly bought his seat for Horsham of the duke of Norfolk, the "free and independent electors" had little advantage of the cash. When George the Third, in 1779, wrote to lord North, "If the duke of Northumberland requires some gold pills for the election, it would be wrong not to satisfy him,"* his grace of Northumberland's electors were necessarily content with a bread pill or two without the gilding. There was no insurrection in the decayed boroughs; no threatened march to London, when their electoral privileges were quietly buried, never again to be exhumed. Not so noiseless was the grief of the close corporations, who, in some ancient cities and manufacturing towns, returned the representatives of populous communities. Sad was the day of December when the mayor, ten aldermen, and twenty-four common-councilmen of the city of Bath found that their power of choosing the representatives of fifty thousand persons was come to an end. Dire was the grief when the bailiff and twelve burgesses of Buckingham could no longer do the bidding of the lord of Stowe. With dejected looks the corporators of no very small number of boroughs had to go forth into the market-place to proclaim the writ that would cease to be a symbol of their exclusive power. And yet, in such case, what was called the respectability of a town was not wholly swamped in the flood of democracy. With singular inconsistency it was maintained, in the case of Bath, that "the first member elected by the new constituency was the very same gentleman whom the corrupt and jobbing corporators had returned for six or seven parliaments, as they had done his father for three parliaments, before."†

* Letters of Lord North, appended to Lord Brougham's "Sketches of Statesmen," vol. i. p. 137, edition 1855.

† "Quarterly Review," vol. xlix. p. 267.

The grief was, that the second member, whom the corporation generally chose from the families of the marquis of Bath or the marquis Camden, was one of those "extraordinary missionaries whom Mr. Hume despatched by the several stage-coaches, labelled and ticketed, and, for aught we know, specified in the way-bill, as members to be chosen for such and such a place." What has Bath gained by the change? asks the reviewer. It gained John Arthur Roebuck instead of the nominee of lord Bath or lord Camden.

Let us turn from what the Reform Bill destroyed in England to what it created or restored. Mr. May has pointed out that in 1776 John Wilkes proposed a scheme comprising "all the leading principles of Parliamentary Reform which were advocated for the next fifty years without success, and have been sanctioned within our own time." We refer to the "Parliamentary History," and find that the proposition of the famous demagogue, who then triumphantly sat in Parliament for Middlesex, was to give an increased representation to the metropolis; to lop off the mean, venal, and dependent boroughs; and to permit "the rich, populous, trading towns Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and others, to send deputies to the great council of the nation." The motion of Wilkes was of course negatived without a division. The terms in which lord North told him this would happen supply an amusing contrast to the political hypocrisy of half a century later, which maintained that "the rotten part of our constitution" was "a thing of beauty"—the ornament and safety of the State. The member for Middlesex, said the frank and good-humoured minister, "would find it no easy task to prevail on those who had an interest in the boroughs, on which he bestowed so many hard names, to sacrifice to ideal schemes of reformation so beneficial a species of property."* The increased representation of the metropolis was effected by the Reform Bill in the creation of four new boroughs—Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth. The increase of Marylebone had been going on for more than a century. After the building of Cavendish Square in the reign of George the First, Marylebone became the most aristocratic district of London. There were five hundred and seventy-seven houses in the parish in 1739, and the number of persons who kept coaches was thirty-five. In 1831 the number of houses was eleven thousand six hundred and eight. The statistics of the nineteenth century would have little regard to the number of coaches as an index of the wealth of the people. The returns of assessed taxes afford a surer criterion. In 1831 the aggregate amount so paid for each one hundred persons was 168*l.* in the City, 150*l.* in Westminster, 120*l.* in Marylebone. Finsbury exhibited only three-fourths of the wealth thus indicated by direct taxation, though its population was greater than that of Marylebone. The Tower Hamlets contained the poorest population, with the greatest commercial wealth. It was the seat of the docks and of ship-building yards. It was a vast maritime city, with all the inequalities of condition that belong to such a population. The Tower Hamlets paid only a fourth of the amount of assessed taxes collected in Marylebone. Lambeth was the seat of the principal manufacturing industries of London. Its population was considerably less than that of the other new metropolitan boroughs. Its large

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xviii. cols. 1295—1297.

number of the smallest houses was balanced by its larger number of moderate-sized private houses, especially in its pleasant southern districts, which might then be called rural. Such were the populations of the metropolitan north that had succeeded "the archers of Finsbury and the citizens that come a-ducking to Islington ponds."* Such were the populations of the metropolitan south that had trodden out the memories of the bishop of Winchester's palace, of the Liberty of the Clink, of the Bear-garden, and of the Globe.



Finsbury Fields in the Time of Elizabeth.

The most important of the manufacturing towns which attained to the dignity of sending two members to Parliament under the Reform Act were Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Sunderland, Wolverhampton, Bolton, Bradford, Blackburn, Halifax, Macclesfield, Oldham, Stockport, Stoke-upon-Trent, and Stroud. Brighton, a wealthy and fashionable watering-place, was included in this catalogue. Of the twenty-one less important new boroughs which were to return one member, the chief commercial towns

* Ben Jonson—"Every Man in his Humour."

were Ashton-under-Lyne, Bury, Dudley, Frome, Gateshead, Huddersfield, Kidderminster, Kendal, Rochdale, Salford, South Shields, Tynemouth, Wakefield, Warrington, Whitby, Whitehaven, and Merthyr-Tydvil. To this catalogue were added Chatham and Cheltenham. What vast changes in the whole structure of society are indicated by this bare enumeration! With this list is associated all the history of the wondrous rise of the textile manufactures, dating from the times of Arkwright and Crompton; of the first rotatory steam-engine of Watt, erected at Warrington in 1787; of the power-loom of Cartwright. How suggestive it is of the vast changes in the smelting of iron from the time of the improved processes of Roebuck; of the opening of vast beds of coal that lay useless beneath the surface, and of the workings of copper and tin mines, whose treasures were drowned till the new power of mechanics had made them dry; of the numberless beautiful arts that had been called into life in the working of metals; of the discoveries of chemistry, which had done as much for the triumphs of industry as the inventions of machinery. If the opposers of the Reform of 1832 could have put back the dial of a nation's progress for three more decades, we may ask how the population of Manchester and Salford, which in 1831 was two hundred and twenty-seven thousand, would have endured their position in 1861, when their population was four hundred and sixty thousand; how Birmingham, which in 1831 was a hundred and forty-two thousand, would have felt in 1861 with two hundred and ninety-five thousand; how Leeds, with its hundred and twenty-three thousand would have been content when it had reached two hundred and seven thousand; how Sheffield, with its hundred and twenty-six thousand would have remained quiet when it had reached a hundred and eighty-five thousand; how Bradford, with forty-three thousand, would have rested without representation with a hundred and six thousand. Since the era of the Reform Bill there have been other changes in the relative importance of industrial communities, but not so great as those we have glanced at. Macaulay, in his speech on the second reading of the first Reform Bill, exclaimed against the doctrine of finality—"Who can say that a hundred years hence there may not be, on the shore of some desolate and silent bay in the Hebrides, another Liverpool, with its docks and warehouses and endless forests of masts? Who can say that the huge chimneys of another Manchester may not rise in the wilds of Connemara?"* This is the poetry of eloquence. But it is a significant fact, illustrative of the same principle, that "another Liverpool" should have arisen on the sparsely populated south-western shore of the Mersey since Macaulay talked of industry and trade finding out new seats; that Birkenhead should have been by the statute of the 25th of Victoria constituted a parliamentary borough,—the first borough obtaining the right of representation by the energy that in twenty years produced a port that might rival those of famous cities that had been growing for centuries.

We may add to this imperfect notice a few words about the Reform Act for Scotland. The number of its representatives had been determined by the Act of Union. Wilkes shrewdly said, in 1776, "I am almost afraid the forty-five Scottish gentlemen among us represent themselves." In 1831 the

* "Speeches," p. 32.

total number of county voters was about two thousand five hundred: the sixty-six burghs had an aggregate constituency of one thousand four hundred and forty. Edinburgh, with its population of a hundred and sixty-two thousand, had a constituency of thirty-three persons; Glasgow, with its two hundred and two thousand, rejoiced in the same number of capable men to save its inhabitants from the troublesome choice of a fit and proper person to represent them in Parliament. The great authorities who domineered over the total Scotch electoral body of four thousand were under the dominion of the minister of the day who distributed patronage for the government, and of the succession of such ministers none was more active and adroit than the second lord Melville. Those who went to Parliament acted upon the sound principle of the Scotch county member, who said, "that his invariable rule was never to be present at a debate or absent at a division, and that he had only once in his long political life ventured to vote according to his conscience, and that he found that on that occasion he had voted wrong." * Without entering minutely into a description of the wonderful local machinery by which this extraordinary system of representation was managed, and of which system Jeffrey, as Lord Advocate, justly boasted that he had "left not a shred or patch," it may be sufficient to say that the elective franchise in counties being enveloped in feudal and technical absurdities, and thus costing a heavy price to attain, it was beyond the reach, not only of the lower class, but even of the majority of the middle and many of the higher classes. Of the town members Edinburgh returned only one; fourteen were returned by groups of burghs, each electing a delegate, and the four or five delegates so associated electing the representative. "Whatever this system may have been originally, it had grown, in reference to the people, into as complete a mockery as if it had been invented for their degradation. The people had nothing to do with it. It was all managed by town councils, of never more than thirty-three members, and every town council was self-elected, and consequently perpetuated its own interests. The election of either the town or the county member was a matter of such utter indifference to the people, that they often only knew of it by the ringing of a bell, or by seeing it mentioned next day in a newspaper; for the farce was generally performed in an apartment from which, if convenient, the public could be excluded, and never in the open air." †

The Reform Bill for Ireland, although contributing to the general improvement of the representation of the United Kingdom, was a much milder change of system than either the English or the Scotch bills. There was the same influence of great patrons in counties and boroughs; but the mode in which that influence was principally exercised, through the right of election in many places being vested in the corporations, was taken away by the Reform Act and vested in ten pound householders. There were no disfranchising clauses in the Act. The number of members was increased from one hundred to one hundred and five. The franchise, however, was comparatively very restricted. It was somewhat extended by a statute of the 13 & 14 Victoria, 1850.

* Hansard, Third Series, vol. vii. col. 543, from a speech of Mr. Gillon, member for Selkirk.

† Cockburn, "Life of Lord Jeffrey," vol. i. p. 75.

The Elections were over before the close of the year. According to the estimate of a journalist of that time, who was long famous for his scrupulous attention to the accuracy of minute details, there were two hundred and fifteen gentlemen who occupied seats for England in the last Parliament who were not returned to the new one. Of these, one hundred and forty-eight were anti-reformers. In Scotland, eighteen who were formerly in Parliament were also not returned. In Ireland, forty-two of the old members ceased to sit. Thirty of those who had thus lost their seats were Reformers; but they were principally driven out by Repealers. Altogether it was estimated that five hundred and eleven ministerialists and reformers were returned; and a hundred and forty-seven who, now designated as Conservatives, were anti-ministerialists.*

And now the dreaded Reform Parliament was to assemble at the end of January, 1833. In 1835 a sensible traveller in England wrote to his friend in Germany, "Those who compared the Reform Parliament to the French National Assemblies have happily been greatly mistaken in their calculations; otherwise, instead of the tranquillity and satisfaction in which England lives, the guillotine would be already at work."† The crisis of terror through which many of the rich and fashionable classes had passed, and from which they had not yet emerged after six months' experience had shown them that chaos was not come again, is described by one who lived in the exclusive circles. Five days after the passing of the Reform Bill, Mr. Raikes thus writes in his Diary:—"I do not think that in all my experience I ever remember such a season in London as this has been; so little gaiety, so few dinners, balls, and fêtes. The political dissensions have undermined society, and produced coolnesses between so many of the highest families, and between even near relations, who have taken opposite views of the question. Independent of this feeling, the Tory party,—whose apprehensions for the future are most desponding, who think that a complete revolution is near at hand, and that property must every day become less secure,—are glad to retrench their usual expenses, and are beginning by economy to lay by a *poire pour la soif*.‡ Those who have money at command are buying funds in America, or in Denmark, which they think least exposed to political changes." One of the chief terrors of the landed aristocracy, whether Whig or Tory, was that the Corn-laws would perish under the Reform Parliament. "The Unionists," writes lord Eldon after the passing of the Bill, "are, it seems, unanimous for a repeal of the Corn-laws. The abused and misled lower orders are all for this. It will ruin them."§ The ex-Chancellor,—who held pretty much the same opinions about commercial freedom as the traders of Worcester, who denounced in a petition to parliament, "the Free-trade system" as "a reliance on the doctrines of certain speculative persons called political economists,"||—the great lawyer, who was the smallest of statesmen, believed that the entire prosperity of the country depended upon the

* "Spectator," January 12, 1833.

† Von Raumer—"England in 1835," vol. iii. p. 309.

‡ "*Garder une poire pour la soif*"—"to keep a pear in case of thirst"—is equivalent to laying up something in case of want.

§ Twiss, vol. iii. p. 181.

|| Hansard, vol. xii. col. 1278.

expenditure of "the landed gentlemen" with "tradesmen and manufacturers," and that the ruin of the lower classes would necessarily follow if the repeal of the Corn-laws were to produce the lowering of rents. Many years were to pass before the industry of England should be freed, even in a Reformed Parliament, from the crushing weight of Corn-laws. The great minister who effected their repeal was a most strenuous opponent of the Reform Bill during its troublesome and dangerous birth. Other reforms which were loudly called for, or faintly suggested, and which were then denounced as "infamous projects," have, to a considerable extent, been realized during the course of thirty years. It was asked if lord Teynham, the author of a pamphlet entitled "How it must work," was of "sane mind," when he suggested the reduction of the National Debt; the abolition of Excise taxation; an ascending property tax; abolition of slavery; freedom to our colonies under a domestic form of government of their own; abolition of bounties and monopolies of every description; a general plan of education for the people; a revision of the Free-trade system, including the Navigation-laws and the Corn-laws; a new legal code of cheap justice; a new municipal system. Accept the plan of Henry Francis, lord Teynham, said the leader of the alarmists, "and then England will be brought back to a far more enviable state of civilization than that which she enjoyed in the days of the Heptarchy. We shall have neither agriculture nor commerce, neither manufactures nor trade; we shall none of us be embarrassed with superfluous luxuries; there will be no property worth preserving or contending about." * Marvellous are the changes of opinion when freedom of speech and freedom of writing are established. What was denounced as individual madness thirty years ago has become the established belief of the sanest nation on earth. The terrors of the alarmists at the "infamous projects" of lord Teynham, seem as obsolete as the belief of king James, that witches can raise storms and tempests in the air, either by sea or land.

There was a remarkable circumstance in the temper and habits of those called the working classes, during the political hurricanes of 1832, which we ought not wholly to pass over, although there may be a slight approach to egotism in the mention of it. Whilst Jeffrey was exhorting his official friends in Scotland to "keep peace," there had been at work for two or three months a little instrument for calming political agitation, at no expense to the government, called "Chambers's Edinburgh Journal." There was a similar instrument in England, which was commenced to be published during the very heat of the Reform Bill, called the "Penny Magazine." In the first number of that weekly sheet, which was issued on the 31st of March, 1832, it was proposed to lead the popular mind to "calmer and, it may be, purer subjects of thought than the violence of party discussion, or the stimulating details of crime and suffering." "We have, however," said the editor, "no expectation of superseding the newspaper, and no desire to supersede it. We hope only to share some portion of the attention which is now almost exclusively bestowed upon the folio of four pages, by those who read little and seldom." In looking back upon his work of that period—work which he regards as the best labour of his life—the author of this History is almost

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xlviii. pp. 553—554.

surprised at the boldness of the undertaking, when the whole country, in the opinion of many unprejudiced persons, was fast verging towards anarchy. The fact that, before the year was out, he had to record the regular sale of two hundred thousand copies, warranted the calculation that there were about a million of readers for that miscellany alone. Forty years before, Burke had estimated that there were eighty thousand readers in this country. The sale of the two unexciting miscellanies of the Reform period not only offered a proof of the vast increase of the desire for knowledge, but afforded a hope that the old system of governing by the ignorance of the masses was rapidly coming to an end.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM BEFORE
THE REFORM ACTS OF 1832.

[The letter F indicates those Counties which, by Schedule F of the Reform Act, are divided into two electoral districts; F 2 is prefixed to undivided Counties, to which an additional member was given.]

COUNTIES.

ENGLAND AND WALES.—[Continued from the reign of Edward I.]

Counties.	Members.	Counties.	Members.
Bedfordshire	2	F Somersetshire	2
F 2 Berkshire	2	F Staffordshire	2
F 2 Buckinghamshire	2	F Suffolk	2
F 2 Cambridgeshire	2	F Surrey	2
F Cornwall	2	F Sussex	2
F Cumberland	2	F Warwickshire	2
F Derbyshire	2	Westmoreland	2
F Devonshire	2	F Wiltshire	2
F 2 Dorsetshire	2	F Worcestershire	2
F Essex	2	Yorkshire (2 added in 1821)	4
F Gloucestershire	2	[From Henry VIII.]	
F Hampshire	2	Anglesey	1
F 2 Herefordshire	2	Brecknockshire	1
F 2 Hertfordshire	2	Cardiganshire	1
Huntingdonshire	2	Carmarthenshire	1
F Kent	2	Carnarvonshire	1
F Lancashire	2	F Cheshire	2
F Leicestershire	2	Denbighshire	1
Lincolnshire	2	Flintshire	1
Middlesex	2	Glamorganshire	1
F Norfolk	2	Merionethshire	1
F Northamptonshire	2	Monmouthshire	2
F Northumberland	2	Montgomeryshire	1
F Nottinghamshire	1	Pembrokeshire	1
F 2 Oxfordshire	2	Radnorshire	1
Rutlandshire	2	[From Charles II.]	
F Shropshire	2	F Durham	2

SCOTLAND.—*In the British Parliament, from the Union under Anne.*

Aberdeen	1	Lanark	1
Argyle	1	Linlithgow	1
Ayr	1	Orkney and Shetland	1
Banff	1	Peebles	1
Berwick	1	Perth	1
Dumbarton	1	Renfrew	1
Dumfries	1	Ross	1
Edinburgh	1	Roxburgh	1
Elgin	1	Selkirk	1
Fife	1	Stirling	1
Forfar	1	Sutherland	1
Haddington	1	Wigton	1
Inverness	1	Bute and Caithness, alternately	1
Kincardine	1	Clackmannan and Kinross, alternately	1
Kirkeudbright	1	Cromarty and Nairn, alternately	1

IRELAND.—*In the Imperial Parliament, from the Union under George III.*

Antrim	2	Limerick	2
Armagh	2	Londonderry	2
Carlow	2	Longford	2
Cavan	2	Louth	2
Clare	2	Mayo	2
Cork	2	Meath	2
Donegal	2	Monaghan	2
Down	2	Queen's County	2
Dublin	2	Roscommon	2
Fermanagh	2	Sligo	2
Galway	2	Tipperary	2
Kerry	2	Tyrone	2
Kildare	2	Waterford	2
Kilkenny	2	Westmeath	2
King's County	2	Wexford	2
Leitrim	2	Wicklow	2

CITIES AND BOROUGHS.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

[Continuous from the reign of Edward I.]

[The letters A, B, indicate the Schedule in which the Borough was placed by the Reform Act.]

City or Borough.	County wherein situated.	Members.	City or Borough.	County wherein situated.	Members.
A Amersham	(Bucks)	2	London (co. of itself, locally in Middlesex)		4
Andover	(Hants)	2	A Lostwithiel	(Cornwall)	2
A Appleby	(Westmoreland)	2	A Ludgershall	(Wilts)	2
B Arundel	(Sussex)	2	B Lyme Regis	(Dorset)	2
B Ashburton	(Devon)	2	Lynn	(Norfolk)	2
Barnstaple	(Devon)	2	B Malmesbury	(Wilts)	2
Bath	(Somerset)	2	Malton	(Yorkshire)	2
Bedford	(Bedfordshire)	2	Marlborough	(Wilts)	2
A Bedwin	(Wilts)	2	A Milbourn Port	(Somerset)	2
Beverley	(Yorkshire)	2	Newcastle-upon-Tyne (co. of itself, locally in Northumberland)		2
A Blechingley	(Surrey)	2	Newport	(Hants)	2
Bodmin	(Cornwall)	2	New Sarum, or Salisbury, (Wilts.)		2
A Bramber	(Sussex)	2	B Northallerton	(Yorkshire)	2
Bridgenorth	(Shropshire)	2	Northampton	(Northamptonsh.)	2
Bridgewater	(Somerset)	2	Norwich (co. of itself, locally in Norfolk)		2
Bridport	(Dorset)	2	Nottingham (co. of itself, locally in Nottinghamshire)		2
Bristol (co. of itself, locally between Gloucestershire and Somerset)		2	A Okehampton	(Devon)	2
Bury St. Edmund's	(Suffolk)	2	A Old Sarum	(Wilts)	2
B Calne	(Wilts)	2	A Orford	(Suffolk)	2
Cambridge	(Cambridgeshire)	2	Oxford	(Oxfordshire)	2
Canterbury (co. of itself, locally in Kent)		2	B Petersfield	(Hants)	2
Carlisle	(Cumberland)	2	Plymouth	(Devon)	2
Chichester	(Sussex)	2	A Plympton	(Do.)	2
Chippenham	(Wilts)	2	Pontefract	(Yorkshire)	2
Cockermouth	(Cumberland)	2	Portsmouth	(Hants)	2
Colchester	(Essex)	2	Preston	(Lancashire)	2
Coventry (co. of itself, locally in Warwickshire)		2	Reading	(Berkshire)	2
Cricklade	(Wilts)	2	B Reigate	(Surrey)	2
B Dartmouth	(Devon)	2	Ripon	(Yorkshire)	2
Derby	(Derbyshire)	2	Rochester	(Kent)	2
Devizes	(Wilts)	2	St. Alban's	(Hertfordshire)	2
Dorchester	(Dorset)	2	Scarborough	(Yorkshire)	2
A Downton	(Wilts)	2	A Seaford	(Sussex)	2
B Droitwich	(Worcestershire)	2	B Shaftesbury	(Dorset)	2
A Dunwich	(Suffolk)	2	Shoreham	(Sussex)	2
Evesham	(Worcestershire)	2	Shrewsbury	(Shropshire)	2
Exeter (co. of itself, locally in Devon)		2	Southampton (co. of itself, locally in Hants)		2
Gloucester (co. of itself, locally in Glou.)		2	Southwark	(Surrey)	2
Great Marlow	(Bucks)	2	Stafford	(Staffordshire)	2
B Grimsby	(Lincolnshire)	2	Stamford	(Lincolnshire)	2
Guildford	(Surrey)	2	A Steyning	(Sussex)	2
A Hedon	(Yorkshire)	2	Taunton	(Somerset)	2
B Helston	(Cornwall)	2	Tavistock	(Devon)	2
Hereford	(Herefordshire)	2	B Thirsk	(Yorkshire)	2
Hertford	(Hertfordshire)	2	Totnes	(Devon)	2
Honiton	(Devon)	2	A Tregony	(Cornwall)	2
B Horsham	(Sussex)	2	Truro	(Cornwall)	2
Huntingdon	(Huntingdonshire)	2	B Wallingford	(Berks)	2
A Ilchester	(Somerset)	2	B Wareham	(Dorset)	2
Ipswich	(Suffolk)	2	Warwick	(Warwickshire)	2
Lancaster	(Lancashire)	2	Wells	(Somerset)	2
B Lauceston	(Cornwall)	2	A Wendover	(Bucks)	2
Leicester	(Leicestershire)	2	A Weobly	(Herefordshire)	2
Leominster	(Herefordshire)	2	Wigan	(Lancashire)	2
Lewes	(Sussex)	2	B Wilton	(Wilts)	2
Lichfield (co. of itself, locally in Stafford)		2	Winchester	(Hants)	2
Lincoln (co. of itself, locally in Lincolnshire)		2	Windsor	(Berks)	2
B Liskeard	(Cornwall)	2	B Woodstock	(Oxfordshire)	2
Liverpool	(Lancashire)	2			

CITIES AND BOROUGHS.

ENGLAND AND WALES—*continued.*

City or Borough.	County wherein situated.	Members.	City or Borough.	County wherein situated.	Members.
Worcester (co. of itself, locally in Worcestershire)		2	Pembroke, sharing with Tenby and Wiston (Pembrokeshire)		1
Wycombe, Chipping	(Bucks)	2	Radnor, sharing with Kevinleece, Knighton, Knucklar, and Rhayder (Radnorshire)		1
A Yarmouth	(Hants)	2			
Yarmouth	(Norfolk)	2			
York (co. of itself, locally in Yorkshire)		2			
[Edward II.]			[Edward VI.]		
A East Grinstead	(Sussex)	2	A Bossiney	(Cornwall)	2
Retford	(Notts)	2	Boston	(Lincolnshire)	2
[Edward III.]			A Brackley	(Northamptonsh)	2
Dover	(Kent)	2	A Canelford	(Cornwall)	2
Harwich	(Essex)	2	Maidstone	(Kent)	2
Hastings	(Sussex)	2	A Newport	(Cornwall)	2
B Hythe	(Kent)	2	Penryn	(Cornwall)	2
Kingston-upon-Hull (co. of itself, locally in Yorkshire)		2	Peterborough	(Northamptonsh)	2
Maldon	(Essex)	2	A St. Michael's	(Cornwall)	2
B Midhurst	(Sussex)	2	A Saltash	(Do.)	2
Newcastle-under-Lyne (Staffordshire)		2	Thetford	(Norfolk)	2
Poole (co. of itself, locally in Dorset)		2	A West Looe	(Cornwall)	2
Richmond	(Yorkshire)	2	Westminster	(Middlesex)	2
A Romney	(Kent)	2			
B Rye	(Sussex)	2	[Mary.]		
Saundwich	(Kent)	2	Abingdon	(Berks)	1
Weymouth & Melcombe Regis (Dorset)		4	A Aldborough	(Yorkshire)	2
A Winchelsea	(Sussex)	2	Aylesbury	(Bucks)	2
[Henry VI.]			Banbury	(Oxfordshire)	1
A Gatton	(Surrey)	2	A Boroughbridge	(Yorkshire)	2
A Heytesbury	(Wilts)	2	A Castle Rising	(Norfolk)	2
A Hindon	(Do.)	2	A Higham Ferrers	(Northamptonsh)	1
B Westbury	(Do.)	2	Knaresborough	(Yorkshire)	2
A Wootton Bassett	(Do.)	2	B Morpeth	(Northumberland)	2
[Edward IV.]			B St. Ives	(Cornwall)	2
Grantham	(Lincolnshire)	2	[Elizabeth.]		
Ludlow	(Shropshire)	2	A Aldeburgh	(Suffolk)	2
Wenlock	(Do.)	2	A Beeralston	(Devon)	2
[Henry VIII.]			A Bishop's Castle	(Shropshire)	2
Beaumaris	(Anglesey)	1	A Callington	(Cornwall)	2
Berwick-upon-Tweed (co. of itself)		2	B Christchurch	(Hants)	2
Brecon	(Brecknockshire)	1	Cirencester	(Gloucestershire)	2
Buckingham	(Bucks)	2	B Clitheroe	(Lancashire)	2
Cardiff, sharing with Aberavon, Cowbridge, Kenfig, Llantrissant, Loughor, Neath, and Swansea (Glamorganshire)		1	A Corfe Castle	(Dorset)	2
Cardigan, sharing with Aberystwith, Adpar, and Lampeter (Cardiganshire)		1	A East Looe	(Cornwall)	2
Carmarthen (co. of itself, locally in Carmarthenshire)		1	B Eye	(Suffolk)	2
Carnarvon, sharing with Conway, Criccieth, Nevin, and Pwllheli (Carnarvonshire)		1	A Fowey	(Cornwall)	2
Chester (co. of itself, locally in Cheshire)		2	A Haslemere	(Surrey)	2
Denbigh, sharing with Holt and Ruthin (Denbighshire)		1	Lymington	(Hants)	2
Flint, sharing with Caergwrely, Caerwys, Overton, and Rhyddlan (Flintshire)		1	A Minehead	(Somerset)	2
Haverfordwest (co. of itself, locally in Pembrokeshire)		1	A Newtown	(Hants)	2
Monmouth, sharing with Newport and Usk (Monmouthshire)		1	A Newton	(Lancashire)	2
Montgomery (Montgomeryshire)		1	A Queenborough	(Kent)	2
			A St. Germain's	(Cornwall)	2
			A St. Mawe's	(Cornwall)	2
			A Stockbridge	(Hants)	2
			Sudbury	(Suffolk)	2
			Tamworth	(Warwickshire)	2
			A Whitchurch	(Hants)	2
			[James I.]		
			Bewdley	(Worcestershire)	1
			Tewkesbury	(Gloucestershire)	2
			Tiverton	(Devon)	2
			[Charles II.]		
			Durham	(Durham)	2
			Newark	(Notts)	2

CITIES AND BOROUGHS.

SCOTLAND.

In the British Parliament, since the Union under Anne.
 Edinburgh city 1 member.

Districts of Burghs.

Dis- tricts.	Burghs.	Counties where- in locally situated.	Mem- bers.	Dis- tricts.	Burghs.	Counties where- in locally situated.	Mem- bers.
1	Dingwall	Ross	1	8	Culross	Perth	1
	Dornoch	Sutherland			Dunfermline	Fife	
	Kirkwall	Orkney			Inverkeithing	Fife	
	Tain	Ross			Queensferry	Linlithgow	
2	Wick	Caithness	1	9	Stirling	Stirling	1
	Forres	Elgin			Dumbarton	Dumbarton	
	Fortrose	Ross			Glasgow	Lanark	
	Inverness	Inverness			Renfrew	Renfrew	
3	Nairn	Nairn	1	10	Rutherglen	Lanark	1
	Banff	Banff			Dunbar	Haddington	
	Cullen	Banff			Haddington	Haddington	
	Elgin	Elgin			Jedburgh	Roxburgh	
4	Inverury	Aberdeen	1	11	Lauder	Berwick	1
	Kintore	Aberdeen			North Berwick	Haddington	
	Aberdeen	Aberdeen			Lanark	Lanark	
	Aberbrothwick	Forfar			Linlithgow	Linlithgow	
5	Brechin	Forfar	1	12	Peebles	Peebles	1
	Inverbervie	Kincairdine			Selkirk	Selkirk	
	Montrose	Forfar			Ayr	Ayr	
	Cupar	Forfar & Perth			Campbelton	Argyle	
6	Dundee	Forfar	1	13	Inverary	Argyle	1
	Forfar	Forfar			Irvine	Ayr	
	Perth	Perth			Rothsay	Bute	
	St. Andrews	Fife			Annan	Dumfries	
7	Anstruther Easter	Fife	1	14	Dumfries	Dumfries	1
	Anstruther Wester	Fife			Kirkeudbright	Kirkeudbright	
	Crail	Fife			Lochmaben	Dumfries	
	Kilrenny	Fife			Sanquhar	Dumfries	
8	Pittenweem	Fife	1	15	New Galloway	Kirkeudbright	1
	Burntisland	Fife			Stranraer	Wigton	
	Dysart	Fife			Whithorn	Wigton	
	Kinghorn	Fife			Wigton	Wigton	
9	Kirkaldy	Fife	1	16	Wigton	Wigton	1

IRELAND.

In the Imperial Parliament, from the Union under George III.

Cities and Boroughs.	Counties wherein locally situated.	Mem- bers.	Cities and Boroughs.	Counties wherein locally situated.	Mem- bers.
Armagh	(Armagh)	1	Enniskillen	(Fermanagh)	1
Athlone (Roscommon and Westmeath)		1	Galway	(co. corporate)	1
Bandon	(Cork)	1	Kilkenny	(co. corporate)	1
Belfast	(Antrim)	1	Kinsale	(Cork)	1
Carlow	(Carlow)	1	Limerick	(co. corporate)	1
Carrickfergus	(co. corporate)	1	Lisburn	(Antrim)	1
Cashel	(Tipperary)	1	Londonderry	(Londonderry)	1
Clonmel	(Tipperary)	1	Mallow	(Cork)	1
Coleraine	(Londonderry)	1	New Ross	(Wexford)	1
Cork	(co. corporate)	2	Newry	(Down)	2
Downpatrick	(Down)	1	Portarlington (King's County and Queen's County)		1
Drogheda	(co. corporate)	1	Sligo	(Sligo)	1
Dublin	(co. corporate)	2	Tralee	(Kerry)	1
Dundalk	(Louth)	1	Waterford	(co. corporate)	1
Dungannon	(Tyrone)	1	Wexford	(Wexford)	1
Dungarvan	(Waterford)	1	Youghal	(Cork)	1
Ennis	(Clare)	1			

UNIVERSITIES.

[From the reign of James I.]
 Cambridge 2 members.] Oxford 2 members.
 [From the Irish Union under George III.]
 Dublin 1

CHAPTER XVIII.

Opening of the New Parliament—Election of the Speaker—The King's Speech—Mr. O'Connell's Amendment—Declaration of Sir Robert Peel—Coercion Bill for Ireland passed by the Lords—Public Health—Observance of the Sabbath—Coercion Bill in the House of Commons—The Coercion Bill passed—Financial Measures—Cobbett's Motion against Sir Robert Peel—Bill for the Reform of the Irish Church—Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies—Effects of the Abolition—Limitation of Labour in Factories—Bank Charter—East India Company's Charter—Prorogation.

ON the 29th of January, 1833, the new Parliament was opened by Commission. The Act for abolishing the oaths to be taken before the Lord Steward had come into operation; and a House of Commons was at once formed. The attendance of members was very large. One of the new representatives of Ireland, Mr. John O'Connell, has described some of the circumstances of that first meeting. His father, Daniel O'Connell, he says, led what might have been called his "household brigade," namely, his three sons and two sons-in-law, down to the House. In the passages they met and were introduced to Cobbett, habited in a kind of pepper-and-salt garb, in fashion something between that of a quaker and of a comfortable farmer, and wearing a broad-brimmed white hat, thrown back so as to give the fullest view of his shrewd though bluff countenance, and his keen cold-looking eye. The "household brigade" proceeded to take their seats upon the second bench on the opposition side, somewhat indignant at a long quizzing from Mr. Stanley's eye-glass. The great Irish orator was more modest in selecting his seat than others of the Radical party, who boldly ranged themselves upon the front bench, as if to awe the Ministerial Whigs, who were immediately opposite. According to the Irish member's "Recollections," William Cobbett was amongst the most conspicuous of those who took this post of honour.* One who four days afterwards records what he saw, says, "On our entering the House, and turning our eyes to the Treasury bench, the first person we saw, in the place of the black-whiskered, bluff, yeomanlike lord Althorp, was the white-headed veteran of the Radicals, William Cobbett, who had

* "Recollections and Experiences," by John O'Connell, Esq., M. P., 1849, vol. i. chap. 1.

taken his seat above the minister, and thus, as it were, installed himself as Leader of the Reformed House of Commons."*

The first business of the Lower House was the election of a Speaker. Mr. Hume, asserting the principle that it was necessary to have a Speaker who should represent the opinions of the majority of the House, and believing that the majority were Reformers, proposed Mr. E. J. Littleton, the member for the southern division of Staffordshire. He was seconded by Mr. O'Connell. Lord Morpeth, upon the principle of looking to the change which had taken place in the constitution of parliament, considered that it was most advisable to have all possible assistance to their proceedings from a gentleman of long practical experience and tried ability. He proposed the right hon. Charles Manners Sutton. The debate went on with little variation from the usual forms of parliamentary courtesy, when the broad-brimmed white hat of the singular man on the foremost place of the Treasury bench was taken off, and up rose the author of the "Register," who had written that he was born "to be one of the greatest terrors to one of the greatest and most powerful bodies of knaves and fools that ever were permitted to afflict this or any other country."† Out of that most powerful body of which he now formed a part some of the especial objects of his wrath had been withdrawn. But many objects of his old hatred still remained—many a country gentleman whose class he had denounced as unfeeling tyrants who squeezed the labourer for gain's sake; many "lords of the loom," who had been designated as "rich ruffians;" many of the "education-canters," who did not follow out his theory that nothing could "be good with regard to the labouring classes unless it made an addition to their victuals, drink, or clothing." Cobbett's style of speaking was as strange to the House of Commons as his habiliments. In supporting Mr. Hume's nomination of a Speaker, he began with these very plain words:—"It appears to me that since I have been sitting here I have heard a great deal of vain and unprofitable conversation." He objected to placing a man in the chair who had already received large sums of the public money. The right honourable gentleman had been for sixteen years in the office of Speaker; he had received every year a salary of six thousand pounds, taken from the starving people of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Mr. Hume's motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred and ten, and Mr. Manners Sutton again became Speaker.

On the 5th of February the King opened the Parliament for "the despatch of business," according to the formal expression of what is the duty expected from parliament. The despatch of business in that one session is recorded in six volumes of Hansard, containing seven thousand seven hundred and forty-four columns of debate. Great measures were indeed discussed in both Houses during that session, which lasted till the 29th of August. During this time the House of Commons had sat a hundred and forty-two days, upon an average of nine hours daily. The usual average had been four and a half or five hours.‡ The chief objects upon which the members of that House had thus vied with factory workers were suggested in the King's Speech; the approaching termination of the charters of the Bank of England and the

* "Spectator," February 2.

† "Rural Rides," p. 18.

‡ Hansard, 3rd series, vol. xx. col. 907: Statement of sir Robert Inglis, upon information derived from Mr. Rickman, an officer of the House.

East India Company; the state of the Church, more particularly regarding its temporalities; the Church of Ireland; the necessity of entrusting the Crown with greater powers for controlling and punishing the spirit of insubordination and violence in Ireland, which had greatly increased, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries. There were two other great measures, not indicated at the commencement of the session, that occupied the further attention of Parliament—the regulation of infant labour in factories, and the abolition of Slavery in the West-India colonies. To the task of dealing with many of these important subjects, both Houses applied themselves with a sedate and earnest spirit. But there was one topic in the King's Speech which instantly called up a host of turbulent feelings, little in accordance with that spirit of brotherhood which some enthusiasts believed would in future render the House of Commons an assembly altogether labouring for the national good, and redeem it from its old character of the cockpit of party. The Irish members who followed the leadership of O'Connell came away "with hearts full of bitterness," after listening to the royal speech, believing that the only part of it which the King's infirmities or his inclinations allowed him to deliver with any distinctness was that in which he threatened Ireland.* The amendment was moved by Mr. O'Connell. Never, since on his own Irish ground of agitation he designated Mr. Stanley a "shave-beggar," had he ventured upon such coarseness as he now thrust upon the House of Commons. He described the echo of the King's speech as "a bloody and brutal Address;" "a bloody, brutal, and unconstitutional Address." Pity it was that the remarkable powers of O'Connell, the "Demosthenic directness and vehemence," as Jeffrey described the oratory of this great artist, were so often degraded into the utterance of a copious vocabulary of scurrility. Mr. Stanley replied to what he called "the eloquent and forcible invective" of the honourable and learned member for Dublin. The speech of the Secretary for Ireland was something far more telling than invective, although it contained sufficient bitterness to make lasting enemies. He set forth the system of outrages which prevailed in a land where the law was a dead letter; where the law was insufficient to meet the exigencies of insurrectionary crime,—where no witness could afford to give evidence, where no jury could dare to convict, though the guilt of the culprit were as notorious as the sun at noonday. "No government could apply itself efficiently to the remedying of grievances, unless it also possessed the power to make the laws respected."† The opening of Mr. Stanley's speech was received with cries of "Bravo" in the House, and even with applause in the strangers' gallery. He taunted Mr. O'Connell with the declaration that he would relieve Ireland "from the yoke of the Sassenach." The Government now told him that his panacea of Repeal "should be resisted to the death." Such was the spirit of courageous defiance that won for Mr. Stanley the name of "the Rupert of debate." Mr. O'Connell's amendment was finally rejected by a majority of three hundred and eighty-eight in a House of four hundred and sixty-eight; ayes, 40; noes, 428. Of his forty supporters, six were members for England, two for Scotland, and thirty-two for Ireland.

* John O'Connell, vol. i. p. 9.

† Hansard, vol. xv. col. 196.

The debates upon the Address occupied five nights. It certainly was a national benefit that much of the eloquence which had been expended, both in England and Ireland, for the excitement of popular assemblies, now harmlessly exploded in a place where the freedom of debate was indeed unlimited, but where no demagogue could make extravagant statements without receiving an immediate contradiction. It was curious that the great Irish Agitator in his eloquent invective said no single word tending to raise a discussion about Repeal. "He keeps it, and prudently keeps it," said Mr. Macaulay, "for audiences of a very different kind." O'Connell and Cobbett might in their hearts aspire to be the Danton and Marat of a new National Assembly. But the House of Commons, with all its renovated spirit of democracy, was not so favourable a theatre for their coarser harangues as the Hall of the Catholic Association or the farmer's table of a country town on market-day. There was some voice of the past in that old Chapel of St. Stephen, which proclaimed that liberty had there been won by the gentlemen of England, and that if it ceased to be a place where the habits of gentlemen could be preserved, it would cease to be a place worthy of the efforts which had been made by the people to renovate and exalt its character.

Looking beyond the almost solitary attempts of the English demagogue to speak in Parliament so as to set the poor against the rich,—hearing something more harmonious than the war-trump of the Irish leader to call his followers to skirmishes or pitched-battles in which the reward of victory would be the repeal of the union,—there were important lessons to be gathered from those five nights of debate introductory to the practical business of the session. They pretty conclusively showed, in the first place, that the expectations of the ultra-Tory party that the Reform Bill would be repealed—that another Restoration, more joyful than the royal triumph of Charles the Second, would terminate the execrated career of the Revolution of 1832*—were sanguine hopes which would be quickly dispersed even by the breath of him who had most consistently opposed a Reform in parliament. On the third night of the debate on the Address, sir Robert Peel thus declared himself:—"The King's Government had abstained from all unseemly triumph in the King's speech respecting the measure of Reform. He would profit by their example, and would say nothing upon that head; but consider that question as finally and irrevocably disposed of. He was now determined to look forward to the future alone, and considering the Constitution as it existed, to take his stand on main and essential matters—to join in resisting every attempt at new measures which could not be stirred without unsettling the public mind, and endangering public prosperity. . . . He was for reforming every institution that really required reform; but he was for doing it gradually, dispassionately and deliberately, in order that the reform might be lasting."† Further, the apprehensions of many who in common with lord Eldon thought they saw that monarchy, peerage, property, would inevitably sink under the rule and domination of democrats, were as signally disappointed.‡ Sir Robert Peel, indeed, correctly describes the notices in

* See "Quarterly Review," vol. xlvii. p. 539.

† Hansard, 3rd series, vol. xv. col. 385. Given also verbatim from Hansard, in sir R. Peel's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 69.

‡ Twiss, vol. iii. p. 216.

the Order-book as promising motions for new laws on every imaginable subject; for simultaneous change in everything that was established. But the Order-book remains the principal historical record of schemes which were in great part the wind-bubbles of new members who thought that the spirit of innovation would best recommend them to the constituencies by which they had been chosen. Although upon great political questions the disposition to force extreme opinions was very small, yet a vast mass of crude notions was evidently afloat upon social questions, which many with their strong prejudices and small knowledge thought themselves qualified to discuss. The complaint that the new parliamentary system did not work well was not confined to the remnants of the anti-Reform party. Jeffrey very frankly and truly wrote, after the House of Commons had risen for the Easter holidays:—"The friction in the working of the machine, and the consequent obstruction of its movements, has been much greater than was ever known; and though this may grow less when it has been longer in use, as is the case with all new machines, I am afraid part of it is owing to the increased number of independent movements, and part, perhaps, to the want of the old oiling which can no longer be afforded."*

The House of Commons having endured for six nights the incessant labour and excitement of the debates on the Address, had now a short interval of relaxation and calm, whilst in the Upper House the question of coercive measures for the repression of Irish disturbances was discussed with the judicial temper of that assembly. On the fifteenth of February lord Grey introduced the Bill for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous Associations in Ireland. He stated that between the 1st of January and the end of December, 1832, there had been committed a total of nine thousand and two crimes,—homicides, 242; robberies, 1,179; burglaries, 401; burnings, 568; loughing cattle, 290; serious assaults, 161; riots, 203; illegal rescues, 353; illegal notices, 2,094; illegal meetings, 427; injuries to property, 796; attacks on houses, 723; firing with intent to kill, 328; robbery of arms, 117; administering unlawful oaths, 163; resistance to legal process, 8; turning up land, 20; resistance to tithes, 50; taking forcible possession, 2. This enumeration sufficiently shows how large a proportion of the offences were out of the ordinary course of criminal acts. The proposition of the government was, to give the Lord Lieutenant power to forbid objectionable public meetings, and to introduce martial law into districts proclaimed to be in a state of disturbance. The Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords and passed on the 22nd of February. It was not till the 27th that the subject was introduced to the House of Commons. Meanwhile lighter topics might there be dealt with, by which personal hostility would not be so easily provoked. Joseph Pease, having been elected for the southern division of the county of Durham, appeared on the 8th of February to take his seat in the House. He objected to the oath tendered to him, and prayed to be allowed to make his solemn affirmation. The Speaker having stated that without the sanction of the House he dared not allow this course, the subject was referred to a Select Committee. Although some members might have dreaded that the sturdy Quaker would refuse to take

* Cockburn, "Life of Jeffrey," vol. i. p. 346.

off his hat when he passed the Speaker's chair, upon the Report of the Committee the affirmation was allowed to be substituted for the oath, the resolution being carried amidst the cheers of the House. One of the greatest of social questions, the Health of the People, was now brought into view by Mr. Slaney,—a gentleman who has never ceased for thirty years to promote some sound measure of real popular advantage. He proposed that a Committee be appointed to consider the best means of securing open places in the neighbourhood of great towns for the healthful exercise of the population. Mr. Lamb, the Secretary of State, regretted that too little attention had been paid to this subject at the passing of Enclosure Bills. On this occasion the expediency was suggested of throwing open the grounds of the Regent's Park, which had been kept so long closed to the public.* The table of the House had been covered with petitions praying for the better observance of the Sabbath, the greater part being presented by sir Andrew Agnew. Upon the presentation of one of these petitions, it was explained that the proposed alteration of the law was to prevent the tyranny by which individuals who followed certain trades on that day were compelled by their masters to violate their consciences by working on the Sabbath. Mr. Cobbett brought his strong common sense and plain English to deal with this point. A measure to prevent masters working men-servants on Sunday would be perfectly nugatory, unless it went into private families: "Were gentlemen backward in employing their coachmen, their grooms, and their footmen on Sundays? Why, these were a set of workmen who laboured very hard, in Hyde Park, for instance. They were well dressed up, and looked very fine with their gold-headed canes, but he would be bound to say, that if they had their choice they would much rather be at home with the maids."† The Bill of sir Andrew Agnew, which was truly described by Mr. M. D. Hill, the member for Hull, as "a Bill for the desecration of the Sabbath by the rich, and for the observance of it by the poor;"—which was termed by lord Althorp, "a Bill of pains and penalties uncalled for and impolitic, not desired by the public, and not deserved by them;"—was rejected on the 17th of May. We may lastly mention, before we proceed to notice the greater legislative measures of this Session, that although there had been some mitigation of the Criminal Code so as to render capital punishments less frequent, there was yet much to be accomplished before the great truth was recognized by the legislature, "that laws which cannot be carried into execution without shocking the feelings of society and exciting sympathy for the offender, are contrary to reason, inconsistent with morality, and opposed to the interests of justice." These were the words of a petition signed by five thousand inhabitants of the metropolis. On the debate upon this petition a hope was expressed that the Session would not pass without a more general application of secondary punishments. Mr. Lamb said, that the subject was under the consideration of government; that a gentleman had been sent out to America to investigate the system of secondary punishments, and the state of prison discipline established in that country. Thus, then, thirty years ago we were only pre-

* The Regent's Park was laid out in 1812. The admission of the public was confined to its outer roads for twenty-six years, they being entirely excluded from the inside of the park till 1838.

† Hansard, vol. xv., col. 1191.

paring to inquire into one of the most complicated social questions of more recent times. The difficulties of the question—difficulties which have become far greater since the growth of the Colonies has rendered the system of transportation almost impossible—seem principally to have induced lord Eldon to maintain the doctrine, now happily obsolete,—that the fear of death prevented the commission of those crimes against which it was directed. In a debate on the 25th of June, 1832, the ex-Chancellor said, that after the experience of half a century he had never known a lawyer or a politician who was able to point out to him what to his mind was a satisfactory secondary punishment. The legal or the legislative mind had scarcely then associated, in the smallest degree, the notion of reformation with secondary punishment.

On the 27th of February, in the House of Commons, lord Althorp moved the second reading of the Bill for the Suppression of Disturbance in Ireland. His speech was a temperate statement of facts, concluding with a forcible and almost eloquent inference from those facts: "We shall, doubtless, have divers declamations in praise of liberty, which no man wishes to gainsay; but the question is, is it from a state of liberty that Ireland is to be rescued? Is she not to be rescued from a state of great and severe tyranny? Is she not to be rescued from a state of anarchy, where life has no safety, and property no security? Liberty is something more than a name, and the benefits of liberty are the protection of life and property—the protection of every man in doing that which pleases himself, and is not detrimental to society."* Very different in tone was the speech of Mr. Stanley on the same night. The terrific outrages which he detailed supplied the strongest arguments for the measure advocated by the government. But there was an object beyond the passing of this immediate measure which the Secretary for Ireland steadily kept in view in his fervid denunciations. He would put down, if possible, the "political domination" which prevented the free expression of public opinion in Ireland. In his hands the great Agitator experienced no mercy. He quoted the words of a ballad which had been sung in the streets of Kilkenny, in which the Sassenach tyrants—"those cursed demons"—must quit the land, and poor Irish captives be liberated, "all by the means of our noble Dan." Mr. Stanley asked, with bitter emphasis, "Who was it that furnished to the ignorant people these topics of declamation, and then condemned the outrages which had been caused by the hatred and discontent which he had himself excited."† Mr. Stanley brought down a storm of indignation upon the head of Mr. O'Connell by referring to a speech made by him only a few days before at a meeting of the working classes, in which he had termed the members of the House "six hundred robbers or scoundrels." Henceforth it was "war to the knife" between these two great parliamentary orators. Whether it was politic to render peace impossible between the government and the astute leader of the Irish Repealers, may perhaps be doubted. Some of his followers might have wavered under a milder treatment. Very few now disbelieve that the charge against the chief of Mr. O'Connell's lieutenants, that he privately said that ministers

* Hansard, vol. xv. col. 1226.

† *Ibid.*, col. 1282.

ought not to abate an atom of the bill, was substantially true. The cowardice of some who knew its truth, and had not the courage to support the member who, with more honesty than discretion, proclaimed it, permitted the allegation to be disposed of in the next session of Parliament as "founded upon information that was erroneous." On the adjourned debate on the 1st of March, sir Robert Peel supported the government in a speech of extraordinary power. He referred to the catalogue of crime in one province, in which were included one hundred and ninety-six murders and murderous attempts—crimes of insurrectionary violence. "One hundred and ninety-six murders!—why, you have fought great battles, and achieved famous victories, at a less cost of English blood! [An Hon. Member: No, no!] No! but I say emphatically, Yes. The battle of St. Vincent cost you less. The terrible bombardment of Algiers cost you less. With less profusion of English blood you rolled back the fiery tide which the exulting valour of France poured upon the heights of Busaco. But why do I talk of battles? Oh, how tame and feeble the comparison between death on the field of honour, and that death which is inflicted by the hand of Irish assassins."* The debate on the first reading of the Coercion Bill was carried on during five sittings. On the last night Mr. O'Connell spoke with his accustomed force. The Bill was read a first time by a majority of three hundred and seventy-seven. It was read a second time by a majority of two hundred and seventy-nine. But it was in Committee that the great Agitator, who could there speak as often as he pleased, was most effective. "He was free," says his son, "to meet every charge, answer every argument, throw back every taunt, and crush with overpowering ridicule every puny assailant."† The Bill was read a third time on the 29th of March. It was sent back to the Lords for their approval of the alterations in some enactments which ministers had thought it prudent to make, and being quickly passed, it received the royal assent on the 2nd of April. During this conflict the opinions of Mr. Stanley had been so strongly expressed, and the mutual hostility of the agitators and the Irish Secretary had become so personal, that he removed to the office of Secretary for the Colonies (vacated by viscount Goderich, who became Lord Privy Seal, by the title of earl of Ripon), and was succeeded by sir John Cam Hobhouse.

The difficulties of the government during the first session of the Reformed Parliament did not arise out of the affairs of England or Scotland. Their financial measures were not very strong; they were compromises, for the most part, of large demands for the abolition of taxes, made by the independent members of the Reform party. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, for example, thought the tax upon newspapers a bad tax, but he did not consider its repeal would confer a benefit equivalent to the loss the revenue would sustain. He would reduce the duty on advertisements; he would repeal the taxes on particular classes of servants, such as shopmen and bailiffs; he would reduce the duties on soap; altogether he would afford relief to the amount of more than a million and a quarter. This peddling mode of looking at the operation of taxes long continued to prevail, for

* Hansard, vol. xvi. col. 95.

† John O'Connell, "Recollections," vol. i. p. 17.

neither the legislature nor the people yet understood that the most oppressive of all taxation was that which interfered with the free march of industry; that any partial reduction, without sweeping away the fiscal regulations which hampered the operations of commerce or manufactures, was comparatively worthless. A motion was made, on the 26th of March, by Mr. George Robinson, for a Select Committee to revise the existing system of taxation with a view to the repeal of those burdens which pressed most heavily upon productive industry, and to substitute an equitable tax on property in lieu thereof. The motion, opposed by the government, was negatived. One of the objects contemplated by a certain class of reformers was the return to a paper currency, they contending that the distress of the country—a distress which was always assumed rather than proved—was produced by our existing monetary system. Mr. Attwood, the member for Birmingham, moved for a Select Committee on this subject on the 22nd of April, and after a debate of three nights, an Amendment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was carried by a very large majority. Connected with this intricate subject, which of all others demanded the calmest consideration, was a violent motion of Mr. Cobbett on the 16th of May, calling for an address praying his majesty to dismiss sir Robert Peel from the Privy Council, as the author of the Currency Bill of 1819. The debate upon a proposition so utterly unreasonable and absurd was remarkable for a speech of sir Robert Peel, in which, replying to the taunts of his present assailant and of others, that he was the son of a cotton weaver, he said—"they taunted him with the obscurity of his birth, as if they were themselves the descendants of the Courtenays and the Montmorencies. . . . So far from that taunt causing him any shame, he felt only proud." Cobbett, in rising to reply, was received with the strongest manifestations of disapprobation. Upon the division on his motion the ayes were four, the noes two hundred and ninety-eight. Lord Althorp then proposed that the resolution should not be entered on the minutes. The Speaker explained that every proposition is entered upon the minutes the moment it is moved and seconded, and that therefore he must put the question, "that the proceedings be expunged." The House divided, ayes, two hundred and ninety-five; noes, four. There were two Irish members who voted with the minority. We record this to notice the mode in which a member of parliament, whether Irish, English, or Scotch, not absolutely devoid of the commonest principles of honesty, may be led by the violence of partisanship into a really dishonest action. Mr. John O'Connell says, "I was one of four unfortunates who, amid the laughter and jeers of the House, went out in favour of the motion when the division came. I did so, not for Cobbett's reasons but my own—namely, the mischiefs done to Ireland by the object of his wrath."* The government was not less successful in supporting a measure in the House of Commons for the relief of the Jews from civil disabilities. That Bill, however, was lost in the Upper House. The Lord Chancellor was unsuccessful in carrying a Bill for establishing Courts of Local Jurisdiction in certain parts of the kingdom. It was introduced by him on the 28th of March. In the debate on the 24th of June it was opposed by all the law lords. They were most probably moved

* "Recollections," vol. i. p. 39.

thereto by lord Eldon, who denounced it as "a most abominable Law Bill of the Chancellor's, one of the most objectionable I have ever seen proposed to parliament." * The Bill was finally negatived by 134 to 122. In these minor questions success or defeat was not important to the stability of the government. The great questions of the session which followed the Irish Coercion Bill involved a real trial of strength.

The King, in his speech, in calling attention to the state of the Church, and more particularly to the Church of Ireland, foreshadowed a contest that would last through his own reign and not be perfectly settled in another reign. Within a week after the meeting of Parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer obtained leave to bring in a Bill, to alter and amend the laws relative to the Church Establishment in Ireland. On the 11th of March the bill was read a first time. It was brought forward during the heat of the debates on the bill for the repression of Irish disturbances. This bill for the reform of the Irish Church was considered by the ministers to be "a healing measure," necessary to be immediately passed. There were various delays which prevented the preliminary resolutions being debated till the 2nd of April. The details of the measure of reform thus contemplated may be very briefly stated. The total revenues of the Irish Church were about £800,000 per annum. Upon these it was intended, after abolishing first-fruits, to impose a tax, varying according to the value of livings and bishoprics, exempting, however, all livings under £200 per annum. The sum thus obtained was to be applied under Commissioners to the abolition of church-cess, the augmentation of poor livings, and the building of glebe-houses. Deans and chapters were to be abolished wherever they were unconnected with the cure of souls, and ten bishoprics were to be merged in those that were to be preserved. If by the Act to be introduced any new value not properly belonging to the Church should be obtained, especially from the large increase that might be expected from letting episcopal lands, that value, estimated at three millions, should be appropriated to the exigencies of the State. In the passage of the bill through the House Mr. Stanley resisted this appropriation, as an alienation of Church property, and proposed that it should be paid into the hands of ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed under the Act. This alteration was stigmatised by Mr. O'Connell as the basest act which a national assembly could sanction. It was however carried by a large majority. The Bill finally passed in the Commons by a majority of a hundred and eighty. The second reading was debated in the House of Lords for three nights, and was carried by a hundred and fifty-seven votes against ninety-eight. In the Committee earl Grey was defeated by a majority of two upon an important clause, upon which the Committee was adjourned,—a movement which looked like an intimation that ministers might resign if the bill were not carried in its integrity. This and other amendments were, however, submitted to, and the bill passed on the 30th of July. The Commons agreed to the Amendments, and Mr. O'Connell, declaring that the Lords had not made the bill much worse than they found it, said that he received it only "as an instalment of a debt due to Ireland." There were at that time, as there still continue to be, many stedfast friends of the English Established Church who thought

* Twiss, vol. iii. p. 201.

that this bill was really only an instalment of some healing measure that would make the Irish Church cease to be a danger and a reproach. There were many who thought, as Mr. Macaulay thought in 1845, when he said in Parliament, "I am prepared to support my opinion that of all the institutions now existing in the civilized world, the Established Church of Ireland is the most absurd." On the other hand, there were many who supported the exclusively endowed Church of a minority, not only in the conscientious belief that its revenues ought not to be applied to secular purposes, but in the sanguine hope that, by preserving it in its integrity, it would remain a refuge and a bulwark until by the progress of enlightenment it might grow into a National Church in the truest sense of the term. Thirty years have seen very slight approach to the realization of this hope.

It is refreshing to escape out of the region of party violence and personal animosity, to behold the legislature applying itself to the calm consideration of the best way to accomplish a righteous act of justice and mercy, of which the first condition of its accomplishment was that the country should make a great pecuniary sacrifice. In 1823 Mr. Canning had proposed that decisive measures should be taken for producing such a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population by the amelioration of their condition as would prepare them for a participation in civil rights and liberties.* In 1832 Lord Althorp on the part of the government, in reply to a motion by Mr. T. Fowell Buxton for a Select Committee to prepare for the extinction of slavery in the British dominions at the earliest possible moment, moved an amendment which was essentially a repetition of the resolution of 1823. For nine years no sensible effects had been produced by that resolution. It was a friendly warning to the Colonists, but it was unheeded by all the Colonial legislatures, with the exception of some very slight improvements affecting the physical condition of the slaves, which they did not resist. Lord Althorp would not pledge himself to any immediate abolition of Slavery, because he did not think that the slave population was in a condition to receive that boon beneficially for themselves. The pacific emancipation of great multitudes in slavery had been held by Mackintosh, as we have seen, as a problem so arduous as to perplex and almost silence the reason of man.† Ten years after his emphatic declaration the government boldly proposed to the Reformed Parliament, not a compromise which might again postpone the decision of this question for another ten years, but a comprehensive and final measure. To the principle of this proposal there was scarcely any opposition; its details were considered in the spirit of a dignified liberality, worthy of a great nation preparing to do a great act. On the 14th of May Mr. Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies, proposed five resolutions in a Committee of the House of Commons. The first declared—"that it is the opinion of the Committee that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors." The subsequent four resolutions were in substance as follows: 2, any children who should be under six years of age at the time of passing an Act for the abolition of slavery, were to be declared free: 3, all persons now

* *Ante*, p. 193.

† *Ante*, p. 194.

slaves were to be entitled to be registered as apprenticed labourers, to acquire thereby all rights of freedom, under the restriction of labouring for their present owners for a time to be fixed by parliament: 4, to afford compensation to proprietors against a risk of loss by the abolition of slavery: 5, to defray any expense in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy, for the purpose of assisting the local legislatures in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population.* In the introduction of this measure Mr. Stanley adverted to the heavy responsibility which devolved upon him. The interests, the comforts, the prosperity, perhaps the very existence, of a large population in the West India Colonies hung upon the decision of those resolutions which he would have to submit—the generations yet unborn were to be affected for good or for evil by the course which the House might think proper to adopt: “Nor can I conceal from myself or from this House the immense influence on the population of foreign countries which must arise from the result of the mighty experiment which we now propose to make.”† The resolutions of the Committee were modified in one or two points of importance. The term of apprenticeship for the field slaves was reduced from twelve years to seven; for the house slaves, from seven years to five. The term for the expiration of slavery was subsequently further reduced. It was originally proposed to make a loan of fifteen millions to the Colonial proprietors. Their acquiescence in the measure was secured by a positive gift of twenty millions. It is unnecessary to trace the progress of the Bill for Negro Emancipation through the two Houses. The debates were not of great length, and they exhibited no violence. Even the proposed grant, the interest of which was to be defrayed by an additional tax upon sugar, produced little remonstrance either from the Parliament or the people. The Bill was read a second time in the House of Commons on Monday the 22nd of July without a division. This was equivalent to the measure being substantially passed. Three days before, William Wilberforce had arrived in London in a state of health that precluded all hope. The last time he spoke in Parliament was on the case of the Missionary Smith, on the 1st of June, 1824. His biographers, alluding to the second reading of the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery, say, “The last public information he received was, that his country was willing to redeem itself from the national disgrace at any sacrifice. ‘Thank God,’ said he, ‘that I should have lived to witness the day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of Slavery.’”‡ He died on Monday, July the 29th. The bill was read a third time in the House of Commons on the 7th of August. On the 25th of June the resolutions of the Committee of the Lower House were adopted in the House of Lords. Upon the second reading of the Bill lord Brougham said that the measure was loudly demanded by the all but unanimous voice of the people of England. He concluded by saying, that after the exertions of more than a quarter of a century, it was no little gratification to him, and no little consolation for many disappointments and disquietudes, to have lived to see this great and good work brought so near to a consummation.§ The bill was there read a third time on the 20th of August.

* Hansard, vol. xvii. col. 1230.

† *Ibid.*, col. 1194.

‡ “Life of Wilberforce,” by his Sons, vol. v. p. 370. By a mistake of the biographers, the bill is stated to have been read a second time on Friday the 26th.

§ Hansard, vol. xx. col. 525.

The freedom of the negro slaves was to commence under the system of apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1834. Many had dreaded that there would be insurrections in some of the West India islands during the interval between slavery and freedom. There was no insurrection; little turbulent manifestation of impatience. Planter and slave had equally settled into a sober preparation for their future condition. There is a most interesting account of the first day of Emancipation in Antigua, a passage of which we transcribe: "The first of August came on Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the next Monday. The day was chiefly spent by the great mass of negroes in the churches and chapels. Thither they flocked as clouds, and as doves to their windows. The clergy and missionaries throughout the island were actively engaged, seizing the opportunity, in order to enlighten the people on all the duties and responsibilities of their new situation, and above all, urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free. In every quarter we were assured that the day was like a Sabbath. Work had ceased; the hum of business was still, and noise and tumult were unheard in the streets. Tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. A Sabbath indeed! when the wicked ceased from troubling, and the weary were at rest, and the slave was freed from the master! The planters informed us, that they went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged most hearty good wishes." *

The influence on the population of foreign countries, to which Mr. Stanley alluded, was intensely felt by the Abolitionists of the United States. Dr. Channing,—one of the most earnest of this band, who amidst neglect, calumny, and ridicule, have by perseverance become powerful enough to impart a moral character to the contest of the Northern States against the Southern,—delivered an address at Lenox on the anniversary of Emancipation in the British West Indies. This emancipation, he said, "whether viewed in itself, or in its immediate results, or in the spirit from which it grew, or in the light of hope which it sheds on the future, deserves to be commemorated. In some respects it stands alone in human history." The eloquence of Dr. Channing had for its especial object to rouse his countrymen into an emulation of a high and generous deed, effected by a nation which America, as well as other nations, had been too ready to traduce as given over to the promptings of selfish ambition. There were passages in that address which appear to have sunk into the American mind, to exhibit their fruits twenty years afterwards: "The cause had nothing to rely on but the spirit of the English people; and that people did respond to the reasonings, pleadings, rebukes of Christian philanthropy, as nation never did before. The history of this warfare cannot be read without seeing, that, once at least, a great nation was swayed by high and disinterested principles. Men of the world deride the notion of influencing human affairs by any but selfish motives; and it is a melancholy truth, that the movements of nations have done much to confirm the darkest views of human nature. What a track of crime, desolation, war, we are called by history to travel over! Still history

* Thorne and Kimball, "Emancipation in the West Indies," quoted by Dr. Channing, in his Address on the 1st of August, 1842.

is lighted up by great names, by noble deeds, by patriots and martyrs; and especially in Emancipation, we see a great nation, putting forth its power, and making great sacrifices, for a distant, degraded race of men, who had no claims but those of wronged and suffering humanity." At the hour at which we are writing on this great historical event, and considering its possible influence on foreign nations, there arrives a telegram from New York of the 7th of March, announcing that a message has been sent by President Lincoln to Congress, urging the passing of a Resolution for co-operation with the Slave States, by means of pecuniary aid from the Federal revenues for the gradual emancipation of the slaves.*

We mention the remarkable fact of Mr. Lincoln's proposition to Congress, chiefly to point out that the suggestion of pecuniary compensation to the Slave-owners was not likely to be received by the planters of the Southern States, or even of the Border States, to whom it seems more peculiarly addressed, with any conviction that the position of the proprietors in the British West India colonies had been improved by the emancipation of the slaves a quarter of a century before. The owners of four millions of slaves have constantly alleged that the British government, by converting seven hundred thousand slaves into free labourers, had destroyed the prosperity of their West India colonies by practically repealing the divine law that all men must work,—that by the sweat of his brow every man should eat his bread. They have pointed especially to the largest and most fertile of the British West India islands—Jamaica—and they have maintained that from the 1st of August, 1834, may be dated the ruin of its towns, the desolation of its cane-fields, the bankruptcy of its sugar growers. The emancipated negro, they affirmed, will not work. Such a consequence was indeed foretold during the debates on the Abolition Bill. It was said that of Jamaica two-thirds were wood and bush—by bush being meant, not unprolific but uncultivated ground;—that it abounded in means of support; that the rivers teemed with fish; that the negroes possessed abundance of swine and poultry. Their numbers were too few to produce a competition for land; they would obtain it at a nominal rent, or become squatters. Would not the free labourers, it was asked, rather cultivate the soil on their own account than work for wages. These were the opinions of the earl of Belmore.† The duke of Wellington held that it was absurd to expect that the negroes in such a climate as that of the West Indies would work as regular agriculturists unless they were obliged to work.‡ To this argument lord Brougham answered, that if it were the nature of the negro, under existing circumstances, to find a delight in cultivating his ground after his day's work was at an end, surely he would not so alter his nature as to refuse voluntary work when this new arrangement came into operation.§ In too many cases the negro did refuse to work at the especial business of sugar cultivation, to which he had formerly been driven by the fear of the whip. Upon the growers of sugar-canes, who combined the business of the cultivator with that of the manufacturer in producing rum and sugar, the Emancipation Act,

* "Times," March 20, 1862.

† Hansard, vol. xx. col. 511.

‡ *Ibid.*, col. 518.

§ *Ibid.*, col. 522.

especially in Jamaica, came like a destroying blight. It was not a sudden uprooting of the solid foundations of a real prosperity, for every estate was encumbered, and every planter embarrassed; but it destroyed the system which had still enabled the proprietors profitably to supply the markets with their produce by compelling the greatest amount of work at the smallest pay out of the slave population. When hired labour became dear, or impossible to be procured at all,—when a white or coloured population could not labour with the physical energy of the black under a tropical sun,—there came insolvency, forced sales of estates, amazing reduction in the value of all property, families connected with West Indian interests reduced from opulence to poverty.

Ten years after the Emancipation, whilst Exeter Hall still boldly maintained the unmixed good of the Abolition of Slavery, there were writers and speakers who denounced the eloquence of Exeter Hall as “rose-pink sentimentalism.” Those who in 1833 dreaded that the negro would not work, were too true prophets of a certain amount of evil. Whilst lord Brougham and others had believed that the ordinary laws of demand and supply would operate upon the freed negro, the experience of a considerable period had shown, it was thus quaintly alleged, that they had not so operated: “The West Indies, it appears, are short of labour; as, indeed, is very conceivable in those circumstances. When a black man, by working about half an hour a day (such is the calculation), can supply himself, by aid of sun and soil, with as much pumpkin as will suffice, he is likely to be a little stiff to raise into hard work! Supply and demand, which, science says, should be brought to bear on him, have an uphill task of it with such a man. Strong sun supplies itself gratis, rich soil in those unpeopled or half-peopled regions almost gratis; these are his ‘supply,’ and half an hour a day, directed upon these, will produce pumpkin, which is his ‘demand.’ The fortunate Black man, very swiftly does he settle *his* account with supply and demand:—not so swiftly the less fortunate White man of those tropical localities. A bad case his, just now. He himself cannot work; and his black neighbour, rich in pumpkin, is in no haste to help him.”* Ten years roll on, and still the Black man “can listen to the less fortunate White man’s demand, and take his own time in supplying it.”† One amongst the ablest of recent authors goes to the West Indies, in 1859, and describes, in Jamaica, the negro “lying at his ease under his cotton-tree, and declining to work after ten o’clock in the morning. ‘No, tankee, Massa, me tired now. Me no want more money.’”‡ The first desire, says Mr. Trollope, of man in a state of civilization is for property. “The negro has no such desire.” What is to be done? Englishmen, whether prompted or not by Exeter Hall, will not assent to the doctrine, to say nothing of the difficulty of its enforcement, “that no Black man who will not work according to what ability the gods have given him for working, has the smallest right to eat pumpkin, or to any fraction of land that will grow pumpkin, however plentiful such land may be; but has an indisputable and perpetual right to be compelled, by the real proprietors of said land,

* Carlyle, “Latter-Day Pamphlets: The Nigger Question;” first published in 1849.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Anthony Trollope, “The West Indies,” p. 64.

to do competent work for his living."* The traveller through Jamaica may ride on for days and only see a "cane-piece" here and there; but very frequently on the roadside are to be seen the pleasant gardens or provision-grounds of the negroes. In these are cocoa trees, bread-fruit trees, oranges, mangoes, limes, plantains, and other tall food-producing plants. The yam is there in great profusion, with a score of other edibles. "Then one sees also in these provision-grounds, patches of coffee, and arrow-root, and occasionally also patches of sugar-cane."† So the black man, then, is not altogether idle. He has not wholly gone back in his free condition to a state of uncivilization. His oranges, and his bread-fruit, and his yam, will grow with little labour. Having these he does not care for the half-crown a-day which he would be paid for digging cane-holes. Whilst in Jamaica there are eleven acres of land to one man, and that land will yield subsistence for scraping it, it is difficult to say how any new competition of free labourers could change the habits of the negro. The case is essentially different in Barbadoes, where there is no unoccupied land. This little island is fully peopled with negroes, and every negro works as a free labourer in the cane-fields or the mills, without hesitating to work after ten o'clock in the morning. The exportation of sugar from that island has been more than doubled since the Emancipation. In some islands, such as St. Vincent, the exportation of sugar has declined one-half. But the exportation of arrow-root has increased twenty-fold. In other islands immigrations of coolies have supplied the labour which the negro reluctantly performs. It has not displaced his labour, but has left him to the lazy but not wholly improvident enjoyment of his own provision-ground. The changes in the political circumstances of the world hold out to the West India proprietors some cultivation of equal importance with that of the sugar-cane. Some islands grow cotton, and they probably will grow much more. Whilst there is lamentation, and no doubt justly, over the reverses of the planters in particular islands or districts, it is stoutly maintained that the colonies generally are flourishing. It is universally maintained that the negro is prospering.‡ This condition of things, after a quarter of a century's experience, is perhaps as satisfactory as could reasonably be expected. It is far more satisfactory than a persistence in the sin of slavery would have been. Most truly is it said by Mr. Trollope, that "the discontinuance of a sin is always the commencement of a struggle." Whether with the notable fact that "the black African alone of wild men can live among men civilized,"§ he will refuse to accommodate himself to the customary labours of civilization amongst the whites, is a problem not to be solved where the rich lands are so abundant that they yield no rent, for the inferior lands remain uncultivated. If this law of political economy be true, the time may not be very distant when the negro will cease to despise property, and not having land for nothing, will not continue to sit "up to the ears in pumpkins, imbibing sweet pulps and juices." However that may be, the question of slavery or no slavery was not a question of imports and exports. The conscience of

* "Latter-Day Pamphlets."

† Trollope, p. 28.

‡ See "The Ordeal of Free-Labour in the British West Indies," by W. G. Sewell (a Canadian); also in "Edinburgh Review," for January 1862, an article on Mr. Sewell's book.

§ Carlyle.

England could not rest happy under the load of injustice, and she at once threw off the burthen and the shame.

Whilst the British legislature was decreeing that within a few years no slave should exist in the empire, and was providing as far as it could for the moral and religious education of children who would instantly become free, a beginning was made in the reformation of a crying evil which, however, was surrounded with difficulties almost as great as those of negro emancipation. The condition of children in our Factories had long been one of neglected education, of excessive labour, producing together the miserable effect of stunted intellects and diseased bodies. On the day when Mr. Stanley introduced his Bill for the abolition of Negro Slavery, lord Ashley moved that the house should go into a Committee on the Factories Bill,—a Bill not only to prevent the overworking of children in factories; but to limit the hours of adult labour. The government proposed by lord Althorp to refer the bill to a Select Committee. A Commission had been appointed in a previous Session with a view to obtain information, and it would be inconsistent to legislate without having had time to read their Report, and the voluminous evidence which it contained. He contended that the effect of reducing the hours of labour might increase the power of foreigners to compete in the British market, thus causing the decline of the manufacturing interests of the country, and producing misery among the manufacturing population. He desired to see the insertion of a clause in the Bill, by which protection to children properly so called would be increased, whilst adults should be left unshackled and unrestricted. He moved that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, to whom it should be an instruction to make provision, 1st, that no child who had not entered upon its fourteenth year should labour more than eight hours a-day; 2ndly, for securing opportunities of educating the children during the times they were not employed; and 3rdly, that a system of inspection be enforced throughout the factories so as to ensure the execution of the above provisions. The amendment of lord Althorp was opposed, not without considerable heat, upon the ground that delay would be caused if the matter were referred to a Select Committee; and that the protection should extend beyond those under the age of fourteen. The plea for instant legislation was one of the frequent manifestations that philanthropy too often exhibits of an infantine impatience for the cure of a malady, without stopping to consider the greater derangements of society which a sudden and strong remedy might induce. The proposition of the government was rejected by a majority of twenty-three. The Bill went into Committee; when lord Ashley proposed to limit the labour in factories to ten hours daily till the employed were eighteen years of age. Lord Althorp moved as an amendment that the hours of daily work should be limited to eight until children should attain the age of fourteen. The Committee divided against the proposal of eighteen years, rejecting it by a majority of a hundred and forty-five. Lord Ashley, finding, he said, that the noble lord had completely defeated him, surrendered the Bill into his hands. The Bill, whose operations were to commence on the 1st of January, 1834, provided regulations for the employment of children which were to come into gradual operation. School attendance was to be cared for, and medical superintendence was directed. Four Factory Commissioners were appointed

to watch over the operation of the Act. This first attempt at legislation upon a great social question was materially amended by the statute of the present Queen (7 Viet. c. 15.)

There were two other great questions before the parliament of 1833, which necessarily involved changes of system, by some accounted dangerous, by most received as an absolute necessity concurrent with the progress of society. One of these was the renewal of the Bank Charter, which would expire upon a year's notice after the 1st of August, 1833. A Secret Committee had been appointed in May, 1832. Its Report, presented in August of that year, was printed, and the transactions of the great Corporation would no longer be secret. A new Charter was granted, for a limited period, by an Act which received the royal assent on the 29th of August, 1833. The exclusive privileges of the Governor and Company were to end upon one year's notice given at the end of ten years after August, 1834. All other banks having more than six partners were restricted from issuing notes or bills within sixty-five miles of London. The notes of the Bank and of its branches were to be a legal tender, except at the Bank and its branches. Weekly returns of bullion, and of notes in circulation, were to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to publication in the London Gazette. These were the more important provisions of the Act. In another ten years the constitution of the Bank was necessarily remodelled.

The charter of the East India Company had been renewed for twenty years in 1813, during which term they were to retain the exclusive trade to China. The trade to India was partially thrown open. In the session of 1833, the success even of the limited experiment of private trade had sufficiently shown, that if British commercial intercourse with India should be freed from the restrictions that still pressed upon it, and that if China could be opened to general enterprise, a vast market would be created for our produce and manufactures. The charter was in 1833 renewed for twenty years. The territorial government of India was to remain in the hands of the Company. Its existence as a commercial body was to be wound up after the 22nd of April, 1834. All the regulations which interfered with the free admission of Europeans to India, and their free residence there, were to cease. The government of India was to be in a Governor-General and Councillors. A Law Commission was to be appointed to inquire into the jurisdiction of existing courts of justice and the operation of the laws. No native, nor any natural-born subject of the King resident in India, should be disabled from holding office on account of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour. Slavery was to be mitigated, and abolished as soon as practicable. We shall have to show, in a future view of British industry, what vast results were accomplished by the assertion of the principle for which the traders of England had been contending for generations—that monopolies were injurious and ought to be abolished.

In the present chapter we have considered it important to display, at some length, the vast amount of work of the highest interest which was effected in the first session of the Reformed Parliament. The prorogation took place on the 29th of August. There was no exaggeration in the boast of the Speaker of the House of Commons when he thus addressed the King upon his throne: "Sire, in reviewing our labours of the last seven months, it may, I think, be truly said, that the history of Parliament will not furnish a Session so wholly

engrossed and overwhelmed with matters so various and so difficult in their character, and so deeply important to the vital interests of the empire, as this Session.* We have seen that many of the discussions on "matters so various and so difficult" had abiding results; that the legislation of the year was the commencement of a succession of political and social improvements whose value we are now all ready to acknowledge. This was the first genial seed-time, when the "good seed" might be expected to fall into "good ground," and "bring forth fruit." Nevertheless men's minds were much divided upon the question of what was "good seed." Such division effectually prevented, during this season of hope, as it has prevented for many succeeding years, any favourable result to the agitation of the question of the Ballot. It was a subject in great part new to Parliament, when, in 1833, Mr. Grote made this question his own, and continued for six years to maintain his conviction of the necessity for secret voting, with that temperate judgment, that unobtrusive learning, that calm philosophy, which subsequently he has devoted with rare success to labours probably more congenial than parliamentary excitement. On the 25th of April he moved, "that it is expedient that the votes at elections for members of Parliament be taken by way of ballot." The principle of the Ballot has been repeatedly expounded in more recent times, but never with greater success than during the period when the question was in the hands of Mr. Grote. Year after year he gained new adherents to the principle. He had one hundred and six supporters in 1833; he had two hundred and sixteen in 1839. Since 1848, under the advocacy of Mr. Henry Berkeley, its supporters have grown fewer and fewer every year. In 1848 it was carried by a small majority. "Such reaction of opinion," it has been observed, "upon a popular measure, is more significant of ultimate failure than a steady position, without progress indeed, yet without reverses."†

* Hansard, vol. xx. col. 901.

† May—"Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 373.

CHAPTER XIX.

Poor Law Amendment Act—Commission for preliminary inquiry—Commissioners' Report—Striking instances of Parochial Reform at Cookham and Southwell—State of the Southern Agricultural Counties—Of the Manufacturing Districts—Violent opposition to the measure—The Bill passed—Debate on the Repeal of the Union with Ireland—Irish Church—Resignations of Mr. Stanley and three of his colleagues—Resignation of lord Grey—The Melbourne Administration—The Budget—Prorogation—The Grey Banquet at Edinburgh—The Houses of Parliament destroyed by fire.

THE great measure of the Session of Parliament for 1834 was the passing of the Act for "the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales." That session was opened on the 4th of February, and concluded on the 15th of August. The Speaker, in his Address to the King on the day of prorogation, said, that the Poor Law Amendment Bill had almost from the commencement to the close of the session occupied the unwearied attention of the Commons. It was impossible, he continued, for them to approach a subject of such infinite delicacy and such immense importance "without much of apprehension, and, he might say, much of alarm." It was several years before the apprehension and alarm passed away; before the hope of the Speaker could be generally entertained, "that its benefits will be as lasting as they will be grateful to all ranks and classes of society." The Bill was brought in by lord Althorp on the 17th of April. To understand the scope of the Parliamentary proceedings, we must notice with some detail the preliminary steps of a Commission which was appointed in 1832, "to make a full inquiry into the practical operation of the Poor Laws, and into the manner in which those Laws are administered." These Commissioners were also charged to report their opinion as to "what improvements might beneficially be made in these laws, and in the manner of administering them." This Report was signed by Charles James Blomfield, bishop of London; John Bird Sumner, bishop of Chester; and by Sturges Bourne, Nassau W. Senior, Henry Bishop, Henry Gawler, W. Coulson, James Traill, and Edwin Chadwick,—all known to the public for their capacity to deal with a question which had never yet been approached in a philosophical and courageous spirit of legislation.

The Report of the Commissioners, dated the 20th of February, 1834, was preceded by the publication of "Extracts from the information received," which volume was addressed to viscount Melbourne, Secretary of State for

the Home Department. The Commissioners, in their introductory letter to this volume, expressed their belief that, although only a small part of the evidence which they were preparing to report, it contained more information on the subject to which it related than had ever been afforded to the country. These extracts were very largely circulated; and they contributed in a remarkable manner to the establishment of the principle that the utmost publicity and the freest discussion afford the best security for an eventual triumph of sound statesmanship over popular prejudice, enabling a government resolutely to labour for the removal of a deeply-rooted mischief—a task whose difficulties might have appeared almost insurmountable when “the inveterate canker” had eaten into the heart of the largest portion of the community.

The annual amount of the poor-rate at the close of the American War in 1783 was 2,132,487*l.* In half a century, that is, in 1833, the amount had risen to 8,606,501*l.* The population of England and Wales in the first period was about eight millions; in the second period about fourteen millions. The poor-rate levy had increased 300 per cent.; the population had increased about 75 per cent. Assuming that the increase of taxation, the fluctuation of the currency, and other disturbing causes, had contributed to produce this enormous increase, there could be no doubt in the minds of thinking men, that there was something beyond the mere pressure of the times which had long deranged the usual relation of labour and wages, and had produced, amongst the agricultural labourers especially, a reliance upon other means of support than their own industry and foresight. There had been several successful experiments of a parochial struggle against the mischievous system, which appeared to be rapidly proceeding to a consummation which would be equivalent to the whole rental of the country being swallowed up, not by poverty but by pauperism. Two or three remarkable men had been able to show, in their respective localities, that a consistent assertion of a principle might arrest the evil which a nation deplored, but of which few could see the way to a remedy. Of the parish of Cookham, in Berkshire, more than thirty years before the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Bill, the Rev. Thomas Whatley was the vicar. Under his active promotion and superintendence the most important reforms had been produced in an agricultural population, which, in common with the populations of all the southern counties, had sunk into the lowest state of pauper degradation. “The moral and intellectual character of the good old English labourer, who in former times had boasted with honest pride that he never was beholden to a parish officer, was destroyed altogether.”* Upon the termination of Mr. Whatley’s pastoral residence in Cookham for forty years, his parishioners presented him with a service of plate. In his address of thanks he told them, that they, with no precedent to refer to, no authority to quote, had carried into active operation the great principles upon which the new Poor-Law Amendment Bill was founded. The destruction of the allowance system in aid of wages was the foremost of the principles to which Mr. Whatley alluded. You have effected, he said, “a saving of thirty thousand pounds to the ratepayers; but you did that which was worth more than double the money—you bettered the condition while

* Mr. Whatley’s Evidence.

you improved the manners and morals of the lower orders to a degree that is scarcely credible. . . . You have the satisfaction of having placed a Bible in every house, blankets upon every bed, fuel upon every fire, clothes upon every back, and plenty of wholesome food in every pantry." There was another great principle upon which the Poor-Law Amendment Bill was founded. Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, deserves especial mention as having been the parish where, with the humble experience of an overseer of the poor, one of the most energetic, clear-headed, and truly benevolent poor-law reformers saw clearly what great effects would result from refusing out-door relief to the able-bodied poor, and offering the workhouse as a test of destitution. Mr. Nicholls, afterwards sir George Nicholls, in 1821 addressed a series of letters to the editor of the "Nottingham Journal," which were subsequently collected and published under the title of "Eight Letters on the Poor-Laws, by an Overseer." In the parish of Southwell at that time there was living, under the shade of the magnificent collegiate church, a pauper population constantly supported in their demands upon the rates by a bench of magistrates assembled weekly in petty sessions. There was a paid overseer to assist the ordinary overseers; there was a workhouse maintained at a considerable expense, without order or discipline, which had become the resort of the idle and profligate of both sexes. Under the bench of magistrates and the paid overseer the circle of pauperism became so widened as to embrace nearly the whole labouring population. Self-reliance and provident habits were destroyed. "In youth and in age, in sickness and in health, in seasons of abundance and in seasons of scarcity, with low prices or with high prices, the parish was still looked to and relied upon as an unfailing resource to which everyone clung, and from which every poor man considered that he had a right to obtain the supply of every want, even although such want was caused by his own indolence, vice, or improvidence."* The remedy for this evil was effected by discontinuing employment by the parish; by refusing allowances in aid of wages; by withholding the payment of rents of cottages; by excusing none from paying the poor's-rate; by establishing a school where the children of labourers burdened with large families might be fed and taught during the day; and by making workhouse relief the foundation of all other reforms. The workhouse principle insured the non-acceptance of parish relief unless under circumstances of actual want; such want being, at the same time, always certain of finding the relief of which it stood in need. By these energetic means, the expenditure for the relief of the poor was reduced from 2,006*l.* in 1820-21 to 517*l.* in 1823-24. The examples of Southwell, and of Bingham, a parish on the opposite bank of the Trent, "were therefore of infinite value to the Commissioners, on whom had devolved the duty of devising a remedy for the abuses of the Poor-Laws; and they were relied upon accordingly as instances of substantial reforms, founded upon and growing out of the practical application of a principle simple and effective, and that might be reasonably expected, wherever it was adopted, to be as effective as it had proved in the case of these two parishes."†

* "Statement of the Proceedings at Southwell, drawn up by Mr. Nicholls in 1834, at the request of the Inquiry Commissioners.

† "History of the English Poor Law," by Sir George Nicholls, vol. ii. p. 250.

In the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry the workhouse of Southwell is described as one of the few instances of a place in which the aged and impotent are maintained in comfort, and the able-bodied supported, but under such restrictions as not to induce them to prefer it to a life of independent labour. Let us compare such a workhouse system with that which prevailed in parishes where the great ambition of the managers of the poor was to make the condition of the pauper infinitely superior to that of the independent labourer. Some of the details brought to light by the Commission of Inquiry are almost too ludicrous to be readily believed by those of the present generation. And yet no one who had experience of the parish business of the time of George IV. and William IV. would hesitate to admit their correctness to the fullest extent. Mr. Chadwick goes to the parish of St. Lawrence, Reading. The governor of the workhouse little knew the quality of the gentleman with whom he had to deal. Q. "What description of food do you give those under your charge?" A. "Good wholesome victuals as anybody would wish to taste. You shall taste it yourself. We give them all meat three times a week. The working men have a bellyful. We never weigh anything, and there is no stint, so as they do not waste anything. Then they have good table-beer and good ale." The querist then asked whether he might say that not only was the condition of those under the complacent governor's care better as regarded food, clothing, lodging, and comfort, than the labourers who toil out of doors, but that they were under no uncertainty, and had no anxiety about providing for themselves. "Yes, sir; you may say that. You may say, too, that they are better off than one-half of the ratepayers out of the house."* In this favoured parish of Reading the management of the out-paupers was equally characteristic, they having nearly the same amount of wages allowed them without work as could have been obtained by independent labourers with hard work. It was the same everywhere. The pauper was the favoured of God's creatures. Imposture and crime were bountifully rewarded, whilst industry and frugality met either with neglect or with persecution. There was a systematic slavery enforced in many parishes almost as cruel and certainly as demoralising as the slavery in the West Indies. Mr. Hickson, a manufacturer at Northampton, a tradesman in London, and the owner of land at Stansford in Kent, thus describes his country experience. Some circumstance had occurred which obliged him to part with a hard-working industrious man, who had saved some money, who had cows and pigs, and who lived in a well-furnished cottage. Mr. Hickson says, "He told me at the time I was obliged to part with him,— 'Whilst I have these things I shall get no work. I must part with them all. I must be reduced to a state of beggary before any one will employ me.' I was compelled to part with him at Michaelmas—he has not yet got work, and he has no chance of getting any until he has become a pauper; for, until then, the paupers will be preferred to him. He cannot get work in his own parish, and he will not be allowed to get any in other parishes."† When the hard-working industrious man became utterly destitute he would most pro-

* "Extracts from Information," pp. 216—217.

† "Extracts of Evidence," p. 270. As to the operation of the Law of Settlement, see *ante*,

bably get work, but his spirit would be broken. He might become reckless—he would certainly become surly. The administrators of parish relief, before they administered to the actual necessities of a poor man, were always occupied in discussions about his character. It was this pottering about “character,” about “governors” (that is, magistrates and overseers), “being appointed for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well,” that produced grievous injustice under the old administration of the Poor-Laws. The squire, the clergyman, and the farmer, constituted themselves a tribunal for the suppression of vice and the encouragement of virtue, and they succeeded in producing either desperation or hypocrisy amongst the entire labouring population. If the junta was completed by the addition of a paid assistant overseer the discrimination was perfect. Those who have ever been conversant with the workings of the old system know that squalid filth was the test of destitution, and whining gratitude, as it was called, for the alms distributed was the test of character. If a labourer with a manly bearing came to the overseer, or to the Parish Committee, to remove some sudden calamity—if he asked something to prevent him selling his bed—he was insulted. The writer has seen the agonized tear of wounded pride start from the eye, and perhaps the groan of suppressed indignation escape from the lips;—if the groan was heard, that man’s “character” was gone for ever. This pretence to discriminate between the good and the evil did much worse for the community than occasional injustice. It led away parish functionaries from the real object of their appointment—to administer relief to the indigent—into the belief that they were the great patrons of the whole labouring population, who could never go alone without their aid. They almost forced the condition of pauperism upon the whole working community by their beautiful system of rewards and punishments. They forgot that it was their business to give relief to destitution, and to destitution only, and so they established every sort of false test to guide them in the one duty of their office—to find out whether the want was real, and if so, to relieve it in a manner that would satisfy the necessity without destroying the honest pride of self-reliance.

The facts which we have thus touched upon as to the operation of the Poor-Laws in the southern counties must not be considered as exhibiting the general condition of the agricultural peasantry in the north, and certainly not as paralleled amidst the manufacturing population. The Commissioners indeed say in their letter to lord Melbourne, that “the mal-administration which was supposed to be confined to some of the agricultural districts appears to have spread over almost every part of the country and into the manufacturing towns.” In the manufacturing districts there was a peremptory and comparatively sudden necessity for the extension of the allowance system, arising out of the transition from hand to power-loom weaving. This vicissitude affected three-fifths of the population of Lancashire, especially in the country places, where the power-loom was not used, but where its effects had reduced the wages of the country weavers to a minimum which was not adequate for their maintenance. In the manufacturing towns the power-loom created a new but partial demand for labour, especially for that of children. To mitigate the inevitable distress the allowance-system was applied to able-bodied weavers. The farmers in their management of the parish funds could

depress the rates of wages below the natural level. The manufacturers could not attempt—they certainly did not attempt—to imitate this practical oppression. The rate of wages of the hand-loom weavers did not sink lower than was to be expected as the natural result of an invention which compelled them to compete with the power of steam.*

On the 17th of April lord Althorp moved that leave be given to bring in a Bill to alter and amend the laws relative to the Relief of the Poor in England and Wales. It was absolutely necessary, he said, that there should be a discretionary power vested in some quarter to carry into effect recommendations calculated to introduce sound principles and the fruits of salutary experience into the administration of the Poor-Laws. It was his intention therefore to propose that his Majesty should be authorized to appoint a Central Board of Commissioners, invested with extraordinary power to enable it to accomplish the object proposed. The Bill introduced by lord Althorp was founded upon the recommendations of the Commissioners of Inquiry. It had remained a month under the consideration of the Cabinet, two of the Commissioners, Mr. Sturges Bourne and Mr. Senior, occasionally attending to afford explanations.† The great value of the preliminary inquiry and of the able Report of the Commissioners, as well as the sedulous attention which was bestowed upon all the details by a Committee of seven members of the Cabinet, may be inferred from the fact that, with very slight modifications, the Poor-Laws, as they are now administered throughout the country by Boards of Guardians acting under a Central Board, have during twenty-eight years been prescribed by the legislation of 1834. The proposition of this great measure was very favourably received by the House of Commons. The second reading was carried by a large majority; ayes, 299; noes, 20.

Between the second reading on the 9th of May, and the third reading on the 1st of July, a most powerful opposition had been got up against the measure. It was maintained, and of course popularly believed, that it was a bill of pains and penalties against the poor; that the endeavour to take the relief of the necessitous out of the hands of benevolent magistrates was to expose the poor to the grinding tyranny of centralization which could have no sympathy with local or individual wants. The metropolitan parishes, whose select vestries had long enjoyed a fame for the most outrageous jobbery, were amongst the loudest opponents of the measure. The sentiments of Marylebone were spoken by sir Samuel Whalley, who maintained that the power proposed to be given to the Commissioners—"to these bashaws, to these three-tailed bashaws, was subversive of all constitutional principles. . . . He believed that one of the effects of this measure would be, that men of character would abstain from filling parochial offices, while those who undertook them must consent to be the degraded tools of the Commissioners."‡ On the day of the second reading the Common Council of London had, with only two dissentient voices, agreed to a petition against the Bill. Mr. Grote, one of the members for the City, nevertheless did not hesitate to express his approval of the main ends of the Bill, and of the new machinery by which those ends were to be accomplished. He declared that so strong was his

* "Extracts," &c., p. 340.

† Nicholls—"History of the English Poor Law," vol. ii. p. 273.

‡ Hansard, vol. xxiii. col. 811.

conviction of the absolute necessity of some large remedial measure as an antidote to the overwhelming evil of pauperism—so firm was his belief of the necessity of some central supervising agency—that if it were to cost him the certain sacrifice of his seat he should feel bound to tell his constituents that he dissented from them, and that he would do his best to promote the attainment of this necessary, and in the main valuable, remedy.* Upon the third reading of the Bill the ayes were 157, the noes 50. The duration of the measure was then limited to five years.

Between the passing of the Bill by the Commons on the 2nd of July and its proposed second reading by the Lords, lord Grey had retired from the government, and lord Melbourne had become the head of the administration. It was not till the 21st that lord Brougham moved the second reading. "My lords," he said, "I should have been unworthy of the task that has been committed to my hands, if by any deference to clamour I could have been made to swerve from the faithful discharge of this duty. The subject is infinitely too important, the interests which it involves are far too mighty, and the duty correlative to the importance of those interests which the government I belong to has to discharge is of too lofty, too sacred a nature, to make it possible for any one who aspires to the name of a statesman, or who has taken upon himself to counsel his sovereign upon the arduous concerns of his realm, to let the dictates of clamour find any access to his breast, and make him sacrifice his principles to a covetousness of popular applause."† Never were the qualities of the great orator more remarkably displayed than in this speech. Historical research, accurate reasoning, a complete mastery of facts, majestic rhetoric,—all were brought to bear upon a subject which the mere utilitarian would have clothed with the repulsive precision of statistical detail. The measure was opposed by lord Wynford; it was supported by the duke of Wellington. The House divided upon the motion for the second reading: contents, 76; non-contents, 13. During the progress of the Bill through both Houses many of the clauses were strenuously resisted in Committee. The amendments that were carried were however comparatively of little importance, and it finally received the royal assent on the 14th of August.

The three Commissioners, Sir Frankland Lewis, Mr. John Lefevre, and Mr. Nicholls, entered upon the functions of their office on the 23rd of August. On the 8th of August, 1835, they issued their first Report, which clearly indicated the extent and complicated nature of the subjects which had come under their consideration, and furnished an evidence of the sagacity with which they had set in motion an organization which was to comprehend the whole of England and Wales. This vast machinery, which, in 1860, was in force in six hundred and forty-six unions, including 14,427 parishes, with an aggregate population of 17,670,938 souls, has become so complete in its working, and is so thoroughly applied by Boards of Guardians throughout the country, that the provisions of the Act of 1834 with its subsequent amendments are perfectly familiar to the intelligent part of the community, and therefore any analysis of its enactments would be unnecessary in this place.

* Hansard, vol. xxiii. col. 815.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xxv. col. 212.

When the King closed the session of 1834, he with great justice complimented the two Houses upon their extraordinary exertions, and expressed his deep sense of the care and labour which they had bestowed upon the public business. There was one quality of the House of Commons as conspicuous as its energetic industry—its patience under the most wearisome inflictions. That it should have endured six nights of debate on the question of the Repeal of the Union with Ireland,—having the perfect certainty that nothing could be produced by Irish members on that subject which had not formed the staple of popular orations in many a mob-gathering, and that what could be replied would only be a rose-coloured version of well-known facts,—such a triumph of temper is a signal instance of meekness, only to be paralleled by that of a creature generally obstinate, and sometimes vicious, who was equally placid whether eating the bitter stem of an artichoke or the sentimental traveller's macaroon. One of the Irish members informs us how it became inevitable that such an infliction should fall upon the House of Commons. Mr. Feargus O'Connor insisted at the beginning of the session that the testing of the Repeal question in Parliament should no longer be delayed. Mr. O'Connell in vain remonstrated. A cry was got up in Ireland in support of Mr. Feargus O'Connor's patriotism; "and, sorely against his will, and with very uncomfortable forebodings, the originator of the Repeal movement had to yield, and give notice for an early day of subjecting it to a Parliamentary discussion."* On the 22nd of April Mr. O'Connell, in a speech which lasted nearly six hours, moved for a Committee "to inquire and report on the means by which a dissolution of the Parliament of Ireland was effected; on the effects of that measure upon Ireland; and on the probable consequences of continuing the legislative Union between both countries." After a tremendous homily of the cruelties practised upon Ireland in barbarous times, and of the bribery by which the Union was effected, the debate was adjourned. On the second night Mr. Spring Rice occupied as long a time in showing what benefits Ireland had derived from the Union, and concluded by moving, as an amendment, that an Address should be presented to his Majesty, expressing the resolution of the House to maintain the legislative Union inviolate, but persevering in giving its best attention to the removal of all just causes of complaint, and to the promotion of all well-considered measures of improvement. On the sixth night of the debate five hundred and twenty-three members voted for the Address, only thirty-eight members voting with Mr. O'Connell. The Address was sent up to the Peers for their concurrence, which was given unanimously. It was presented to the King by deputations from both Houses.

The consequence of the pledge of removing all just causes of complaint, and of promoting all well-considered measures of improvement, was, that the affairs of Ireland occupied the greater part of the session, split the Whig ministry into fragments, and rendered their future existence altogether precarious. On the 27th of May Mr. Ward, the member for St. Albans, having previously given notice of his intention to propose certain resolutions on the subject of the Irish Church, moved a resolution, "That the Protestant Episcopal Establishment in Ireland exceeds the spiritual wants of the Protestant

* John O'Connell, "Recollections and Experiences," vol. i. p. 82.

population ; and that, it being the right of the State to regulate the distribution of Church property in such manner as Parliament may determine, it is the opinion of this House, that the temporal possessions of the Church of Ireland, as now established by law, ought to be reduced." Mr. Ward's motion having been seconded by Mr. Grote, lord Althorp rose and said, that during Mr. Grote's address circumstances had come to his knowledge which induced him to move that the further debate on the subject should be adjourned till the following Monday. Lord Althorp on that Monday explained his reasons for adjourning the debate, which were, that four of his colleagues had differed from the rest of the Cabinet upon the question of appropriating the temporal possessions of the Church of Ireland ; that consequently the Cabinet could not agree upon the mode in which the resolution of Mr. Ward was to be met ; and that during the speech of the seconder of the motion of the 27th, he had learnt that Mr. Stanley, Secretary for the Colonies, sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, the duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General, and the earl of Ripon, Lord Privy Seal, had resigned their offices. Lord Althorp added, that the course his Majesty had been advised to adopt, had been to issue a Commission of Inquiry. Mr. Ward expressed his willingness to agree to an address to the Crown which affirmed the principle of his proposition, but declined withdrawing his resolution in the want of such affirmation. Upon this lord Althorp moved the previous question, which was carried by a majority of two hundred and seventy-six, thus negating Mr. Ward's resolution. The four vacancies in the ministry were filled up by Mr. Spring Rice being appointed Secretary for the Colonies, lord Auckland First Lord of the Admiralty, the marquis of Conyngham Postmaster-General (without a seat in the Cabinet), and the earl of Carlisle Lord Privy Seal.

In the House of Lords, on the 6th of June, the proposed Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Irish Church was denounced by some peers as an "illegal and sacrilegious measure of prospective spoliation." Earl Grey, in a speech worthy of his high character and position, denied that the measure looked to anything that deserved the name of spoliation. The object of the Commission was to collect facts, and he and his colleagues were prepared to act upon the Commission so far as this—"that when it produces such a body of information as we expect, we will take it into consideration, and be prepared to act upon it honestly and conscientiously, with a view to the general interests of the country." In the course of his speech the Prime Minister pretty clearly intimated that he was tired of his position—he was tired of a systematic opposition of their lordships to salutary improvements in conformity with the spirit of the age—opposition conducted in a feeling of bitterness calculated to excite throughout the country a factious spirit of discontent.

Earl Grey disclaimed the imputation as most unjust, that the ministry would take the revenues of the Protestant Church, and give them to the Catholic. Lord Brougham declared that he would as strenuously oppose as any noble lord on the other side of the House a proposition to give one single fraction of the fund to the Catholic Church. These ministers said this, well knowing the violent prejudices existing against any recognition of the church

of the majority in Ireland. Dr. Arnold, a liberal thinker, but not a responsible politician, thought that the surplus of the Protestant Church ought to furnish the Christian people of Ireland with Catholic clergymen.* So thought the promoters of the Union.

On the 9th of July the House of Lords exhibited the unusual spectacle of a great Minister, overpowered by his feelings, wholly losing his presence of mind. The Report of the Committee on the Bill for the Suppression of Disturbances in Ireland having been brought up, earl Grey said, "I rise, my lords,"—he could proceed no further. Again he said, "I rise, my lords."—The House cheered, as they had cheered before, but the Prime Minister could not proceed, and he sat down. The duke of Wellington then considerably presented petitions, to afford earl Grey time to recover himself. He at last rose, and tremulously said, "My lords, I feel quite ashamed of the sort of weakness I show on this occasion, a weakness which arises from my deep sense of the personal kindness which, during my having been in his service, I have received from my Sovereign. However, my lords, I have a duty to perform which, painful as it may be, I must discharge; and in rising to propose to your lordships to agree to the Report which has just been read, I have to state that I no longer do so as a Minister of the Crown, but as an individual member of parliament, strongly impressed with the necessity of passing this Act to invest the government, in whatever hands the government may be placed, with the powers given by this Bill, and which I believe to be necessary to the maintenance of the peace of Ireland." † In the course of his speech earl Grey stated that on the previous day he had received the resignation of lord Althorp, which he had transmitted to the King. Former breaches had considerably weakened the government; he felt that in losing the assistance of his friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom he considered as his right arm, he saw no alternative, but was compelled, by irresistible necessity, to tender his own resignation. He had desired to resign previous to the commencement of the session. He had completed his seventieth year, and although he might have been able to discharge the duties of the office which he held under ordinary and easy circumstances, considering the present condition of affairs the duties imposed upon him were too much for his strength. The circumstances which immediately led to this decision of earl Grey, as well as to that of lord Althorp, although of great interest at the time, are now unnecessary to detail with minuteness. They were connected with the proposed renewal for one year of the Irish Coercion Bill, which had been moved by earl Grey on the 1st of July. The only difference between that measure and the one which was about to expire was the omission of clauses by which certain offences might be tried by Court Martial. There was a warm debate in the House of Commons on the 3rd, in which it appeared that Mr. Littleton, the Irish Secretary, had confidentially communicated to Mr. O'Connell, that the Irish government had not demanded the insertion of the clauses prohibiting meetings. In the Bill introduced by earl Grey those clauses appeared. Lord Althorp had also intimated to Mr. O'Connell that they would not be inserted in the Coercion

* "Life," vol. i. p. 380.

† Hansard, vol. xxiv. col. 1305—6.

Bill. A majority of the Cabinet had determined to introduce the Bill in the form in which it was offered to the House of Lords by earl Grey. Upon this decision the Chancellor of the Exchequer resigned. On the 10th of July the House of Commons adjourned for four days. On the 14th viscount Melbourne stated in the House of Lords that his Majesty had honoured him with his commands to lay before him a plan for the formation of a new Ministry. He had undertaken the task, but it was not yet completed.

The task which his Majesty had first imposed upon lord Melbourne was one of insurmountable difficulty. It was to effect "an union in the service of the state of all those who stand at the head of the respective parties in the country." * The King in desiring lord Melbourne "to enter into communication with the leading individuals of parties," specially mentioned the duke of Wellington, sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Stanley. In an audience upon the 9th viscount Melbourne had laid before his Majesty some of those general objections which pressed forcibly upon his mind to unions and coalitions of opposing parties. He wrote to the King on the 10th that he considered the successful termination of such an attempt utterly hopeless. He had no personal dislikes or objections; on the contrary, for all the individuals in question he entertained great respect. In consequence of the communication to sir Robert Peel, on the 13th of July, he wrote to the King that such an union as that proposed could not, in the present state of parties and the present position of public affairs, hold out the prospect of an efficient and vigorous administration. The King admitted on the 14th that the opinions which had been stated by sir Robert Peel and by others, of the impracticability of his proposal, had appeared to him to be conclusive. The King had evidently imagined that if he could effect such a union of parties, the question of the Irish church, upon which he had recently expressed himself very strongly, in answer to an address from dignitaries of the Establishment, might be set at rest. The duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel were prepared to take office, if they had been invited to do so "without conditions as to union with others of different political principles and party connections." † The King was not prepared at that time for so bold a step, necessarily involving a dissolution of parliament. On the 17th July lord Althorp stated in the House of Commons that lord Melbourne had completed his arrangements for the new administration, under which lord Duncannon would occupy the place vacated by the Premier, sir J. C. Hobhouse would be Commissioner of the Woods and Forests, with a seat in the Cabinet, and himself (lord Althorp) would, at the desire of his Majesty, resume his former office. The third reading in the House of Lords of the Coercion Bill was not proposed. In the Commons lord Althorp brought forward a less restrictive measure, which was carried by a majority of a hundred and forty, and was finally passed on the 26th of July.

Parliament had now a few weeks to sit before the usual time of prorogation. The financial statement of the government for the year ending July 5th, had to be made. The budget was a popular one. There was an estimated surplus of nearly two millions, and it was proposed to make various reductions in taxation. The repeal of the duty on Almanacs was a concession

* Letter from Lord Melbourne to the King, July 10, 1834, enclosed in a letter from Lord Melbourne to Sir Robert Peel.

† See "Memoirs, by Sir Robert Peel," vol. ii. pp. 1 to 13.

to the opinion that taxes upon knowledge were amongst the most objectionable. The repeal of the house-tax was an unstatesmanlike deference to popular clamour. The far more objectionable tax upon windows was allowed to remain. Legislators had a glimmering of light as to the impolicy of that taxation which interfered with the processes of industry. Mr. Poulett Thomson, President of the Board of Trade, admitted that the relief to be experienced from the reduction of the house-tax, or any other direct tax, was little in comparison to that which would have been derived from the reduction of the taxes on glass, paper, and cotton. Yet, as the house-tax had been a cause of general and loud complaint, it was right to take it off. Sir Robert Peel was not sure that those who clamoured most suffered most; the removal of the house-tax was merely a bonus to the landlord; the removal of the glass-tax would be a bonus to every class of the community. Before the prorogation the Irish Tithe Bill was carried in the Commons, not as proposed by the government, but with an amendment moved by Mr. O'Connell, which provided that two-fifths of the amount of tithes should be at once struck off, and the remaining three-fifths paid to the clergy by the landlord. The Peers wholly threw out the Tithe Bill four days before the prorogation of Parliament; and O'Connell went home to his congenial work of exciting the people to violent resistance. Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August.

Whilst, during the vacation, Mr. O'Connell was publishing letters to lord Duncannon, in which he declared that "Ireland had nothing to expect from the Whigs but insolent contempt, and malignant and treacherous hostility," some of the leaders of the Reform movement were damaging the Whigs more materially by painfully exhibiting the worst symptom of the weakness of the government,—the hostile jealousy of two who had once formed the great strength of the Cabinet. Looking back upon the journalism of this period, it is difficult to arrive at an impartial estimate of the merits or defects of the two chief combatants who entered the lists at the "free and gentle passage of arms" of Edinburgh, at the banquet to lord Grey on the 15th of September. For some months lord Brougham had been a mark for the attacks of the ultra-liberal press. Harmless exhibitions of that vanity which occasionally peeped out through his real greatness had brought down upon the Chancellor a measure of indignation which is generally reserved for political crimes. In a tour through Scotland he made some oratorical displays, in which the reticence of the cautious statesman was abandoned in the excitement of popular applause. At Inverness, the Chancellor, in telling the burgesses that during four years he had experienced from his Majesty only one series of gracious condescension, confidence, and favour, added words which were tossed about throughout the kingdom as "argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest for ever." "To find that the king lived in the hearts of his loyal subjects in the ancient and important capital of the Highlands, as it had afforded him (lord Brougham) only pure and unmixed satisfaction, would, he was confident, be so received by his Majesty, when he (lord B.) told him, as he would do by that night's post, of the gratifying circumstance."* At the Grey banquet, earl Grey, in replying to his health, acknowledged the compliment of this great banquet in very dig-

* From "Inverness Courier," quoted in Fonblanque's "England under Seven Administrations," vol. iii. p. 99.

nified and touching words: "This most gratifying of all honours is not paid to a minister newly raised to power, in the vigour of his age, with a long career of active and useful services before him, and holding out an expectation to others of official benefits, not yet conferred: No, gentlemen, this proud mark of distinction has been given to a minister who has descended, I will not say has fallen, from power, whose official life has ended, whose long parliamentary career is hastening to a final close,—to one when the balance has been struck between his promises and his performances; to one when the past is before his country for its judgment; and the future, as far as he is concerned, presents no object either for hope or for fear."* Lord Brougham, in replying to the toast of the Lord Chancellor and his Majesty's other ministers, proclaimed the differences that existed between two classes of Reformers,—the hasty spirits who hurrying into the wished-for harbour by the nearest channel, and, not inquiring whether there was a compass on board, would run their vessel into the breakers,—and the more moderate, who would better provide for the safety of the voyage. "I wholly respect," he said, "the good intentions of these men, but when they ask me to sail in their vessel, I must insist on staying on shore." Lord Durham had his opportunity of reply: "My noble and learned friend (lord Brougham) has been pleased to give some advice, which I have no doubt he deems very sound, to some classes of persons,—I know none such,—who evince too strong a desire to get rid of ancient abuses, and fretful impatience in awaiting the remedies of them. Now I frankly confess that I am one of those persons who see with regret every hour which passes over the existence of recognized and unreformed abuses." The dispute was not yet ended. At a meeting at Salisbury, lord Brougham made some strong remarks upon lord Durham. At another meeting at Glasgow, lord Durham said that the Chancellor had been pleased to challenge him to meet him in the House of Lords. "I fear him not; I will meet him there."

There were two most unexpected events which deranged the completion of these hostile purposes. First, the two peers could not meet on the old battle-ground. The Houses of Parliament were destroyed by fire on the 16th of October. It was between six and seven o'clock on that evening, that flames were seen bursting forth from the roof of the House of Lords, in that part of the building opposite to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and in the corner next Westminster Hall. By nine o'clock all the apartments of that portion of the parliament buildings, including the Painted Chamber and the Library, were in flames, and the whole interior was in a few hours destroyed. The fire extended to the House of Commons, first destroying the large offices or the House, and next seizing upon the Chapel of St. Stephen. When all the interior fittings were destroyed, this building, which had been famous as the seat of English legislation from the time of Edward the Sixth, was a mere shell. It had stood in its strength and beauty like a rock amidst the sea of fire, and had arrested the force which had till then gone on conquering and overthrowing. The Speaker's official residence was also partially destroyed. There was one time when the destruction of Westminster Hall seemed almost inevitable. To those who mixed amongst the crowd in Palace Yard, and knew

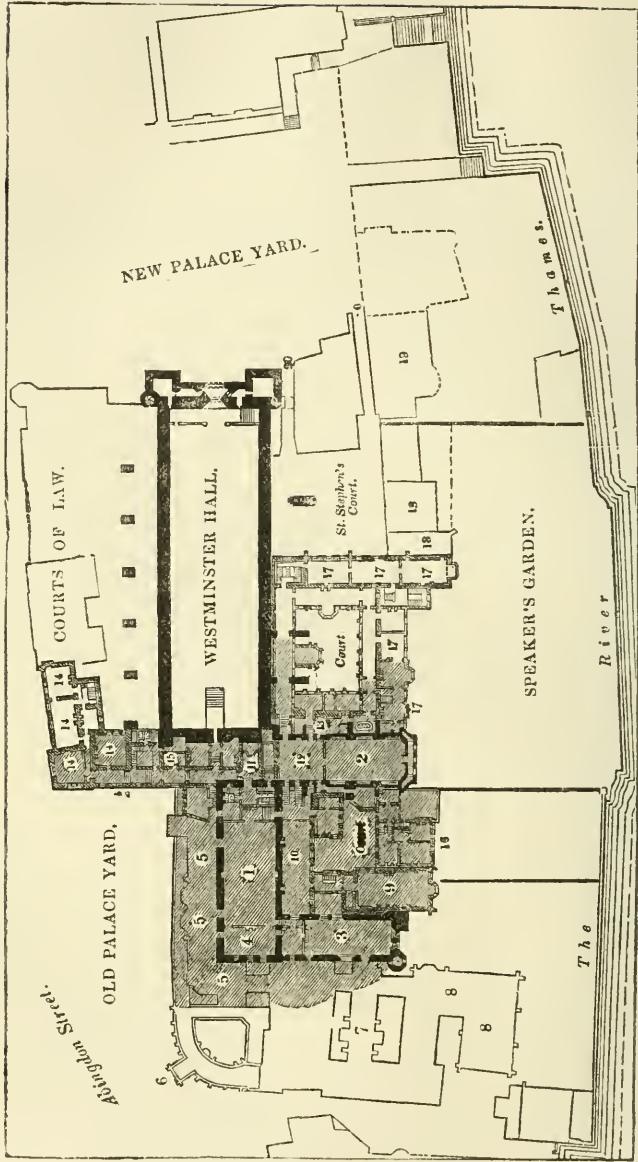
* "Annual Register for 1834," p. 142.

that the antiquities of a nation are amongst its best possessions, it was truly gratifying to witness the intense anxiety of all classes of people to preserve this building, associated with so many grand historical scenes. "Save the Hall!" "Save the Hall!" was the universal cry. There was a more efficient interposition than the destruction of the House of Lords to the purpose of the two peers to enter the lists where the Mowbray and Bolingbroke of modern times were to decide their quarrel.

"The king has thrown his warder down."

William the Fourth, without a word of preparation, intimated to lord Melbourne, on the 14th of November, that his ministry was at an end.

PLAN SHOWING THE EXTENT OF THE FIRE IN THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.



1. House of Lords.
2. House of Commons.
3. Painted Chamber.
4. King's Robbing Room.
5. Rooms belonging to the Lords.

6. King's Entrance.
7. The King's Gallery.
8. Lords' Committee Rooms.
9. Commons' Library.
10. Long Gallery.

11. Outer Lobby.
12. Lobby.
13. Vote Office.
14. Commons' Committee Rooms.
15. Servants' Waiting Room.

16. Mr. Ley's House.
17. The Speaker's House.
18. Stables, &c.
19. Exchequer Offices.
20. Gateway.

CHAPTER XX.

The King's dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry—Sir Robert Peel's Narrative of his appointment to the Premiership—The Peel Administration formed—Parliament dissolved—The Tamworth Manifesto—Strong Parliamentary Opposition—Mr. Abercromby elected Speaker—London University Charter—Irish Church—Repeated defeats of Ministers—Resignation of Sir Robert Peel—Lord Melbourne's New Ministry—Exclusion of Lord Brougham—His Resolutions on the subject of Education—Reform of Municipal Corporations—Report of the Commission of Inquiry—Conflict between the two Houses—The Bill passed—Departing glories of Municipal Pomp.

MUCH that was obscure in the circumstances connected with the extraordinary act of the King in the removal of his ministers has been brought to light in the "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel." In his "Memorandum as to my appointment to the office of First Lord of the Treasury in 1834, and to the administration over which I presided," he says: "The time will come when these records will be interesting, and may throw a light on the history of the period which they embrace." Sir Robert states that he left England for Italy on the 14th of October, 1834, little foreseeing the probability of his sudden recall, and having had no communication previously to his departure with the duke of Wellington, or any other person, respecting the position and prospects of the administration which existed at the time when he quitted England. He treats with contempt the report that there had been some previous concert or understanding with the king in contemplation of events that took place in November. Sir Robert Peel was in Rome when a letter reached him from the king, dated November the 15th, in which his Majesty says, that having had a most satisfactory and confidential communication with the duke of Wellington on the formation of a new government, he called upon sir Robert Peel to return without loss of time to England, to put himself at the head of the administration. The messenger at the same time brought a letter from the duke of Wellington, pressing his immediate return home, and announcing that his grace held for the present the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State for the Home Department, till Sir Robert should return. The copy of a letter from the king to lord Melbourne was enclosed by the duke, in which the ostensible ground for the dismissal of lord Melbourne is, that lord Althorp, by the death of his father, having been removed to the House of Peers, the general weight

and consideration of the Government would be so much diminished in the House of Commons as to render it impossible that they should continue to conduct the public affairs. The duke of Wellington writes a confidential letter to sir Robert Peel, accompanying his official dispatch, in which, plainly implying that the king was not quite justified in being "so ready to seize upon the first notion of difficulties resulting from lord Spencer's death," he concludes by saying, "I don't think that we are at all responsible for his quarrel with them. It was an affair quite settled when he sent for me." Sir Robert Peel received this important communication on the night of the 25th of November. He left Rome the next afternoon. On his journey he had ample opportunities, he says, for considering various important matters coolly and without interruption. His habitual caution is strikingly manifested in his description of his meditations during his journey, which terminated in London on the 9th of December. "In my letters to the King and the duke of Wellington from Rome, I had merely given an assurance that I would return without delay to England. As I should, by my acceptance of the office of First Minister, become technically, if not morally, responsible for the dissolution of the preceding government, although I had not the remotest concern in it, I did not at once, upon the hurried statement which was sent to me of the circumstances connected with it, pledge myself to the acceptance of office. I greatly doubted, indeed, the policy of breaking up the government of lord Melbourne at that time. I entertained little hope that the ministry about to replace it would be a stable one—would command such a majority in the House of Commons as would enable it to transact the public business. I was not altogether satisfied by the accounts I first received with the sufficiency of the reason for the dissolution of the late government—namely, the removal of lord Althorp to the Lords—and the objections of the king to lord John Russell as lord Althorp's successor in the lead of the House of Commons."*

The sensation produced in London by the reported dismissal of the ministry was a natural consequence of the suddenness of the act, as it presented itself to the body of the people;—of its really unconstitutional character, as it appeared to thoughtful and well-informed men. On the morning of Saturday, the 15th of November,—the day when the duke of Wellington was writing his confidential letter to sir Robert Peel,—the "Times" had this startling announcement, given in the words of a communication which had been received at an early hour that morning: "The king has taken the opportunity of lord Spencer's death to turn out the ministry, and there is every reason to believe that the duke of Wellington has been sent for. The queen has done it all." The act of the king was wholly without precedent. He might have become converted to the politics of the Opposition. He might have been alarmed at the possible scandal of the quarrel between the Chancellor and lord Durham. But there was no disunion in the Cabinet. The ministry had retained the confidence of Parliament up to the last day of the session. They had pressed no opinions upon his Majesty which could be disagreeable to him. The government of lord Melbourne had more elements of Conservatism than were agreeable to many

* "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. ii. p. 30.

Reformers, and therefore appeared unlikely to excite the fears of the king and of his Court. The sovereign has a constitutional right to dismiss his ministers, but it must be on grounds more capable of justification to Parliament than the simple exercise of his personal will. The suddenness of the resolve rendered an arrangement necessary which could not be justified by any precedent, except on one occasion of critical emergency in the last days of queen Anne.* The duke of Wellington, from the 15th of November to the 9th of December, was First Lord of the Treasury and the sole Secretary of State, having only one colleague, lord Lyndhurst, who held the Great Seal, at the same time that he sat as Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. This temporary government was called a Dictatorship. "The great military commander" was told that he "will find it to have been much easier to take Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo than to retake the liberties and independence of the people."† The famous caricaturist of the day, H. B., represented the duke multiplied into ten or a dozen members of the cabinet, seated at the council board. Journalists exclaimed, Why is the business of the country to be suspended till a stray baronet should return home from his pleasure tour? There were meetings and there were addresses, but there was no violence, and very little alarm. The majority of the people, whose zeal for a continued course of improvement had not been shaken by some reverses and shortcomings, knew perfectly well that what was called a Conservative government could not meet the present parliament. There must be a dissolution to afford them any chance of a continuance in office. They would reserve their zeal for a practical issue of the contest between Reform and Conservatism.

And so, as to the inevitable necessity of a dissolution, thought sir Robert Peel. In spite of his doubts of the policy of breaking up the government of lord Melbourne, he had become convinced that he had no alternative but to undertake the office of Prime Minister instantly on his arrival. He at once waited upon the king, and accepted the office of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. With the king's permission he applied to lord Stanley and to sir James Graham, earnestly entreating them to give him the benefit of their co-operation as colleagues in the cabinet. They both declined. Lord Stanley manfully said, "The sudden conversion of long political opposition into the most intimate alliance,—no general coincidence of principle, except upon one point, being proved to exist between us,—would shock public opinion, would be ruinous to my own character, and injurious to the government which you seek to form."‡ When sir Robert arrived he found one important question practically decided,—the dissolution of the existing parliament. He does not appear to have been sanguine that the indications of a very great increase of the Conservative strength in the new House of Commons would be sufficient to insure the stability of his government. He looked beyond the immediate present. "It would certainly be sufficient to constitute a very powerful Conservative body, controlling a future government leaning upon Radical support." He tried to make a government as strong as he could with Conservative materials. The re-establish-

* See a very able view of the constitutional question in Mr. May's "History," vol. i. pp. 120—125.

† Lord Durham—Speech at Newcastle on the 19th of November.

‡ "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. ii. p. 39.

ment, he says, of the duke of Wellington's government in 1830 would have saved him much trouble, but would have diminished the little hope he ever entertained of being able to make a successful struggle. So, amidst the reproaches of those who regarded the minister as doing them positive wrong by not reinstating them in their former offices, he constructed a ministry of which the duke's name was a tower of strength, and of which lord Lyndhurst as Chancellor gave the assurance that it would have the support of one man of great talents. The high qualities of statesmanship which distinguished lord Aberdeen were not yet sufficiently recognized. It was not a popular ministry, but it could not be held to comprise any of that band of violent anti-reformers who would have imperilled everything by resisting the declared opinion of the Prime Minister that he considered the Reform Bill as a final and irrevocable measure.*

The facilities which the political constitution and the social habits of our country afford for the official expression of State policy, were never more remarkably displayed than in the course adopted by sir Robert Peel immediately that he had formed his administration. The Prime Minister was one of the representatives of Tamworth, a borough with a population under four thousand. To the electors of this comparatively unimportant place he addressed what has been denominated "the Tamworth manifesto." It was not a hasty expression of individual opinion, but a declaration of the general principles upon which the government proposed to act, and the address was submitted to the Cabinet for their consideration. Foreigners, who were looking with intense anxiety upon the ministerial crisis in London, might well be surprised that a little country town should be the first recipient of the government's confidential disclosures, and be thus the representative of the entire population of the United Kingdom. It is unnecessary to go over the various points of this long and comprehensive document. In his "Memoirs" sir Robert Peel declares that he held no language and expressed no opinions in this address which he had not previously held while acting in opposition to the government; that he did not attempt to mitigate hostility by any new profession, or to court popular favour by promises of more extensive reforms than those to whose principles he had previously assented; that although he therein made an explicit declaration that he considered the measure of Parliamentary Reform final and irrevocable, that language was not new, but was used by him when he took his seat as a member of the first parliament summoned under the Reform Act.

* Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet was arranged as follows :—

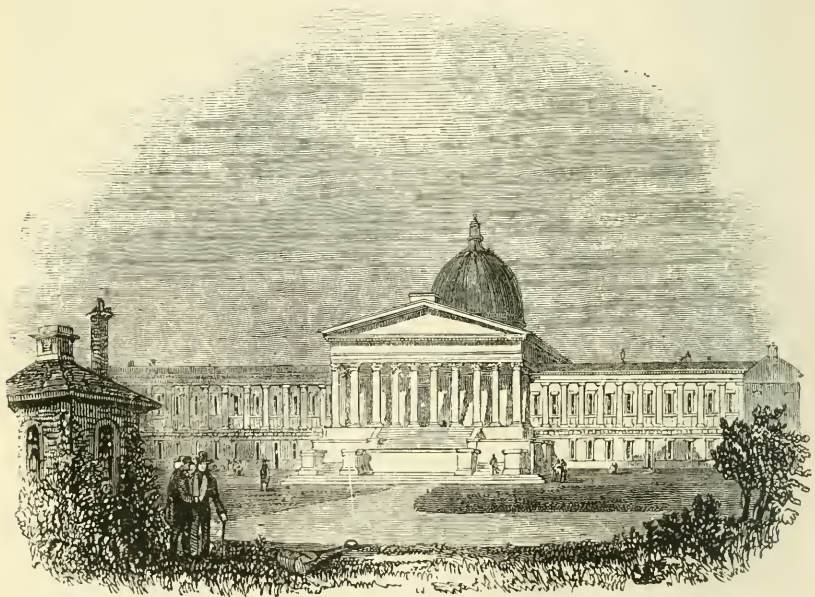
Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Lyndhurst	Lord Chancellor.
Earl of Rosslyn	President of the Council.
Lord Wharncliffe	Lord Privy Seal.
Right Hon. H. Goulburn	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Duke of Wellington	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl of Aberdeen	Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Earl De Grey	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Right Hon. Sir H. Hardinge	Chief Secretary for Ireland.
Lord Ellenborough	President of the Board of Control.
Right Hon. Alexander Baring	Master of the Mint and President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Sir E. Knatchbull	Paymaster of the Forces.
Right Hon. J. C. Herries	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Sir George Murray	Master-General of the Ordnance.

The anticipations of sir Robert Peel that the Conservative party would be strengthened by a general election were, to a considerable extent, realized. So, also, was his apprehension that the increase of strength would not be sufficient to give stability to the new government. Before the parliament met it was calculated that the anti-ministerialists had a majority of a hundred and thirty-three, but that eighty-two votes were doubtful. Looking at the extraordinary efforts that had been made on both sides at this general election, and at the violence of party feeling which had been necessarily called forth, it appears almost surprising that, from the opening of parliament on the 9th of February, the ministry should not have been driven from their position before the 7th of April. Temporary accommodation had been provided for the business of the two Houses on the site of those destroyed by the fire on the 16th of October. On the 9th of February, when the House of Commons proceeded to the election of a Speaker, a larger number of members were assembled than ever had been known before to have been congregated at one time. Six hundred and twenty-two members divided on the question whether sir Charles Manners Sutton should be re-elected, or the right hon. James Abercromby be chosen to fill the chair. The votes for Abercromby were three hundred and sixteen; for Sutton, three hundred and six.

On the 24th of February the King opened the business of the session. The two last paragraphs of the King's Speech expressed his Majesty's reliance on the caution and circumspection which would be exercised in altering laws which affected extensive and complicated interests, and were interwoven with ancient usages; and that, in supplying that which was defective, or renovating that which was impaired, the common object would be, to strengthen the foundations of those institutions in Church and State which are the inheritance and birthright of the people. In the House of Lords viscount Melbourne moved an amendment upon the two paragraphs, to the effect that their Lordships hoped his Majesty's councils would be directed in the spirit of well-considered and effective reform, and lamenting the dissolution of the late parliament, as having interrupted and endangered the vigorous prosecution of measures to which the wishes of the people were directed. This amendment was negatived without a division. In the House of Commons, lord Morpeth proposed a similar amendment, which, after three nights' debate, was carried by a majority of seven, the numbers being 309 against 302. However the eloquence of sir Robert Peel might fail to carry the complete approbation of the House of Commons, it unquestionably produced a powerful effect upon the country, inducing a very general desire that a fair chance should be given to the administration for carrying forward their professions into satisfactory results. It is my first duty, said sir Robert Peel, to maintain the post which has been confided to me; to stand by the trust which I did not seek, but which I could not decline. Receive, at least, the measures which I propose; amend them if they are defective; extend them if they fall short of your expectations. "I offer you reduced estimates, improvements in Civil Jurisprudence, reform of Ecclesiastical Law, the settlement of the Tithe question in Ireland, the Commutation of Tithe in England, the removal of any real abuse in the Church, the redress of those grievances of which the Dissenters have any just ground to complain. I offer you these specific measures, and I offer also to advance, soberly and cautiously it is

true, in the path of progressive improvement. I offer also the best chance that these things can be effected in willing concert with the other authorities of the State—thus restoring harmony, ensuring the maintenance, but not excluding the reform, where reform is really requisite, of ancient institutions.”*

Satisfactory as such a declaration of general principles might appear to a large portion of the nation, those who were familiar, not only with the comparative strength of parties, but with the violent differences of opinion that would necessarily arise upon questions that would seem beyond the limits of party, would know perfectly well that the day of violent collision could not be far off. The government had been beaten in the choice of a Speaker; it had been out-voted on the amendment to the Address; its first diplomatic appointment could not be persisted in, for, on the 13th of March, the strong expressions used in the House of Commons as to the qualifications of the marquis of Londonderry to be Ambassador to Russia were sufficient to induce him to state in the House of Peers, on the 16th, that he had declined the post offered to him by the government. Another signal defeat of the Ministry involved a question which some deemed to be one of principle, but which we may now regard as



University College, Gower Street.

belonging to the ancient confusion of principle with intolerance. On the 26th of March Mr. Tooke moved for an “Address to his Majesty, beseeching him to grant his Royal Charter of Incorporation to the University of London, as approved in the year 1831 by the then law officers of the Crown,

* Hansard, vol. xxvi, col. 242.

and containing no other restriction than against conferring degrees in divinity and in medicine." Mr. Goulburn, the member for the University of Cambridge, moved, as an amendment, that they should address the Crown for a copy of the memorials in this case to the Privy Council, and a statement of the proceedings. The real objection, which sufficiently appeared in the speech of sir Robert Inglis, the member for Oxford University, was contained in the fear that the motion for a Charter to grant degrees only in Arts and Law, was merely an attempt to get the small edge of the wedge in, and that the rest was sure to follow in time. The London University, it was implied, having no religious education in its system of instruction, was in a position of hostility to the Church. Sir Robert Peel supported the amendment. He was not opposed to some provision being made that should accord to Protestant Dissenters the power of acquiring academical distinctions; but he was opposed to a hasty resolve in favour of the terms on which the Charter should be granted to the London University.* The original motion was carried by 246 to 136. Such were the skirmishes previous to the grand battle.

On the 30th of March lord John Russell, after a debate of four nights, carried a resolution by a majority of thirty-three, that "the House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland." On the 3rd of April lord John proposed a resolution in that Committee "that any surplus of the revenues of the Church of Ireland not required for the spiritual care of its members, should be applied to the general education of all classes of the people without religious distinction." After a debate of two nights the resolution was carried by a majority of twenty-five. On the 7th of April the report of the Committee was brought up. Lord John Russell proposed a resolution, "that it is the opinion of this House that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing Resolution,"—namely, in the resolution agreed to on the previous night. Upon the division there appeared—ayes, 285; noes, 258; majority, 27.

The division of the 7th was fatal to the existence of the Ministry. Sir Robert Peel's sagacity had distinctly seen that if the government were beaten upon the motion about to be made by lord John Russell for the alienation from ecclesiastical purposes of any surplus revenues of the Irish Church, there would be no other course but for the government to resign. On the 25th of March he addressed "a Cabinet Memorandum" to his colleagues, in which he said—"Nothing can, in my opinion, justify an administration in persevering against a majority, but a rational and well-grounded hope of acquiring additional support, and converting a minority into a majority. I see no ground for entertaining that hope."† On the 8th of April the duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, said that in consequence of the Resolution of the House of Commons, the Ministry had tendered their resignations to the King. Sir Robert Peel made a similar explanation to the

* In 1835 what is now known as "University College" was called, according to the original idea of its establishment, the "University of London." In 1837 the government institution of the "University of London," for conferring degrees on graduates of University College and King's College, and of other places of instruction, was established.

† "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. ii. p. 89.

House of Commons. "For himself, the whole of his political life had been spent in the House of Commons—the remainder of it would be spent in the House of Commons; and, whatever might be the conflicts of parties, he, for one, should always wish, whether in a majority or in a minority, to stand well with the House of Commons. Under no circumstances whatever, under the pressure of no difficulties, under the influence of no temptation, would he ever advise the Crown to resign that great source of moral strength which consisted in a strict adherence to the practice, to the principles, to the spirit, to the letter of the Constitution. He was confident that in that adherence would be found the surest safeguard against any impending or eventual danger, and it was because he entertained that belief that he, in conformity with the opinions of his colleagues, considered that a government ought not to persist in carrying on public affairs, (after the sense of the House had been fully and deliberately expressed,) in opposition to the decided opinion of a majority of the House of Commons."* The immense cheering of the House during this brief speech, and at its close, was in many respects a reflection of the general public opinion that no minister during a short term of power had conducted the public affairs, under the pressure of extraordinary difficulties, with greater temper, honesty of purpose, and strict adherence to constitutional obligations. "After a conflict of four months," says M. Guizot, "the vanquished had grown far greater than his conquerors."† At any rate we may acknowledge that there was no individual amongst the victors who could fairly compete with the fallen minister in those qualities of practical statesmanship which consist not only in knowing what is best to do, but how and when to do it, and what to leave undone. The interest which the country generally felt in the duration of the ministry was not very vehement, nor, on the other hand, was there any intense desire for its fall. After three years of excitement the people rather desired a term of repose. An intelligent foreigner, Von Raumer, who came to London at this time, has described his sensations at the contemplation of the public calm during a great crisis. He goes on the 9th of April to the public dinner for the relief of decayed actors. The toasts, the music, the spouting, and the cheering greatly amuse him; but he says, "all these particulars lost their interest with me in comparison with one thought: In this very same hour the ministry was dissolved; and this dissolution was not (as it so often is in France) a mere concern of *coteries* and *tracasseries*, but had a real substantive meaning, and tended to real and efficient changes. What a deal of wit, good and bad—what angry passions—what hope and fear—what praise and blame—would have foamed over, like *champagne mousseux*, in such an hour, in Paris! Here, not a trace of the kind. . . . It seemed as if all that was passing without were but a light ripple on the surface of the waters. The weal of England, her riches, her laws, her freedom, seemed moored to some immovable anchor in the securest and serenest depths of ocean, whence neither winds nor waves can ever tear them loose. The clouds which flit along the face of heaven, and so often seem, to us timid spectators, to portend a coming storm, may here be regarded as but the

* Hansard, vol. xxvii. col. 984.

† "Memoirs of Peel," p. 77.

passing fleeces of a summer sky; or rather as the proof and the earnest of an equable and safe state of the atmosphere."*

On the 18th of April viscount Melbourne, in moving the adjournment of the House of Lords, stated that the King had been pleased to appoint him First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and that he and his friends who had taken office had received from his Majesty the seals of their respective departments. The other House would adjourn to the 12th of May, as some time must necessarily elapse before ministers in that House, waiting their re-election, could proceed to business. On the 12th of May the Houses accordingly met.† The exclusion of lord Brougham from the ministry, by putting the Great Seal in Commission, was necessarily the subject of popular wonder. This exclusion was not to be explained at the time; it has never been satisfactorily explained at any subsequent period. The ultra-liberals exulted that those principles which the Chancellor had proclaimed at the Grey banquet had now no expression in the Cabinet; the friends of Education and of Law-reform lamented that the energy with which these great objects had been pursued was now to be confined to the independent exertions of a peer building his hope of success upon his own powers alone. It was a painful situation for one of such restless activity. To deliver elaborate judgments in the Court of Chancery; to be ready for every meeting of the Cabinet; duly to be in his place on the woolsack at three o'clock, rarely abstaining from taking a part in debate; after the adjournment of the House to sit up half the night writing out his judgments; occasionally to dash off an article in the "Edinburgh Review;" discoursing, writing, haranguing, on every subject of politics, or science, or literature, or theology; and then suddenly to have all the duties of official life cut away from him—to sink into the state which he of all others dreaded and despised, that of a "Dowager Chancellor;"—this, indeed, was a mortification not very easy to be borne, and we can scarcely be surprised if it were sometimes impatiently submitted to. Nevertheless, there was a great career of usefulness before Henry Brougham. It would be a long career; and thus, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, we look back upon the unofficial labours of this remarkable man, to whom repose was an impossibility; and, measuring him with the most untiring of recorded workers, deem it marvellous that he has accomplished so much, and with few exceptions has accomplished it so well. He very soon proclaimed to the world that his comparative leisure would not be a season of relaxation. On the 21st of May he submitted to the House of Lords a series of resolutions on the subject of Education. His speech was a most elaborate review of whatever had been done, and a practical exposition of what he thought remained to be done. In these resolutions will be found the germ of many of the principles which have become established axioms in the education of the people. The main feature of his plan was the establishment of a Board of Education, empowered to examine into the state of endowed charities, and to compel a due application of their funds. These resolutions collectively affirmed that although the number of schools where

* "England in 1835," vol. i. p. 77.

† The Cabinet as formed at this time was the same as in the list given at page 331, with the exception that the Great Seal was in Commission, lord Cottenham being appointed Chancellor in 1836.

some of the elementary branches of education are taught had greatly increased, there was still a deficiency of such schools, especially in the metropolis and other great towns; they maintained that the education given at the greater number of the schools established for the poorer classes of the people is of a kind by no means sufficient for their instruction, being for the most part confined to reading, writing, and a little arithmetic; they called upon Parliament to provide effectual means of instruction, doing nothing, however, to relax the efforts of private benevolence; they set forth that for the purpose of improving the kind of education given at schools for the people at large it was necessary to establish proper seminaries for training teachers. The resolutions of lord Brougham were favourably received by the Prime Minister. The bishop of Gloucester and the archbishop of Canterbury expressed their general concurrence in the eloquent and instructive speech of the noble and learned lord, but they contended that in order to make education real and useful it must be founded on the basis of religion. Lord Brougham said that he was not unaware of the difficulties which surrounded this question on the subject of religion; but that he thought he should, at a future time, be enabled to lay before them a plan by which the objections which had been urged would be obviated. We have reason to believe that, at this time, an office analogous to that of Minister of Public Instruction might have been within the reach of lord Brougham. It may be doubted whether even his energy could have surmounted the difficulties presented in the religious aspect of the question.

On the 5th of June the great measure of the session was proposed by lord John Russell. He asked on behalf of his Majesty's government leave to bring in a bill to provide for the regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales. The measure proposed by the government was founded upon the Report of a Commission appointed by the Crown, which, during a year and a half of laborious and minute investigation, had inquired into the condition of more than two hundred corporations. Lord John Russell quoted the conclusion of this Report, as calling for a safe, efficient, and wholesome measure of Corporation Reform:—"We feel it to be our duty to represent to your Majesty that the existing Municipal Corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of your Majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become, what we humbly submit to your Majesty they ought to be, useful and efficient instruments of local government."

The Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations presents some interesting views of the early constitution of these bodies. The difficulty of accurately describing such early constitution is adverted to. Many of their institutions were established in practice long before they were settled by law. The examination of the charters by which a corporation is constituted was one of the duties prescribed to the Commissioners. In some cases their Report is confined to an enumeration of the early charters; in other cases a summary of their contents is given. The forms of the municipal government were defined by an express composition between the magistracy and the people in some towns. It is deemed probable that the powers of the local government, in all ordinary cases, were exercised by the superior magistracy, but that in extraordinary emergencies the whole body of bur-

gesses was called upon to sanction the measures which interested the community. The difficulty of conducting business in such an assembly seems to have suggested the expedient of appointing a species of committee out of the larger body, which acted in conjunction with the burgesses, and which was dissolved when the business was concluded. These committees afterwards becoming permanent, a governing body was created which in process of time became more and more independent of the general community. The greater number of the governing charters of corporations was granted between the reign of Henry VIII. and the Revolution. The general characteristic of these documents is to effect directly what the lapse of several centuries had been gradually accomplishing,—the removal of any control upon the governing body by the majority of their townsmen. Almost all the councils named in these charters were established on the principle of self-election. During the reigns of Charles II. and James II. many corporate towns were induced to surrender their charters, and to accept new ones which contained clauses giving power to the Crown to remove or nominate their principal officers. In his apprehension of the speedy arrival of the Prince of Orange, in October 1688, James II. issued a proclamation restoring all the municipal corporations to their ancient franchises, as contained in their earlier charters. Since the Revolution the charters granted, including those of the reign of George III., exhibit a total disregard of any consistent plan for the improvement of municipal policy corresponding with the progress of society. In the greater number of cases the corporations had gradually parted with the duty and the responsibility belonging to good municipal government. By local Acts of Parliament the powers of lighting, watching, paving, and cleansing, supplying with water, and other useful purposes, had been conferred not upon the municipal officers, but upon Trustees or Commissioners, who were empowered to levy the necessary rates. A very small portion of the funds of the corporation was applied to any public purposes; large revenues were devoted to the support of what was called the dignity of the corporate body, the due sustenance of which dignity was amply provided for by periodical banquets. In some cases the corporation divided the surplus funds amongst themselves. Leases of corporate estates were also granted at low rents to the favoured few in those boroughs where it was believed that public and personal property were identical. It is more painful to reflect that sometimes charity bequests of which the corporations were trustees were dealt with in the same corrupt manner. The Mayor of the borough, annually elected out of the close body, was the chief magistrate; and in nearly all the corporations criminal jurisdiction was exercised within the limits of the borough, and quarter sessions were held for the trial of prisoners. The Recorder was appointed by the corporation, generally upon some principle of local favouritism, which excluded barristers of any general reputation in their profession. A High Steward was the grand functionary who was the medium of the lofty patronage of some noble house, which, by the present of a buck for the Mayor's dinner, secured the willing servility of successive magisterial grocers and drapers. The maintenance and regulation of the borough prisons were, of course, confided to the municipal officers. But previous to the establishment of a system of government inspection by a statute of 1835, it was impossible to imagine any more horrible deus of filth—

any places of confinement more repugnant to our notions of the discipline that might lead to the reformation of the offender,—than these city or borough prisons.

The Commissioners of Inquiry found that there were two hundred and forty-six municipal corporations in England and Wales. Of these, two hundred and thirty-seven formed the subject of investigation. In one hundred and eighty-six boroughs the governing body was found to be self-elected. The ancient corporations were elected by a constituency known as freemen. Birth, marriage with the daughter or widow of a freeman, servitude or apprenticeship, being a member of a guild or trading company, gave a claim to the rights of freedom or burgess-ship. In the greater number of cities and boroughs the freemen had ceased to exist as connected with the municipal body. There were some places, indeed, where the freedom, confined to a few persons, secured to them valuable privileges, such as exemption from tolls. But in nearly all cities and boroughs where freemen were recognized they possessed the pernicious right of exclusive trading within the limits of the municipality. The Commissioners often found that the freemen had long ceased to consider themselves as forming any part of the corporation, which term in popular language was exclusively applied to the ruling body. One of the greatest struggles during the passage of the Reform Bill was to preserve what were called the rights of the freemen. It was a contest for the maintenance of those exclusive privileges injurious to the excluded many, corrupting to the privileged few, which it was the object of Municipal Reform to abolish. In many cases the freemen were non-resident, but were persons unconnected with the town who were appointed to maintain the interests of particular families. Where the freemen were resident and had exclusive privileges, the dues from non-freemen, as at Liverpool, were so onerous, that they had little chance of competition with their enfranchised townsmen. Where the freemen generally had a voice in the election of municipal officers, the corruption at the annual elections, whether by liquor or by money, was so great, that the lower class of freemen became systematically demoralised.

Looking then at the inquiry into Municipal Corporations as bringing to light in the greater number of cases a system which, to say the least, was a gross imposture, we can scarcely be surprised that the Commissioners, in winding up their Report, should have used some very expressive words: “We report to your Majesty that there prevails amongst the inhabitants of a great majority of the incorporated towns, a general and in our opinion a just dissatisfaction with their Municipal Institutions; a distrust of the self-elected Municipal Councils, whose powers are subject to no popular control, and whose acts and proceedings, being secret, are unchecked by the influence of public opinion; a distrust of the Municipal Magistracy, tainting with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with contempt of the persons by whom the law is administered; a discontent under the burdens of local taxation, while revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use, and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people.”

The great object of the bill proposed by lord John Russell was to open a free course to the beneficial operation of those subordinate bodies in the government of the country which were provided in our ancient institutions as an essential counterpoise to the central authority. It has been truly said that the diffusion of political duties and political powers over every part of the body politic is like the circulation of the blood throughout the natural body. In the case of municipal corporations that healthful circulation was essentially impeded by chronic diseases which required no timid practice effectually to subdue. The object of the Municipal Reform Bill was to place the government of the towns really in the hands of the citizens themselves; to make them the guardians of their own property and pecuniary interests; to give to them the right of making a selection of qualified persons from whom the magistrates were to be chosen; in a word, to put an end to power without responsibility.

We may judge of the opposition which the Bill of Corporation Reform was likely to encounter from the mode in which it was regarded by lord Eldon: "Its interference with vested rights shocked his sense of equity even more than the sweeping clauses of the Reform Act." To regard, he said, ancient charters as so many bits of decayed parchment was, in his eyes, "a crowning iniquity."* At this distance of time it is scarcely necessary to trace the course of the Municipal Reform Bill through both Houses of Parliament. The measure was in the House of Commons from the 5th of June to the 20th of July; the great battles were fought in Committee after the Bill had been read a second time on the 15th of June. The chief struggle was for the preservation of the existing rights, privileges, and property of freemen. Upon the third reading there was an instructive exposition by sir Richard Vyvyan, the Member for Bristol, of the great principle upon which the Bill was to be shown by the strictest of all logical proof to be utterly subversive of the Constitution: "It was the vice of the present Bill that at the expense of one principle it went to set up another. It was an attempt to set up generally the republican principle of representation upon the ruin of the principle of vested right. It was against that principle of the Bill that he mainly protested, although he considered it vicious and dangerous in many other respects. And, let him ask, would the hereditary aristocracy support the principle of a Bill which was against all hereditary right? Would the Peers now declare that an old charter of incorporation was worth less than a patent of nobility on which the ink is scarcely dry? The Peers had now to fight their own battle. The first step that they took in this instance would be irrevocable. They would have to decide, when this Bill was sent up to them, whether their Lordships were to be maintained on the doctrine of temporary expediency, or to preserve their privileges upon the principle of vested right."† The third reading of the Bill was passed without a division.

The endeavour in the House of Lords to impair the efficiency of the measure for Municipal Reform was sufficiently prosperous to produce the danger of such a conflict between the Upper and the Lower Houses as had

* See Twiss, vol. iii. p. 246.

† Hansard, vol. xxix. col. 740.

scarcely before occurred since the time of the Long Parliament. The opposition to the Bill in the House of Lords was headed by lord Lyndhurst. It is unnecessary to say that the pre-eminent abilities of this great advocate were called forth in the most striking manner. His subtlety was far more dangerous, not only to this measure but to the government which had adopted it, than all the impassioned violence of certain Peers, who seemed to have come to the conclusion that this was a fit season for bringing to an issue the contest, as they deemed it, between aristocratic and democratic government. Their plan of campaign appeared to be carefully considered. It might have been more successful if, like a famous charge in modern warfare, the strength of the enemy had not been too much left out of consideration. They called to their aid an irregular leader, who, taking the sword and mace of an old captain of condottieri, laid about him with relentless fury, careless whether he damaged his own cause or that of his enemy. On the 30th of July, when the House of Lords determined to call in counsel to be heard on behalf of certain corporations, sir Charles Wetherell addressed the House, which address was concluded on the following day. His violent invectives were no doubt contributory to the adoption of certain damaging amendments. But they had a more permanent effect. They produced through the country an irritation against the obstructive powers of the House of Lords. The people felt that the permission of that august body for the use by an advocate of the most insulting expressions toward the House of Commons was a proof that the House of Lords was out of harmony with the spirit of the age. When the amendments of the Peers were sent back to the House of Commons,—in a debate in which lord John Russell expressed a sober indignation at the license which had permitted counsel at the bar of the Peers to insult the other branch of the Legislature, and sir Robert Peel did not defend the language of the rash advocate, but maintained that it was extremely difficult to place any restriction on what counsel might please to express—Mr. Roebuck maintained that every act of the Lords proved that they contemned and hated the people, and that they were determined to show this contempt and hatred by insulting the people's representatives. The quarrel between the two Houses was growing very serious. Lord John Russell and sir Robert Peel, much to their honour, took the part of moderators in this great dispute. Sir Robert Peel, especially, whilst he contended that they should uphold the perfect independence of the House of Lords, expressed his willingness to make some concessions which would have the effect of reconciling the differences between the two Houses. There were free conferences between a Committee of the House of Commons and Managers on the part of the House of Lords. After the last conference on the 7th of September, three days before the prorogation of Parliament, lord John Russell recommended that for the sake of peace, and as the Bill, though deprived of much of its original excellence, was still an effective Reform of Municipal Institutions, the House should agree to it as it then stood, reserving the right of introducing whatever improvements the working of it might hereafter show to be necessary. The Bill for Municipal Reform received the royal assent on the 9th of September.

Lord Eldon, in this perilous crisis of a contest between the Peers and the Commons, lamented that his infirmities prevented him from going down to the House of Lords—not to conciliate, not to reconcile the differences

between the two Houses,—but to grapple with the proceedings altogether, and persuade the Lords utterly to reject the Bill. Sitting “pale as a marble statue,” and seeing terrible changes gradually darkening over all he had loved and venerated in corporate institutions,* we may venture to inquire if the outward glories of municipal power thus departing were as dear to his troubled soul as their ancient charters? What wonderful manifestations of grandeur were presented to the admiring eyes of the people by the majority of corporations as they existed in 1835! What processions were there on every possible occasion, of red gowns and blue, with mace-bearer and beadle! To walk in toged state to church, or to proclaim an election writ, or to open a ginger-bread fair;—to be adorned with golden chains as mayor and aldermen sitting on high in their tribunals at quarter sessions; to look venerable, clothed in scarlet and fur, at solemn supper in open hall like the Tudor and Stuart kings, on Fair-nights, holding the Pie-powder Court, where the “dust-foot” might go for justice,—these were indeed gorgeous displays. Magnificent pageants on the Mayor’s day existed in a few provincial cities and boroughs: Norwich had its “Whiffers” and its “Dragon.” All the ancient and modern glories were to depart; even the Mayor’s feast was to be an inexpensive banquet, not defrayed out of the corporate funds. The Mansion Houses were to be let for warehouses. Well might the good ex-Chancellor weep, having only one poor consolation, that the City of London was to be spared; that its Lord Mayor would still have the glorious privilege of interrupting for one day in the year the real business of three millions of people, to assert by his men-in-armcur, and his pasteboard Gog and Magog, his pretended rule over a community of which only one-thirtieth would be subject to his jurisdiction.

* See Twiss, vol. iii. p. 247.

CHAPTER XXI.

Parliament—Session of 1836—Opposition of the Lords to the Irish Corporations' Bill—Lord Lyndhurst—Alleged Lichfield House Compact—Tithe-Commutation Act—Act for allowing Counsel to Prisoners—Act for Regulation of Prisons and for appointing Inspectors—General Registration Act—Reduction of Stamp on Newspapers—Reduction of Paper Duty—Foreign Politics—Belgium—Spain—France—Conspiracies against Louis Philippe—Enterprise of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte at Strasbourg—Parliament—Illness of King William IV.—His death—His character—Accession of Queen Victoria—Ministry at Her Majesty's Accession—Table of Treaties—Table of National Debt.

THE disposition which had been manifested in the Session of 1835 by the majority of the House of Lords, threatening something beyond a passing difference with the majority of the House of Commons, became stronger and more confirmed in the Session of 1836. The compromise upon the English Municipal Reform Bill had averted, in some degree, the apprehension of a perilous conflict between the two branches of the legislature. The question of Corporation Reform in Ireland was to be disposed of in the Session of 1836, with an absolute indifference to the opinions of the Commons. In 1835, on the reading of that Bill a third time in the Lower House at so late a period of the Session as the 13th of August, Mr. Sinclair, a Scotch member, anticipating the probable course that would be taken by the Lords when in the next Session it should be sent to the Upper House, said that it must pass through the ordeal of an Assembly in which the laws of truth and justice would not be set at nought,—in which vested rights would not be invaded,—in which no bill would pass for the destruction of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, by transferring the influence from property, which in a preponderating ratio was in the hands of Protestants, to Roman Catholics, who in point of numbers would in most cases obtain the pre-eminence.* It is easy to judge from this declaration how sustained and bitter would be the controversy upon the subject of Irish Corporations in the Session of 1836, in which a new bill was brought in and passed by the House of Commons on the 28th of March. On the 18th of August of that year, just previous to the prorogation, lord Lyndhurst, who had with infinite courage and ability directed the triumphant strategy of the Tory Peers, took

* Hansard, vol. xxx. col. 615.

a review of the business of the Session, in which, with unmeasured sarcasm, he taunted the government with its failure in carrying certain measures which had been recommended in the Speech from the throne on the 4th of February. "And this, my lords, is a government! Was there ever, in the history of this country, a body of men who would have condescended so low as to attempt to carry on the government under such circumstances? In this House they are utterly powerless; they can effect nothing."* Sir Robert Peel, in a dinner-speech at the Merchant Taylors' Hall, had warned his hearers not to depend upon the prerogative of the Crown or the influence or authority of the House of Lords, as bulwarks against the storm and struggle of events. The royal prerogative, the authority of the House of Lords, were most useful, nay, necessary, in our mixed and balanced Constitution; "but you must not strain those powers." The dangerous opinion was gradually gaining ground that the House of Lords was an obstructive body, and that their policy was determined by the will of some one peer who dominated over their general inertness. "It has generally yielded," says Mr. May, "with an indolent facility, to the domination of one or two of its own members, gifted with the strongest wills. Lord Thurlow, lord Eldon, the duke of Wellington, and lord Lyndhurst, have swayed it, at different times, almost with the power of a dictator."† Mr. Hume, in the House of Commons on the day of prorogation, had his own review of the business of parliament during the twenty-eight weeks of its sitting. He was not alone in the expression of his opinion when he asked whether it were possible that the Commons could allow the Lords any longer to continue their opposition to all measures of real reform? They had lost nearly a Session. "If he lamented one thing more than another, it was to see the high-minded noblemen of England led by such a man as was now at their head." Such personalities were not confined to attacks in one House upon members of the other House. The bitterness of lord Lyndhurst's invective stimulated even the placability of viscount Melbourne, to "refer him to what was once said by the earl of Bristol of another great statesman of former times (the earl of Strafford), to whom the noble lord might, I think, be not inapplicably compared; and of whom it was said, 'the malignity of his practices was hugely aggravated by his vast talents, whereof God had given him the use, but the Devil the application.'"‡ The experience of the Session of 1836 had produced amongst men of moderate opinions a very unwilling conviction of the necessity for remodelling the Upper House. The altered circumstances of the succeeding year had a sensible influence in assuaging this dangerous access of fever in our constitutional system. But an equally beneficial change in public opinion was produced by the calm conviction that this had not been "a lost Session." Several measures of real utility had struggled into life amidst the rivalries, the jealousies, the political hatreds, of the opposing parties of each House. It is with these measures and with their permanent effects, that the historian of the progress of a nation is best satisfied to deal, leaving the course of party struggle to the annalists of the immediate Present.

* Hansard, vol. xxxv. col. 1293.

† "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 268.

‡ Hansard, vol. xxxv. col. 1304.

Before we altogether escape from the bitterness of party conflicts in the sessions of 1835 and 1836, chiefly excited by Irish questions, we may remark that a great deal of the heat of the Conservative party is to be attributed to the very general belief that the Whig party had made a compact with Mr. O'Connell and his followers, by which their hostility was to be averted on the distinct understanding that they were fully to participate in the sweets of office. Upon lord Melbourne's announcement in April, 1835, that he had been appointed to the Premiership, lord Alvanley asked him on what terms he had negotiated with Mr. O'Connell? Lord Melbourne answered that he had made no terms with Mr. O'Connell. Nevertheless in debate after debate it was affirmed, or implied, that a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Whig government and the Irish Repealers had been concluded on the last accession of the Whigs to power. The locality where this negotiation was completed was as distinctly pointed out as the house at Uxbridge which was the seat of the treaty between Charles the First and his parliament, or the Orchard at Hal where Boufflers and Portland settled the terms of the peace of Ryswick. A careful topographer does not hesitate to tell us, speaking of St. James's Square, and of No. 13, Lichfield-house, built by Athenian Stuart, and so called from Anson, earl of Lichfield, that "here the Whigs and O'Connell often met, and the 'Lichfield-house Compact' with O'Connell was formed by the Whigs in 1835."* Mr. John O'Connell says, "stupid affairs enough were those meetings in the dusty unfurnished drawing-rooms of that dingy fronted mansion." They got lectures on propriety and moderation, and vague promises of great things to be done at some future period, and some glimpses of a want of cordial feeling towards them and their English associates. Of the compact, he says, "it was an utter and unredeemed calumny. No such compact ever was made. No engagement, no stipulation, no barter, no compromise of any kind, species, or description, took place then, or at any time."† Enough, however, was admitted to give point to the virulence of Lyndhurst and the gentler sarcasms of Peel.

During the short administration of sir Robert Peel he submitted to a Committee of the House of Commons the details of a measure for facilitating the settlement of the vexatious Tithe-question in England and Wales. He proposed to establish a commission to superintend the voluntary commutation of tithe in parishes, and to remove the impediments in the way of an easy accomplishment of such voluntary principle. The Committee agreed to the proposed resolution for a payment in money in substitution for tithe, to be charged upon the titheable land in each parish, such payment to be subject to variation at stated periods according to the prices of corn. On the 9th of February, in the session of 1836, lord John Russell introduced the government plan, which was founded upon the same principle as that of sir Robert Peel, of a money payment instead of a payment in kind, but differing from it as establishing something more effective than a mere voluntary commutation. By the measure of lord John Russell a voluntary commutation was in the first instance to be promoted; but in case of no such agreement a compul-

* Cunningham, "Hand Book of London."

† "Recollections," vol. i. p. 133.

sory commutation was to be effected by commissioners. The object of the Tithe Commutation Act which was finally passed was to assimilate tithes as much as possible to a rent-charge upon the land. That charge was to be determined by taking the averages of the corn-returns during seven preceding years; and a fixed quantity of corn having been previously determined as a proper portion for the tithe owner, the amount of money payment was to be settled by a septennial average of the price of corn. The opposition to this measure assumed no party character. The clergy did not feel their interests to be invaded. The land owner and farmer had for years complained that no institution was more adverse to cultivation and improvement than tithes, as Dr. Paley had long before declared. The clergy were disposed to believe that the plan of the same sagacious political philosopher to convert tithes into corn-rents would secure the tithe-holder a complete and perpetual equivalent for his interest. This measure, with subsequent statutory improvements, has worked successfully under the management of three Commissioners. To one of the most wise and energetic of these Commissioners, the late Rev. Richard Jones, may be ascribed many of the early triumphs over the difficulties of carrying this measure into practice, and the subsequent general conviction that it is calculated to remove all grounds of discord and jealousy between the clergy and their parishioners, and thus add security and permanence to the property of the church.

Another measure of the Session of 1836, which amply refuted the opinion that legislators in either House could only look at great social questions through the mists of party, was the passing of the Bill for allowing Counsel to Prisoners. The final debate upon the Bill in the House of Lords was remarkable for a most honourable declaration of lord Lyndhurst, that his former opposition to the measure had been converted into a hearty approval of it. In an interesting volume by Mr. Matthew Davenport Hill* we have a succinct and very complete history of the course of public opinion on the question of counsel to prisoners. He shows that even Judge Jeffreys had told a jury that he thought it a hard case that a man should have counsel to defend himself for a twopenny trespass, but that he should be denied counsel where life, estate, honour, and all were concerned. It was not until 1824 that any attempt was made in parliament to remove this disability under which prisoners laboured. In that year Mr. George Lamb, the brother of lord Melbourne, brought the subject before the House of Commons. He was supported by sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Denman. Mr. Canning was favourable to the change, but the speech of Mr. Attorney-General Copley had converted him into an opponent of the measure. Sydney Smith in 1826 drew a picture of the cruel oppression involved in the disability of the prisoner's counsel to address a jury: "It is a most affecting moment in a court of justice when the evidence has all been heard, and the judge asks the prisoner what he has to say in his defence. The prisoner, who has (by great exertions, perhaps, of his friends) saved up money enough to procure counsel, says to the judge, 'that he leaves his defence to his counsel.' We have often blushed for English humanity to hear the reply, 'Your counsel

* "Suggestions for the Repression of Crime, contained in Charges delivered to Grand Juries of Birmingham."

cannot speak for you; you must speak for yourself.' And this is the reply given to a poor girl of eighteen—to a foreigner—to a deaf man—to a stammerer—to the sick—to the feeble—to the old—to the most abject and ignorant of human beings!"* In 1834 the Prisoners' Counsel Bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Ewart. The debate was on the second reading, when Mr. Hill, then member for Hull, seconded Mr. Ewart's motion. The measure was passed by the House of Commons without a division, but was rejected by the Lords. It was brought forward again by Mr. Ewart in 1835—when it dropped on account of the late period of the Session—and in 1836. In the latter year it was carried by a majority of forty-four. It was then introduced to the House of Lords by lord Lyndhurst. It was on that occasion that he made his honest recantation of his former opinion. He had come to a conviction that the evils and inconveniences of allowing counsel to prisoners had been greatly exaggerated, and ought not to be put for a moment in competition with that which the obvious justice of the case so clearly demanded. Twice did the House of Lords debate this question, but the measure passed without a division. Lord Abinger, formerly Mr. Scarlett, might have great doubts as to the policy of the Bill, and be afraid of their lordships becoming too much in love with theory; but no expression of doubt, no plea for delay, could stand up against the united opinions of such men as lord Denman, lord Cottenham, then Chancellor, and lord Lyndhurst. It is a remnant, said lord Lyndhurst, of a barbarous practice. The continuance of it is against the great current of authority. It is contrary to the practice of all civilized nations. An alteration was essential to the due investigation of truth.

We have incidentally referred to the important Act that was passed in the session of 1835 for effecting greater uniformity of practice in the government of prisons in England and Wales, and for appointing Inspectors of Prisons in Great Britain. This most salutary statute was founded upon Reports of a Select Committee of the House of Lords. The duke of Richmond, who was the promoter of this inquiry, laboured most assiduously in the collection of the evidence upon which the measure of reform was to be founded, himself with other peers visiting many of the ill-regulated dens where the old criminal became more hardened in his iniquity, and the youthful offender was systematically trained to a maturity in guilt. The Report of the Lords' Committee proposed that entire separation between the prisoners should be enforced, except during the hours of labour and of religious worship and instruction. Many persons out of the large number examined by the Committee were governors or chaplains of gaols in the country, and they all, without a dissentient voice, concurred in opinion as to the contaminating influence of prisons as they were then conducted. They held that the associations of prisons were destructive to every casual offender. The country gaols, especially those under corporate management, could only be regarded as great nurseries of crime. There was no religious instruction, no education of juvenile prisoners, no employment. The county gaols and houses of correction were better managed, some system of discipline being observed. But none of the gaols in corporate towns could present a more

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. xiv. p. 5, quoted by Mr. Hill.

disgusting example of the contaminating influence of an ill-managed prison than the great gaol of Newgate, under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. In the session of 1836, when the Inspectors appointed under the Act of 1835 had made their first Report, the management of prisons again came under the consideration of Parliament. This Report drew attention to what the duke of Richmond described as "the dreadful state of the City gaols." The visits of the Inspectors had produced a correction of some of the most striking evils of the country gaols, and he trusted that before the next session they would find the great gaol of the City of London not in a worse condition than the prisons in other parts of the country. It was on this occasion that an earnest conviction of the horrors of the gaol-system with regard to juvenile offenders was manifested in a manner which promised at no distant time the establishment of Reformatories. The marquis of Lansdowne acknowledged that although this country abounded with the means of juvenile employment, yet the number of juvenile offenders exceeded that of any country in Europe. He announced that lord John Russell, the Secretary for the Home Department, was preparing, at least as a matter of experiment, the means of establishing a place of detention having the character of an asylum or refuge, where children yet young in crime, but who were the victims of ignorance, of abandonment, of desertion by their parents, or were totally incapable of distinguishing between right and wrong, should be saved from condemnation to any prison whatever.* The Act for the Government of Prisons was not as yet extended to Scotland, except as regarded the appointment of Inspectors. The first Inspector of the Scotch prisons was Mr. Frederic Hill. From his early Reports there is no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that they were absolutely worse than the worst in England. Dirt, idleness, drinking, gambling, fighting, and stealing were their distinguishing characteristics. Prisoners of different ages, tried and untried,—thieves, deserters, persons convicted of petty assaults,—all were herded together, almost secure from observation, and wholly unprovided with useful employment. It was, says Mr. F. Hill in his Report of 1838-39, "a system under which the smuggling of forbidden articles into the prisons, smoking, drinking, gambling, swearing, the use of obscene language, stealing from each other, cheating, quarrelling, fighting, and various acts of tyranny, are of common occurrence; and under which robberies are planned to be executed after the offenders shall have left prison." †

One of the most important measures towards a more complete system of national statistics was brought forward by lord John Russell in the session of 1836. On the 12th of February he introduced the Bill for the General Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages. At the same time he brought forward a Bill for amending the law regulating the Marriages of Dissenters, which regulation was connected with the establishment of a General Civil Registration. With regard to the second Bill it was shrewdly anticipated by sir Robert Peel that, when no point of honour was concerned, many of the Dissenters, particularly the female portion of them, would prefer being married in church. There were no intolerant prejudices opposed in the

* Hansard, vol. xxxv., Debate of August 12th.

† "Crime: its Amount, Causes, and Remedies," by Frederic Hill, p. 180.

legislature to the passing of the Bill which permitted Marriages to be solemnized in the presence of the district-registrar. To the other Bill no stickler for antiquity could prefer the parochial registry established by Secretary Cromwell exactly three hundred years before this measure was to come into operation, to one general system which under responsible officers should supersede the variable entries of sixteen thousand parishes, so often lost or mutilated, and so difficult to be referred to even when properly preserved. The important office of Superintendent-Registrar was created by this statute. The Poor-Law Unions were divided into districts for which Registrars were appointed, with a Superintendent-Registrar in each Union. The regulations by which a complete registration of births and deaths is accomplished are now familiar to every father and mother, and every occupier of a house in which any birth or death may happen, who are bound to furnish information of the fact to the Registrar. Mr. Porter, in his valuable "Progress of the Nation," says, "The establishing of a department for the systematic registration of births, marriages, and deaths, in England and Wales, has been of great use in the examination of questions depending upon various contingencies connected with human life." Certified copies of the entries of births and deaths are sent quarterly by the Registrar to the Superintendent-Registrar, and by him to the Registrar-General. It is from this source that we derive the knowledge of many most interesting facts connected with the progress of the population—facts which the scientific knowledge and the literary skill of the heads of the Registrar-General's department have redeemed from the ordinary dullness of statistics to constitute some of the most attractive reading of the public journals. The Registrar-General's Annual Report enables the legislature to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the increment of the population in the decennial intervals of a census.

In this session there were two most important changes proposed by the Government with reference to journalism and the general commerce of literature. On the 20th of June the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved "that the duty payable upon every sheet whereon a newspaper is printed shall in future be one penny." The newspaper stamp for many years had been four-pence. Amongst the opponents of this measure one county member complained that already the mails were so heavily laden on a Saturday night with newspapers that it was hardly safe to travel by them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had anticipated that the penny stamp would produce quite as much as the fourpenny stamp. "If he is right," said sir Charles Knightley, "then the quantity of newspapers must be more than trebled, and if so, there must be a tax raised for their conveyance." The proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was carried by a majority only of thirty-three, and with some alterations finally passed the House of Lords. The other measure was a reduction of the duty on paper. Lord Francis Egerton, himself a man of letters, in presenting a petition before the government proposition was introduced, claimed for this subject the best attention of the House on account of the effect which the state of the law produced on literature, especially upon cheap literature. By the Act to repeal the existing duties on Paper, which received the royal assent on the 13th of August, the varying duties according to the class or denomination were merged in one uniform duty upon all paper of three halfpence per

pound. The relief to the publishers of cheap works was as timely as it was important. We may instance that it came to save the "Penny Cyclopædia" from extinction in the fourth year of its struggle against heavy loss, under the opposing conditions of paying at the highest rate for literary labour, and selling at as low a rate as that of works in which the quality of the authorship was a secondary consideration.

The great interest of events at home after the French Revolution of 1830, has precluded us from giving even a passing notice of foreign politics. Since that time, indeed, the peace of Europe had not been materially disturbed so as to influence the political action of the British Government. Belgium had quietly settled down into a Constitutional Monarchy, subsequently to the fortunate period for that country when prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was chosen king in 1831. In that year the boundaries of the new kingdom were defined, and the peaceable possession of his territory was guaranteed by the five great Powers to this most sagacious and discreet of sovereigns. The stability of the Belgian monarchy appeared to be still more effectually secured by the marriage of king Leopold in 1832 to the eldest daughter of Louis Philippe, king of the French. At the close of the parliamentary session of 1836, it was lamented in the king's speech that Spain was the only exception to the general tranquillity of Europe; that the hopes entertained of the termination of the civil war in that country had not been realized. Under the treaty of Quadruple Alliance, whose object was the restoration of internal peace in Spain, Great Britain had afforded to the queen of that country the co-operation of a naval force. Ferdinand the Seventh, who died in 1833, had left by his will his infant daughter Isabel as heir to his throne. The queen-mother, Christina, was appointed queen-regent. The brother of Ferdinand, Don Carlos, immediately disputed the title of Isabel, maintaining that by the Salic law females were excluded from the sovereignty of Spain. The civil war which ensued lasted till 1840. The partisans of Don Carlos were then finally defeated; but the contest was attended with so many circumstances of bitter and cruel animosity, that the Spanish nation became greatly demoralized, and the old glories and prosperity of the country appeared to be altogether passing away. The intervention of our government, and the whole scope of the Quadruple Treaty of 1834, were the objects of severe parliamentary censure. The British Legion, under the command of lieutenant-general sir De Lacy Evans, which acted with the consent of our government in aid of the queen of Spain, accomplished some brilliant exploits, and was generally successful against the Carlist troops; but these triumphs were bought with severe losses. The intervention of Great Britain, whether direct or indirect, excited little sympathy at home; for popular opinion was gradually reaching the conviction that the safety and prosperity of our country were best maintained by leaving foreigners to fight out their own quarrels, always provided that the honour of the nation should not be compromised by apathy or inertness.

During the six years in which Louis Philippe had been king of the French, his reign had not been exempted from solitudes of a more painful nature than the ordinary cares of monarchs. In the first two years of his rule events had been in some degree propitious to him. The duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon, died in 1832. His presence in France might at any

time have raised up a host of Bonapartists, whose movements might have been exceedingly dangerous to the Citizen King. The attempts of the duchess of Berri to excite an insurrection in favour of her son, the duke of Bordeaux, had signally failed. Freedom of debate in the Chambers, and the liberty of the press, appeared the best guarantees for the security of the constitutional government. But the unrestricted power of speaking and writing was not used with moderation. The licence of the press, and the occasional hostility of the Chambers, produced a counter-disposition on the part of the king to struggle against what he believed to be the evils of the representative system. There were constant changes of administration since Lafitte took the reins of government in November, 1830. In 1831 Lafitte was succeeded by Casimir Perier, who had a premiership of something more than a year and a half. From October, 1832, to September, 1836, there had been nine changes of ministry—Soult, Guizot; Soult, Broglie; Soult, Thiers; Gérard; Bassano; Mortier; Broglie, Humann; Broglie, d'Argout; Thiers. In September, 1836, the heads of the cabinet were Molé and Guizot. During these changes, and the consequent excitement of parliamentary conflicts, there had been more than one conspiracy of which the great object was to assassinate the king. The 28th of July, 1835, was the second day of the fêtes to commemorate the Revolution of 1830. Louis Philippe, with his three sons and a splendid suite of military officers, was riding through the line of the National Guard, drawn up on the Boulevard du Temple, when an explosion resembling a discharge of musketry took place from the window of a house overlooking the road. Fourteen persons, amongst whom were marshal Mortier and general De Virigny, were killed upon the spot. A shower of bullets had been discharged by a machine consisting of twenty-five barrels, which, arranged horizontally side by side upon a frame, could be fired at once by a train of gunpowder. The king was unhurt. The police rushed into the house and seized the assassin, who was wounded by the bursting of one of the barrels. He proved to be a Corsican named Fieschi, who maintained that he had no object in this wholesale massacre but his desire to destroy the king. Another attempt upon the life of Louis Philippe was made in 1836, by a man of the name of Alibaud, who fired into the king's carriage, the queen and his sister being with him. A third attempt was made in the same year by another desperado, named Meunier. In the history of such fearful manifestations of wickedness or madness, there is nothing more remarkable than the extraordinary escapes of Louis Philippe as if he bore a charmed life.

More interesting at the present day than these brutal attempts at assassination was the failure of an enterprise which contemplated, without any apparent organization, the overthrow of a strong government by a young man of twenty-five, who relied only upon his name, his abilities, and his daring. Charles Louis Napoleon, the youngest son of Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland, and of Hortense Eugénie, daughter of the empress Josephine by her first husband, had so dwelt upon his boyish remembrances of his illustrious uncle, that when in 1832 the duke of Reichstadt died, and he became, according to a decree of 1804, heir to the throne, the natural course of his ambition was to assert his claim against one whom he regarded as a usurper. Louis Philippe was always apprehensive of the rivalry of this young man.

He had refused him permission to return to France in 1830. He had farther influenced the government of Rome to order him to quit the Papal territory. Escaping from Italy, he resided with his mother in the Chateau Arenenberg in Switzerland, where he devoted himself to the study of politics and of military science, and became known in Europe as a writer of diligent research and unquestionable ability. Whatever study he pursued and whatever ideas he promulgated had evidently some bearing upon what he implicitly believed would be his great future.

The ordinary relations of the attempt of Louis Napoleon—availing himself of the general unpopularity of the king of the French, to risk the result of a popular commotion to overthrow the Orleans dynasty—have recently received a new interest from the official revelations of M. Guizot. He relates that on the evening of the 31st of October the Minister of the Interior brought to him a telegraphic despatch received from Strasbourg, dated on the evening of the 30th, which announced that about six o'clock that morning Louis Napoleon "traversed the streets of Strasbourg with a party of" A mist which enveloped the line of telegraph had left the remainder of the despatch uncertain. Guizot and the Minister of the Interior repaired instantly to the Tuileries, where they found the whole Cabinet assembled. All was conjecture. Instructions were drawn up, founded upon many possible contingencies. The ministers remained with the king nearly the whole night, expecting news which came not. During those hours of suspense, the queen, the king's sister, the princes, entered again and again to ask if anything had transpired. "I was struck," says M. Guizot, "by the sadness of the king, not that he seemed uneasy or subdued, but uncertainty as to the seriousness of the event occupied his thoughts; and these reiterated conspiracies, these attempts at civil war, republican, legitimist, and Bonapartist, this continual necessity of contending, repressing, and punishing, weighed on him as a hateful burden. Despite his long experience and all that it had taught him of man's passions and the vicissitudes of life, he was and continued to be naturally easy, confiding, benevolent, and hopeful. He grew tired of having incessantly to watch, to defend himself, and of finding so many enemies on his steps."*

The next morning, the 1st of November, an aide-de-camp of the commandant at Strasbourg brought to the perplexed king and his ministers a solution of the telegraphic mystery. Louis Napoleon, having the support of a colonel who commanded a battalion, had presented himself at the barrack of a regiment of artillery, and was received with shouts of "Long live the Emperor." At another barrack the attempts of the prince upon the fidelity of the troops was repulsed; and he and his followers were arrested by the colonel and other officers of the forty-sixth regiment of infantry. The affair was over in a few hours without bloodshed. One only of the known adherents of Louis Napoleon, M. de Persigny, his intimate friend, effected his escape. On ascertaining the result of this rash enterprise, queen Hortense, whose affection for her son was most devoted, hurried to France to intercede for him with the government. From Viry, near Paris, she addressed her supplications to the king and M. Molé. M. Guizot

* "Memoirs to illustrate the History of My Time," vol. iv. p. 197; 1861.

says, "She might have spared them. The resolution of not bringing prince Louis to trial, and of sending him to the United States of America, was already taken. This was the decided inclination of the king, and the unanimous advice of the cabinet." The adventurer was brought from the citadel of Strasbourg to Paris, where he stayed only a few hours. He was then taken to L'Orient, where he embarked on the 14th of November in a frigate which was to touch at New York. The sub-prefect of L'Orient waited on the prince when he was on board, inquired whether he would find any resources when he arrived in the United States, and being told that none were at first to be expected, the prefect placed in his hands a casket containing fifteen thousand francs in gold, which the king had ordered him thus to appropriate. Louis Napoleon remained in the United States till October 1837, when, hearing of the illness of his mother, he encountered the risks of a return to Europe, and was with Hortense at her death. The French government demanded his extradition from Switzerland. The Cantons refused to comply; but Louis Philippe enforced his demand by the irresistible argument of an army, and the prince withdrew to England. The fashionable circles of London regarded him merely as a man of pleasure, and he was popular in country houses from the spirit with which he could follow hounds in a fox-chase. His attempt at Strasbourg had only excited laughter here. He was not generally regarded as possessing any force of character that would justify a lofty ambition.

On the 31st of January, 1837, Parliament was opened by Commissioners. The most important passage in the royal speech had reference to the state of the province of Lower Canada. It is unnecessary here to enter upon the history of those discontents which ended in insurrection. Grievances were removed, and revolts were put down, at no distant period; from which time the course of events may be regarded as a whole. Few of the proceedings of parliament during a session which circumstances had rendered unusually short acquired a legislative completion. Lord John Russell proposed the government plan for introducing Poor-Laws into Ireland. The dissolution of parliament interrupted the progress of the Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a measure for the abolition of Church-rates, which was strenuously opposed, and finally was abandoned by the government. Lord John Russell introduced a series of bills for the further amendment of the Criminal Law. These also were to stand over till another session. Only twenty-one public Acts, none of which effected any important changes, received the royal assent of king William the Fourth.

On the 9th of June a bulletin issued from Windsor Castle informing a loyal and really affectionate people that the king was ill. It announced that he had suffered for some time from an affection of the chest, which had confined him to his apartment, had produced considerable weakness, but had not interrupted his usual attention to business. There was less apprehension of a serious result from it being generally known that his majesty, previous to his accession to the throne, had been subject to violent attacks of what is called the hay-fever. This malady had returned. From the 12th of June bulletins were regularly issued till the 19th. The irritation of the lungs had then greatly increased, and respiration had become exceedingly painful. By the king's express desire the archbishops of Canterbury and

York prepared a prayer for his restoration to health, which, on the 16th, was ordered by the Privy Council to be used immediately before the Litany. On Sunday, the 18th of June, the symptoms assumed a more alarming character, and it was announced in the bulletin of the 19th that his majesty on that day had received the sacrament at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury. On Tuesday, the 20th of June, the last of these official documents was issued. His majesty had expired that morning at twelve minutes past two o'clock.

The lapse of a quarter of a century has enabled us to appreciate the justice of those parliamentary eulogies on the character of William the Fourth which immediately followed his death.* In the House of Lords, Viscount Melbourne dwelt upon his zeal and assiduity in the discharge of the public business; upon his fairness and sense of justice—"most fair, most candid, most impartial, most willing to hear, to weigh, and to consider what was urged even in opposition to his most favourite opinions." The duke of Wellington bore distinct testimony to the total absence of vindictive feelings in the late king. The opposition of the duke when prime minister to the views of the Lord High Admiral, had compelled him to resign that great office which he was most anxious to retain; and yet on his accession he employed the duke in his service, and manifested towards him the greatest kindness. Earl Grey described him as truly "a Patriot King"—one whose most anxious desire was to decide what was best for the country over which he ruled. Lord Brougham entirely agreed in what had been said of the amiable disposition, the inflexible love of justice, and the rare candour by which the character of William the Fourth was distinguished. In the House of Commons, lord John Russell panegyrized the conduct of the late king towards his ministers as marked by sincerity and kindness. He was in the habit of stating his opinions frankly, fairly and fully; never seeking any indirect means of accomplishing an object, but in a straightforward and manly way confined himself to an open, simple, and plain attempt to impress the minds of others with the opinion which he might at the moment entertain. If his constitutional advisers differed from him, and still continued to be his servants, he left them wholly responsible for carrying into effect the course of policy which they recommended. His devotion during his last illness to the public business was the same as it had been through his whole reign. During a period of great suffering whatever required immediate attention received immediate notice. On the last day of his life he signed one of those papers in which he exercised the royal prerogative of mercy. Sir Robert Peel bore the same testimony to the king's utter forgetfulness of all amusement, and even of all private considerations, that could for a moment interfere with the most efficient discharge of his public duties.

It is impossible to read these testimonies to the public virtues of William the Fourth, given by the most eminent men of the two great parties in the State, without subscribing to their general truth. They did not overdo their praise. They did not attempt to represent their late master as a sovereign of eminent ability, of a highly cultivated understanding, of great refinement. They spoke of him as a man who honestly endeavoured to understand the

* See Debates in both Houses on the Queen's Message, June 22—Hansard, vol. xxxviii.

important questions upon which he had to decide, and faithfully to do his part of letting his ministers work out their own policy without meddling and without intrigue. It was certainly a beautiful part of the character of the king that he did not treasure up the grievances of the duke of Clarence. Queen Caroline's Solicitor-General, who had denounced him as a slanderer, became his Lord Chief Justice. The duke of Wellington, who turned him out of a lucrative office which he could ill-afford to give up, was retained as his Prime Minister when he came to the Crown. It is impossible not to see in how marked a manner, although it might have been without a direct intention, the traits most dwelt upon in the public character of William the Fourth were in forcible contrast with the public and private life of the Regent and of George the Fourth. This contrast was evidently in the mind of the preacher who thus spoke of the monarch then unburied: "When he entered into his palaces he did *not* say, 'All this is my birthright; I am entitled to it—it is my due. How can I gain more splendour? how can I increase all the pleasures of the senses?' " *

We have noticed one slip in the prudent course of the constitutional government of the sailor-king—his abrupt dismissal of the ministry of lord Melbourne. This mistake has been ascribed, and perhaps not untruly, to the influence of the family by whom he was surrounded. For many years the duke of Clarence enjoyed as much domestic happiness as the Royal Marriage Act permitted to him. Mrs. Jordan, one of the most fascinating of actresses, lived with him in all the relations of a faithful and affectionate wife, except that of the sacred inviolability of the nuptial tie. This lady bore him ten children. The world did not look unkindly upon this union. The five sons and five daughters were affectionately cherished by their father; and when state reasons led the duke of Clarence to marry in 1818, the excellent sense and kindly nature of the princess Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen were shown in her treatment of the Fitzclarences. When she became queen, her own court was a model of correctness; but the presence there of her husband's offspring was no offence against its decorum, except to the few whose strictness bordered on uncharitableness. This family were freely received into the highest society. There, however successful had been the reforms of the Greys and Russells, Toryism, and indeed very mild Whiggism, looked with apprehension upon any further progress in the battle against decayed institutions. For a season the king caught the fears of those around him, and he changed his government. When lord Melbourne returned to office he had not to complain of an obstructive power behind the throne.

It was five o'clock on the morning of the 20th of June when the doors of Kensington Palace, where the princess Victoria dwelt with her mother, were opened to the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chamberlain, and the physician of William IV., Sir Henry Hallford. They had come direct from the dark chamber of death at Windsor, to tell the youthful princess, who had attained the age of eighteen on the 25th of May, that she was Queen of one of the greatest amongst the nations. The intelligence had been momentarily

* Sydney Smith—"Sermon at St. Paul's."

expected. The household was astir at that early hour of the sunny morning, the three messengers were at once in the presence of their Sovereign Lady. Lord Melbourne had an audience at nine o'clock. At eleven the state apartments of Kensington Palace were filled with members of the Privy Council of the late king—Peers, Cabinet Ministers, the two Archbishops, the Lord Mayor of London, Right Honourable Commoners. The duke of Cumberland, now king of Hanover, and the duke of Sussex, were conspicuous in that historical group which Wilkie has painted. The doors of the Council Chamber were opened; and Queen Victoria, entering with the duchess of Kent,—pale, but perfectly self-possessed,—took her seat at the head of the Council table. The Lord Chancellor administered the oaths prescribed for the sovereign's accession; the Privy Councillors took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: and then for the first time was heard by her assembled subjects that exquisitely modulated voice which for a quarter of a century has lent a charm to the formal periods of a speech from the throne. The opening sentence of the Queen's Declaration had a graceful simplicity, which appeared more like the natural effusion of the heart than the elaborate composition of a ministerial adviser:—

“The severe and afflicting loss which the nation has sustained by the death of his majesty, my beloved uncle, has devolved upon me the duty of administering the government of this empire. This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age, and to long experience.”

The queen's demeanour on that eventful morning impressed every one who was present, not only with profound admiration, but with confident hope of a glorious future. Truly did sir Robert Peel say of this demeanour that there is something which art cannot imitate and lessons cannot teach. There was evidence of a high and generous nature in her solemn expression of regret at the domestic calamity which had just occurred; in her manifestation of a deep and awful sense of the duties she was called upon to fulfil; in the becoming and dignified modesty of all her actions. When the newspapers described how, on the next day, Victoria, the queen, appeared at a window overlooking the courtyard of St. James's Palace, “dressed in black silk, with a crape scarf over her white tippet, and a little black chip bonnet,”—when they told how, looking “paler than usual,” she wept as she acknowledged the plaudits of the people, such plaudits “as never could be surpassed” *—there were few amongst her subjects who did not put up a prayer for the happiness of this young creature, exposed so early to all the temptations of luxury and all the bewilderments of power. But there was little fear. There was confidence,—as she had been brought up in the unobtrusive simplicity of her mother's life—as her natural abilities had been diligently cultivated—as from her childhood she had learnt the great lessons of self-denial—as she was well-

* “Spectator,” June 24.

grounded in religious principle—that the perils of such greatness would be escaped. Never were the feelings of the nation more nobly expressed than by a voice from the pulpit of the metropolitan cathedral :

“ What limits to the glory and happiness of our native land, if the Creator should in his mercy have placed in the heart of this Royal Woman the rudiments of wisdom and mercy ; and if, giving them time to expand, and to bless our children’s children with her goodness, He should grant to her a long sojourning upon earth, and leave her to reign over us till she is well stricken in years ! What glory ! what happiness ! what joy ! what bounty of God ! ”*

* “ Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith,” vol. iii. p. 320.

MINISTRY AT THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

CABINET.

Marquis of Lansdowne	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Cottenham	Lord High Chancellor.
Viscount Duncannon	Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Land Revenue.
Viscount Melbourne	First Lord of the Treasury.
Right Hon. T. Spring Rice	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Earl of Minto	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord John Russell	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Glenelg	Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Sir John Cam Hobhouse	President of the Board of Control.
Lord Holland	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. C. P. Thomson	President of the Board of Trade.
Viscount Howick	Secretary at War.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Earl of Lichfield	Postmaster-General.
Right Hon. Henry Labouchere	Master of the Mint and Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Sir Henry Parnell	Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Right Hon. Sir R. H. Vivian, Bart.	Clerk of the Ordnance.
Sir John Campbell	Attorney-General.
Sir R. M. Rolfe	Solicitor-General.

GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

Duke of Argyll	Lord Steward.
Marquis of Conyngham	Lord Chamberlain.
Earl of Albemarle	Master of the Horse.

IRELAND.

Earl of Mulgrave	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Plunkett	Lord High Chancellor.
Viscount Morpeth	Chief Secretary.

SCOTLAND.

Right Hon. John A. Murray	Lord Advocate.
Andrew Rutherford, Esq.	Solicitor-General.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES.

(Continued from vol. vii. p. 531.)

- 1815 March 23 : Treaty of Vienna between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, confirming the principles of the treaty of Chaumont, March 1, 1814, on which they had acted ; and uniting Belgium to the Netherlands under the sovereignty of the king of the Netherlands.
- 1815 June 8 : Federative Constitution of Germany signed at Vienna.
- 1815 July 3 : Convention of St. Cloud between Marshal Davoust on the one part, and Wellington and Blücher on the other, by which Paris was surrendered to the Allies, who entered it on the 6th.
- 1815 August 2 : A Convention signed at Paris between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, styling Napoleon the prisoner of those powers, and confiding his safeguard particularly to the British government.
- 1815 September 14 : A Convention entered into at Vienna, whereby the duchies of Parma, &c., were secured to the Empress Maria Louisa, and on her demise to her son by Napoleon.
- 1815 September 26 : The Treaty denominated of the Holy Alliance, ratified at Paris by the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia.
- 1815 November 5 : A Treaty ratified at Paris between Great Britain and Russia respecting the Ionian Islands, which were declared to form a united state under the sole protection of the former power.
- 1815 November 20 : Peace of Paris between France on the one part, and Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, on the other, establishing the boundaries of France, and stipulating for the garrisoning of several of the fortresses in France by foreign troops for three years.
- 1818 October 9 : A Convention entered into by the great powers of Europe, assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the one part, and the Duke de Richelieu on the other, whereby it was stipulated that the army of occupation should quit the French territory on the 30th of November ensuing ; it was also agreed that the remaining sum due from France to the Allies was 265,000,000 francs.
- 1819 August 1 : Congress of Carlsbad.
- 1820 October 20 : Congress of Troppau.
- 1820 October 24 : Treaty between Spain and America : Florida ceded to the United States.
- 1821 May 6 : The Congress of Laybach, which had been for some time attended by the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, finally broke up, having issued two circulars stating it to be their resolution to occupy Naples with Austrian troops, and proscribe popular insurrection.
- 1822 August 25 : Congress of Verona.
- 1824 February 4 : A Convention between Great Britain and Austria laid upon the table of the House of Commons, by which the former agreed to accept 2,500,000*l.* as a final compensation for her claims upon the latter power, amounting to 30,000,000*l.*
- 1825 February 28 : Convention between Great Britain and Russia ; frontier of north-west coast of America settled.

- 1825 April 17 : France recognizes the independence of St. Domingo.
- 1825 April 18 : Treaty of Amity between Great Britain and Columbia.
- 1825 October 18 : Treaty between Great Britain and Brazil for Abolition of Slave Trade.
- 1829 July 6 : Treaty of London between Russia, France, and Great Britain, for the settlement of the affairs of Greece.
- 1829 September 14 : Peace of Adrianople, between Russia and Turkey, by which Russia acquires the protectorate of Moldavia and Wallachia.
- 1830 May 7 : Treaty between Turkey and the United States. American vessels allowed to pass to and from the Black Sea.
- 1830 November 2 : The independence of Belgium recognized by England and France.
- 1831 The Commercial Union of the northern states of Germany, known as the Zollverein, commenced under the auspices of Prussia.
- 1831 November 15 : A Treaty signed between Great Britain and France, for a settlement of the points of dispute between Holland and Belgium, to which Holland acceded March 13, 1838.
- 1833 July 8 : Treaty at Constantinople between Turkey and Russia, by which it was stipulated that the Dardanelles should be shut to all foreign vessels of war.
- 1834 April 22 : Quadruple Treaty between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, in support of the two queens, Isabella and Maria.
- 1835 Supplementary Treaties with Portugal and Spain, by the former of which the Methuen Treaty with Portugal was annulled.
- 1840 July 15 : Treaty signed in London between Great Britain, France, Austria; Russia, Prussia, and Turkey, for the settlement of the dispute between Turkey and Mehemet Ali.
- 1841 July 13 : Convention at London between the European Powers and Turkey, by which the closing of the Dardanelles against ships of war is made general to them all while Turkey is at peace.
- 1842 August 29 : Treaty of Nankin with China, by which several ports were opened to the British trade, Hong-Kong ceded, and an indemnification of 21,000,000 dollars paid.
- 1845 May 29 : A Convention signed in London between Great Britain and France for the suppression of the Slave Trade.
- 1846 November 16 : Austria, Russia, and Prussia revoke the treaty of 1815, constituting Cracow a free republic, and restore the territory to Austria. Soon after, the kingdom of Poland is incorporated with Russia. Great Britain, France, Sweden, and Turkey unite in a protest against these proceedings.
- 1849 August 6 : Treaty of Milan, between Austria and Sardinia.
- 1850 February 27 : Treaty at Munich between Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg, to form a Southern German Union against the pretensions of Prussia.
- 1850 April 19 : Treaty at Washington between Great Britain and the United States, respecting a ship-canal through the state of Nicaragua, to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.
- 1850 July 2 : Treaty of Peace between Prussia and Denmark, Prussia withdrawing from the support of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig; and on July 4 a protocol was signed in London between Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Sweden, guaranteeing the integrity of the Danish territories.

THE NATIONAL DEBT,

FROM THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1815, TILL 1837.

Peace . . .				Principal.		Interest.		
				£	£	£	£	
"	George III.	}	56 & 57	1816	845,968,483	32,055,350		
"			57 & 58	1817	839,382,145	31,591,927		
"			58 & 59	1818	840,582,664	31,485,753		
"			59 & 60	1819	836,530,982	31,168,540		
"			60	}	1820	834,900,960	31,354,749	
"	1							
"	George IV.	}	2	1821	827,984,498	31,105,319		
"			3	1822	835,207,294	29,722,533		
"			4	1823	827,480,164	30,142,582		
"			5	1824	819,023,672	29,174,122		
"			6	1825	809,831,468	28,987,773		
"			7	1826	808,826,590	29,415,102		
"			8	1827	805,098,942	29,328,782		
"			9	1828	800,032,289	29,167,877		
"			10	1829	796,799,532	29,067,658		
"			11	}	1830	784,803,997	28,325,936	
"			1					
"	William IV.	}	1 & 2	1831	782,716,684	28,329,986		
"			2 & 3	1832	781,457,599	28,351,318		
"			3 & 4	1833	779,730,379	28,481,181		
"			4 & 5	1834	773,234,401	28,517,236		
"			5 & 6	1835	788,664,201	29,135,811		
"			6 & 7	1836	789,496,896	29,667,464		
"			7	}	1837	787,529,114	29,537,333	
"	1							
"	Victoria	}						

THE GROWTH OF THE DEBT.

Period.	Debt.	Interest.	Years of War.	Increase of Debt in Years of War.	Remarks.
	£	£		£	
1691	3,130,000	332,000			
1701	12,552,486	1,219,147	1691—1697	11,392,925	French War.
1714	36,175,460	3,063,135	1702—1713	21,932,622	War of the Succession.
1748	75,812,132	3,165,765	1718—1721	14,025,424	} Continental Wars.
			1740—1748	22,531,551	
1763	132,716,049	5,032,733	1756—1763	58,141,024	Pitt's Administration.
1792	239,663,421	9,432,179	1774—1783	104,681,213	American War.
1815	861,039,049	32,645,618	1793—1815	621,375,628	} War of French Revolution and against Napoleon.
Decrease of National Debt, 1816 to 1837 .				£854,080,387 73,509,535	

CHAPTER XXII.

Social condition of Great Britain at the period of the Accession of Queen Victoria—Occupations of the People—Growth of Cities and Towns—London—Increase of Houses—Supply of Food—Improved means of Communication affecting that supply—Cheapening of the necessaries of life—Conveyance of Mails by Railways—Limited Postal accommodation—Public Health—Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Classes—Exposure of the unfitness of many Dwellings for healthful occupation—Workrooms without ventilation, such as those of Tailors and Milliners—Public arrangements influencing the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population—Neglect and ignorance universal—Want of Drainage—Inadequate Water supply for the preservation of cleanliness—Public Baths and Wash-houses unknown—Interments within the precincts of large Towns—Public Walks not provided—State of the Factories—Number of Workers in Textile Manufactures—Beginnings of improvement—Mining Population—Employment of Children and Women in Mines—Agricultural Labourers—Operation of the New Poor Law—Neglect of the Labourers by the richer Classes—Miserable Cottage accommodation—Dorsetshire Labourers—Field employment of Women and Children—Crime in England and Wales—Juvenile Delinquency—General state of Education—First aid of the State to voluntary exertions—Increase of Schools and Scholars—Limited ability to read and write amongst the adult population—General aspects of English Society.

In the celebrated description by Macaulay of "the state in which England was at the time when the Crown passed from Charles the Second to his brother," he rests its necessary imperfection upon the "scanty and dispersed materials" from which it was composed. In now attempting a description of the state in which the United Kingdom was at the time, or about the time, when the Crown passed from William the Fourth to his niece, we have not the same apology for its incompleteness. The materials from which it must be composed are embarrassing, not from their scantiness but from their fulness,—not from their dispersion in scarce and curious tracts, in private letters and diaries, in the observations of foreigners, in estimates of national wealth resting upon no solid bases, in county histories, in meagre newspapers, in old almanacs. In 1837 we were passing out of the transition state of very imperfect statistics to the period when every aspect of our social condition was to be delineated; when every dark corner was to be explored; when every fact connected with Education, Public Health, Crime and Punishment, Industrial Employment, Pauperism, was to be recorded and tabulated;—the period of Commissioners and Boards—the period when, according to Sydney Smith, "the whole earth was, in fact, in Commission." Out of several hundred Official Reports we may to some extent learn what we were a quarter of a century ago, and be enabled to answer the question, "Are we improved?"

In commencing our survey of what Shakspeare, in his famous comparison of "the state of man in divers functions" with the working of "the honey-bees," calls "a peopled kingdom," we beg to repeat what we said at the outset of this History, that we do not apply the term "People" to any distinct class or section of the population. We especially protest against the abuse of the term "People" which some amongst us have adopted from the modern literature of France, when they assume that the non-capitalist portion of the industrious classes are exclusively "the People." The intelligent public officers to whom has been committed the superintendence of the Census during the last twenty years have classified the "Occupations of the People" as the occupations of the entire community.

The Census of 1841 is sufficiently near the date of the accession of Victoria to furnish a tolerably correct estimate of the various functions performed in that great working-hive of which she was the queen-bee. In the spring of that year, out of the entire population of England, Wales, and Scotland, amounting to nearly nineteen millions, nearly eight millions, male and female, were distinctly classified by their occupations. They were the supporters of the residue of the population, including children of all ages. Speaking in round numbers, three millions were engaged in commerce, trade, and manufactures; a million and a half in agriculture; seven hundred thousand were labourers not agricultural; a hundred and thirty thousand formed the army at home and abroad; two hundred and eighteen thousand were employed on the sea and in inland navigation; sixty-three thousand were professional persons, clerical, legal, and medical; a hundred and forty thousand were following miscellaneous pursuits as educated persons; seventeen thousand were in the government Civil Service; twenty-five thousand were parochial and other officers; eleven hundred thousand were domestic servants; five hundred thousand were persons of independent means; and two hundred thousand were almspeople, pensioners, paupers, lunatics, and prisoners. This wonderful variety of stations and pursuits constitutes the distinctive character of modern British civilization. All are held together upon that great principle which Plato sets forth in emphatic words: "It is not alone wisdom and strength which makes a State simply wise and strong. But order, like that harmony called the diapason, is diffused throughout the whole State, making both the weakest, and the strongest, and the middling people, concert the same melody."

A very large proportion of the three millions of the people engaged in commerce, trade, and manufacture were necessarily to be found in the cities and towns. In 1811, at the commencement of the Regency, there were in England only twelve of the cities and towns whose population exceeded thirty thousand; in Scotland there were four above that number. In 1841, taking the same limits of places as in 1811, there were thirty-one cities and towns in England with a larger population than thirty thousand, and in Scotland six. In the course of thirty years the London of one million ten thousand people had become the dwelling-place of one million seven hundred thousand;* Manchester and Salford, which thirty years before 1841 numbered a hundred

* In the Census of 1841 more extended limits of London were given as adopted by the Registrar-General, which gave the population as 1,873,676.

and ten thousand, held two hundred and ninety-six thousand; Liverpool of one hundred thousand had reached two hundred and sixty-four thousand; Birmingham with eighty-five thousand had added a hundred and five thousand to its number; Leeds with sixty-two thousand had added ninety thousand; Bristol with seventy-six thousand had added forty-six thousand. Sheffield, Rochdale, Norwich, Nottingham, each under forty thousand, had about doubled their numbers. Plymouth and Portsmouth had grown in a less proportion. In Scotland, Edinburgh had increased from a hundred and two thousand to a hundred and sixty-six thousand; Glasgow from a hundred thousand to two hundred and seventy-four thousand; Paisley, Aberdeen, Greenock, had doubled their numbers, each exceeding sixty thousand. Of non-commercial places the extension of Brighton and Cheltenham were the most remarkable; in thirty years they had quadrupled their populations. The growth of the smaller provincial seats of trading and manufacturing industry was as remarkable as the instances we have selected of the greater places. Of the sixty-eight chief cities and towns of Great Britain whose comparative population is exhibited in decennial periods by the Census of 1841, the total amount of the population was two million six hundred and ninety-two thousand at the commencement of the Regency, and five million three hundred and forty-one thousand, three years after the Crown passed to Queen Victoria. During the period of thirty years, when the population of sixty-eight principal towns had increased 100 per cent., the aggregate population of England and Scotland had increased only 54 per cent., that is, from twelve million to eighteen million five hundred thousand.

The one million seven hundred thousand of the people of London in 1841 were inhabiting two hundred and sixty-three thousand houses. Since 1811 the number of houses in the metropolitan district had increased in a much higher proportion than the increase of population. There had been rapidly going on since the Peace, not only in London but in every part of the country, that want which appears never to be satisfied,—the demand for more houses, whatever number of houses are built. In London, during the half century from 1811 to 1861, there has ever been an increasing number of the people ready to pay rent,—people beginning housekeeping, people seeking better house accommodation than the old dwellings, people turning their city houses into warehouses and daily going to and fro in search of health in suburban air. One of the most curious social problems at the period of the Queen's accession, as it had been the marvel of several previous generations, was the apparent difficulty of feeding even five hundred thousand, much more a million, a million and a half, two millions, of human beings, collected together in places more or less densely peopled, comprised within a circle whose radius was four miles from St. Paul's.

In 1841, the metropolitan district of the Registrar-General comprised a population of nearly nineteen hundred thousand on a radius considerably smaller than that of the plan given in the census of 1831,* which, in a radius of eight miles, comprised a population a little under eighteen hundred thousand.

* The little Plan we give (on the next page) is of eight miles round St. Paul's, taken from the Population Returns of 1831.



A proclamation of Elizabeth against the extension of London exhibits the dread of the Government that the increasing multitudes "could hardly be provided of sustentation, of victual, food, and other like necessaries for man's relief, upon reasonable price." The economists of our own day have shown how visionary would be such a dread under the self-regulating movements of the present social organization. The greatest wonder that London presented to a New Zealander who was brought to England some years ago, was the mystery of feeding an immense population, as he saw neither cattle nor crops. The enormous number, and the fluctuations in their number, of the persons to be fed; the quantity and variety of the provisions to be furnished; the necessity in most cases for their immediate distribution in convenient localities; the accurate proportion of the supply to the demand, so as to be ample without waste;—these considerations point to the difficulty, as well as the paramount importance, of furnishing their daily rations to a host far greater than any army which a commissariat upon the grandest scale could undertake to sustain even for a single day. "This object," says Dr. Whately, "is accomplished far better than it could be by any effort of human wisdom through the agency of men who think each of nothing beyond his own immediate interest,—who, with that object in view, perform their respective parts with cheerful zeal, and combine unconsciously to employ the wisest means for effecting an object the vastness of which it would bewilder them even to contemplate."*

What appeared to the economist so vast an undertaking in the London of 1831, must at the first glance have appeared a greater difficulty in 1841, when the population had still gone on rapidly increasing. But during that decennial period the means of communication had been so largely increased that the certainty of the supply of food, both as to its abundance and the time occupied in its transit, could be more accurately measured. The corn-barge was still duly sailing from the maritime counties to the port of London.

* Introductory Lectures on Political Economy, 1831.

to bring the produce of many thousand acres for sale in Mark Lane ; the steam-boat was also moving up the Thames to bring corn quickly from the ports of the Baltic ; and the first steam-ships from England had crossed the Atlantic in 1838 to contribute to the transportation of that supply of foreign produce which was scantily poured in till the fetters of Protection were knocked off. The cattle of Smithfield were still travelling in vast droves from the north by Highgate, and from the eastern counties by the Whitechapel Road ; but the Birmingham Railway was already bringing large numbers to market in better condition and at a lower cost than were effected by the drovers' toilsome march. That railway, and the few others that were gradually being opened, brought also to London large quantities of country-killed meat. In the smaller articles of produce, London, by the agency of steam-vessels, had now an almost inexhaustible supply from foreign ports. Fresh vegetables and fruits came to Covent Garden Market from Portugal ; the Pas de Calais sent millions of eggs from its small farms ; and the eggs which Ireland exported to England, as well as Scotch eggs and English eggs brought in coasting vessels, justify the calculation that the London population had in the first year of the Queen an annual supply of a hundred millions of eggs collected from sources which were not accessible thirty years before. In 1813 a great meeting of noblemen and gentlemen was held in the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's, to establish a Fish Association, the object of which was to insure a better supply of that luxury of the wealthy in the metropolis. It was scarcely in the contemplation of this meeting that the humbler markets where the poor congregate should ever have an adequate supply of a perishable article, then brought up the river by hoys dependent upon wind and tide, or carried by stage-coaches at a large increase of the first cost. It has been stated in an interesting little volume,* that when salmon were brought from Scotland in sailing vessels, one cargo in three was totally spoiled from the voyage being protracted by adverse winds. The steam-boats were in 1837 delivering some hundred tons of salmon from Scotland to Billingsgate. A few years later the railways from the southern coast were rendering the turbot and the sole almost as cheap in the London markets as in the fish-shops of the fashionable watering-places near which they were taken. Within the last ten years, the electric telegraph has come to the aid of the railway, by apprising the fish-dealers in London when there is a glut of fish—as of mackerel, which is sometimes taken in extraordinary quantities. Instead of perishing on the shore, the mackerel thus finds its way to thousands of consumers, "alive, alive, O ;" as the itinerant dealer was allowed to proclaim on a Sunday morning in the old days of slow conveyance.

As important as the equalization of prices in the necessaries of life by improved means of conveyance, was the more rapid communication beginning to be effected in the transmission of letters. The Railway System was so far established in 1838, that an Act of Parliament was passed in that year for providing for the conveyance of Mails by railroads. The mails between Manchester and Liverpool were conveyed by railroad as early as 1830 ; but between London and every town in Great Britain the comparatively slow mode of conveyance continued to prevail. Upon the reduction of the

* "Our Exemplars, Poor and Rich," p. 123.

Newspaper Stamp from fourpence to a penny in 1835, the dispatch of Newspapers through the post office was so greatly increased that some of the mails were obliged to run without their usual number of passengers, the contractors being indemnified for their loss. The addition to the old mode of conveyance enabled day-mails to be dispatched, when the routine of the post office had been revolutionized by Rowland Hill. The organization which was necessary to ensure the triumph of a cheap and uniform rate of Postage was so little developed when the Queen came to the throne, that there were only three thousand post offices in England and Wales, while the number of parishes was eleven thousand. It was estimated that a fourth of the population were entirely destitute of postal accommodation. Four hundred of the Registration districts, the average extent of each being nearly twenty square miles, were without a post office. Yet when we consider what was the cost of postage at that time, we may possibly come to the conclusion that the facilities afforded for sending and receiving letters were ample. The number of chargeable letters in 1839 was in the proportion of four letters per annum to each individual of the population of England and Wales; three in Scotland; one in Ireland. Large as this number may seem when compared with the period of Mr. Palmer's reforms in 1784, when the first mail coach left London, we can only judge of its comparative littleness when we learn that the average of England and Wales, in 1861 was in the proportion of twenty-four letters to every one of the population; nineteen in Scotland; and nine in Ireland.* A representative of the spirit which sees nothing but evil in every great social improvement wrote thus in his Diary of July 8, 1839: "The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in bringing forward his Budget, has proposed that the postage on a single letter should be reduced to one penny. This will increase the number of idle scribblers; be of little benefit to the lower classes who seldom have occasion to write; and is likely only to advantage the commercial houses and bankers who can well afford to pay the postage." † The greatest benefit to his country which the organizer of cheap postage has effected—a benefit which he may contemplate with the honest pride of every man who feels that he has not lived for himself alone—is that he has given a motive for education to "the lower classes," who now often "have occasion to write;" that he has linked together the affections of households that have become separated by distance, so that even to the colonist in Australia a letter can now find its way as cheaply as it once travelled from London to Windsor.

The distribution of the food of London to its two hundred and sixty-three thousand houses was accomplished more by the agency of shop-keepers than by the stall-sellers at markets. The costardmonger, who derived his name from the apple which he sold, was still the great purveyor of vegetables in the silent streets of the suburbs. He had almost wholly passed away from the busy streets. The orange-woman standing on the pavement with her basket had nearly ceased to traffic. The millions of oranges that steam had brought ripe from the Antilles were to be found in every quarter where there

* In a Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution in 1862, Mr. M. D. Hill brought together a vast body of interesting facts on the Postage System, which we trust he will publish in some permanent form.

† Raikes's "Diary," vol. 3.

was a fruit-shop or a stall. The public places of refreshment in 1837 were not essentially different from those of the beginning of the century as far as regarded the chop-house and the eating-house. But there were two important changes. The institution of Clubs had materially contributed to the luxurious comforts of the higher classes at a far less expense than that of the old tavern; and the two thousand Coffee-houses that had sprung up in London, where the artizan could obtain his cup of tea or coffee for three half-pence or two-pence and read the newspapers and periodical works, was an advance indicating a very different state of society from that which prevailed in the exclusive days of the Regency.

Valuable to every class of the London population as was the partial cheapening of some of the necessaries of life by the gradual equalization of prices produced by improved conveyance, the physical and moral condition of the great bulk of the people would have been little improved, as long as they were compelled to crowd in districts undrained, in perishing houses ill-ventilated, in pestilential courts and alleys from which typhus especially and every form of contagious and epidemic disease never departed. It is difficult, with all the recorded experience of the better time that has succeeded the first awakening to the consideration of the great question of Public Health, to believe that we are only looking back a quarter of a century when we trace what the humbler classes of London, and of all other great towns, were enduring when Victoria became our Sovereign. Three years before her Majesty's Accession, the public mind was roused, in some degree, to the consideration of this evil in the metropolis by a distinguished architect, Mr. Sydney Smirke; and before a road was made from the east end of Oxford-street direct to Holborn, he pointed out that there was a district—known by the names of The Rookery and the Holy Land,—the retreat of wretchedness, the nest of disease, the nursery and sanctuary of vice. There was scarcely a single sewer in any part of it. Where the plague once raged there was then constant fever. There were houses in which squalid families were lodged in the proportion of twenty-four adults and thirty children to nine small rooms. There were Lodging Houses in which sixty persons occupied nightly a pestilential den of filth and depravity. There were many such places in other quarters of the town. Under the authority of the Poor Law Commissioners in 1838, Dr. Arnott and Dr. Kay made a laborious investigation into the prevalence of fever in the metropolis; and Dr. Southwood Smith carried on similar inquiries into some of the causes of sickness and mortality to which the poor are peculiarly exposed. When their Reports were published, even thoughtful men, as well as those who had rarely looked below the glittering surface of society, were little prepared for such a revelation of the details of the mass of vice, misery, and disease, which existed in close contiguity with the most opulent parts of the great city. In 1839 an Address to her Majesty from the House of Lords, prayed that a similar inquiry should be instituted with regard to the labouring classes in other parts of England and Wales; and such an inquiry was in 1840 required to be extended to Scotland. This duty was undertaken by the Poor Law Commission; and their Report, prepared by Mr. Chadwick, embraced the evidence not only of their Assistant Commissioners, but of numerous medical men of the highest authority. The miserable dens of the working classes in London,

inhabited not exclusively by the lowest in condition and in morals, were not unfrequently surrounded by the luxurious mansions of the rich and fashionable, and commonly by the well-constructed houses of the middle ranks. The proportions in which each class bore up against the ills which flesh is heir to are indicated, however imperfectly, by returns of the comparative mortality amongst the average of a town population. The lowest in the scale of well-being indicated by duration of life were the mechanics, labourers, and their families; the highest in the scale were the families of the gentry and professional persons; the medium place was that of the tradesmen and their families. Comparative poverty, no doubt, had a large share in this result; but the peculiar character of the dwellings of each, and the habits of filth and intemperance induced by the total unfitness of many tenements for healthful occupation, had a much larger share in that astounding difference in the death-rate, which showed that the families of the most opulent classes lived twice as long as those of their least fortunate neighbours. In closed courts where the sunshine never penetrated, where a breath of fresh air never circulated, where noxious vapours filled every corner from the horrible cesspools, where the density of population was so excessive as in itself to be sufficient to produce disease, where a single room was often occupied by a whole family without regard to age or sex,—the wonder is how the poor lived at all, uncared for by the rich, who knew them not—neglected by their employers, who in some trades exposed them to labour in workshops not far superior in ventilation to the Black Hole of Calcutta. Amongst these careless and avaricious employers the master-tailors were the most notorious, who would huddle sixty or eighty workmen close together, nearly knee to knee, in a room 50 feet long by 20 feet broad, lighted from above, where the temperature in summer was 30 degrees higher than the temperature outside. Young men from the country fainted when they were first confined in such a life-destroying prison; the maturer ones sustained themselves by gin, till they perished of consumption, or typhus, or delirium tremens.* One of the most eminent of our living physiologists says, “Mr. Chadwick has shown that many are driven to drinking gin as affording a temporary relief to the feelings of depression and exhaustion produced by living in a noxious atmosphere.”† The overworked class of milliners and dressmakers employed in the larger work-rooms of London, ill-ventilated, and rendered doubly injurious by the constant habit of night-work, when the air was still more deteriorated by gas and lamp-light,—this suffering class of young women was being constantly renewed, more than one-half dying of lung diseases before they had attained the average age of twenty-eight.

In the General Report of 1842, next in importance to the inquiry into the condition of the residences of the labouring classes, was the investigation into the public arrangements external to the residences which influenced the sanitary condition of the mass of the population. In London, in the seats of manufacturing industry, in the ports, in the boroughs with a moderate number of inhabitants, in the smallest towns and villages, there was

* Compare the vivid descriptions in “Alton Locke” with the evidence in the “Sanitary Report” of 1842, pp. 98 to 104.

† “Psychological Inquiries.” By Sir Benjamin C. Brodie Bart. 3rd edit., p. 78.

ample evidence of neglect and ignorance, so manifest, and yet so little observed by the people themselves and by the local authorities, that after twenty years of remedial measures, we look back with horror upon the state of the towns in which the father of a family of the present day passed his infancy and boyhood. It was the same throughout the land, whether under the palatial walls of Windsor Castle, or under the crescents of Bath built upon the brows of the hills, or in the steep lanes climbing up to the Cathedral of Durham, or in the open channels in the wynds and closes of the romantic city of Edinburgh, or in the enormous seats of factory labour in Lancashire and Yorkshire, or in Liverpool the great emporium of Commerce which was fast rivalling London—wherever there was a want of drainage, there were always disease, and misery, and families rendered destitute by premature deaths. In Liverpool there were eight thousand cellars occupied by thirty thousand people, few of which cellars, from the absence of drains and sewers, were entirely free from damp, and most of them were inundated after a fall of rain. In a Report laid before the British Association for the Advancement of Science it was stated, that the proportion of the population of Liverpool that lived in cellars was 13 per cent., of Manchester $11\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., of Salford 8 per cent., of Bury $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. In Ashton, Staley-bridge, and Dukinfield, where only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population lived in cellars, the death-rate was abundantly kept up by the common practice, rendered necessary by the insufficient dwelling accommodation, of three, four, five, and even six persons sleeping in one bed.

In the poorer districts of London, such as Whitechapel, and in nearly every city and town of Great Britain, the supplies of water were wholly inadequate to preserve the cleanliness and consequent health of the labouring population. It had been ascertained in all sanitary inquiries that an adequate supply of water had a most advantageous effect on the health of the people. In 1841 there was not a house of the labouring classes in the Whitechapel district in which the water was laid on. Where the poor had to fetch water from the pump or from the plug in the street at a considerable distance, they would rarely take the trouble to obtain the supply without which their dwellings and their persons would be marked by that absence of cleanliness which is almost always accompanied by a low state of morals.

At the commencement of the Queen's reign there was no public provision in London, nor as far as we know in any of the provincial towns, for promoting cleanliness amongst the poor by the establishment of Public Baths and Washhouses. In 1832, when the cholera first appeared in England, there was a poor woman named Catherine Wilkinson, who was so impressed with the necessity of cleanliness as a preventive to the disease, that she encouraged her neighbours to come to her comparatively better house, which comprised a kitchen, a parlour, three small bedchambers, and a yard, for the purpose of washing and drying their clothes. The good that was manifest induced some benevolent persons to aid her in extending her operations. The large amount of washing done in one week in a cellar, under the superintendence of this excellent woman, represented the amount of disease and discomfort kept down by her energetic desire to do good without pecuniary reward. Such was the origin of public baths and washhouses, which Catherine Wilkinson had the satisfaction of seeing matured in Liverpool in 1846, in a

large establishment under the Corporation, to the superintendence of which she and her husband were appointed. In 1844 an Association for promoting Cleanliness amongst the Poor hired an old building in the midst of a dense and indigent population near the London Docks, and fitted it up as a bath-house and a laundry. What has been since done by this first step in the promotion of cleanliness amongst the poor is one of the most interesting circumstances in our social progress. A quarter of a century ago London was behind every other country in Europe in a provision for convenient and inexpensive public baths. A warm bath, if such could be found without traversing five hundred streets, would have cost the mechanic as much as a week's dinners. Such a bath may now be procured for twopence.

Equally injurious to health as an insufficient supply of pure water was the prevailing custom twenty years ago of burying the dead in towns. In March, 1842, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the expediency of framing some legislative enactment (due respect being paid to the rights of the clergy) to remedy the evils arising from the interment of bodies within the precincts of large towns, or of places densely peopled. Their Report averred that England exhibited, especially through its capital, "an instance of the most wealthy, moral, and civilized community in the world, tolerating a practice and an abuse which has been corrected for years by nearly all other civilized nations in every part of the globe." A Supplement to the General Sanitary Report was prepared by Mr. Chadwick in 1842 on the subject of Interment in Towns. It is full of the most curious facts, which contributed to awaken public attention to this national disgrace. The parochial divisions of the metropolis, and the rapid increase of the population in each division, had filled the graveyards in the very heart of the densest neighbourhoods, in a manner which was truly described by a witness before the Parliamentary Committee as "sickening and horrible." Liverpool and Manchester had established Cemeteries long before London had attempted this partial remedy of an enormous evil. In 1832 an Act was passed for the formation of a cemetery at Kensal Green. The cemeteries of Norwood and Highgate were added some eight or ten years later, but all these were for the opulent. The parish graveyards still continued open in their constantly increasing abomination. It was the same nearly in every other city and large town, till almost absolute powers were given to the government to put down the evil by the strong hand.

A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1833 to consider the best means of securing open spaces in the vicinity of populous towns, as Public Walks and places of exercise, calculated to promote the health and comfort of the inhabitants. London had its parks in the west-end; but the east, inhabited by a dense population, presented no opportunity to the toiling artizan to enjoy the fresh air without a long walk beyond the region of chimneys. In the seats of the three great manufactures of the kingdom, cotton, woollen, and hardware, whilst the wealth of the large towns had increased in proportion to the increase of population, no provision had been made to afford the people the means of healthy exercise or cheerful amusement. Debasing pleasures naturally took the place of innocent recreations.

In 1831 one of our most lucid prose writers, whose beauty of style was

not altogether based upon a solid foundation of wisdom, speaks of the factory system, which was an inevitable consequence of the application of invention and discovery to manufactures, as "a ven, a fungous excrescence from the body politic: the growth might have been checked, if the consequences had been apprehended in time."* He describes this system as one "which in its direct consequences debases all who are engaged in it; a system that employs men unremittingly in pursuits unwholesome for the body and unprofitable for the mind." In 1841 the total number of persons engaged in the cotton manufacture was about half a million. The total number employed upon all textile fabrics in Great Britain was eight hundred thousand, of which number about four hundred and fifty-three thousand were males, and three hundred and forty-six thousand were females. Many of the evils which Southey exaggerates, in the dread which ultra-Toryism had of artizans and factory-workers,—of all whom they believed could not be regimented into obedience, as they imagined to be possible with the agricultural labourers,—had in 1833 begun to be remedied by legislative interference. These evils had grown up in the rapid development of the powers of the steam-engine; but in 1841, when the textile factories employed five hundred and fifty-five thousand of both sexes above twenty years of age, and two hundred and forty-five thousand under twenty years, the number of very young children had been greatly reduced, the hours of labour were rendered more moderate, and the education of children, with a proper regard for their health, was a duty to be provided for.† Much remained to be done, but a beginning had been made. Independently of the unwholesome dwellings in which many of the factory operatives were compelled to abide at the epoch of which we are writing, their health was better cared for, during their hours of labour, than in the miserable workshops in which too many artizans then earned their bread.

In 1841 the number of persons employed under ground in Mines was about a hundred and ninety-four thousand,—about an eighth of the total numbers employed in the cultivation of the surface. More than one-half of this number were employed in coal-mines. In 1840 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the employment of the children of the poorer classes in mines and collieries. The Report of that Commission, presented to Parliament in 1842, exhibited in some mining districts a state of things, with regard not only to children but to women, which could scarcely be paralleled by any of the barbarous practices which have contributed to make negro slavery so abhorrent to the feelings of the people of England. Till this Report was presented, few were aware that a child of six years of age, with a girdle round his or her waist, to which was attached a chain passing under the legs, and fastened to a cart, had thus to drag a load on all fours through avenues not so good as a common sewer. Children and women who were not employed in dragging loads by the girdle and chain had to carry loads of coal on their backs up steep ascents equal in distance to the height of St. Paul's, fourteen times a day. An old Scotchwoman said to one of the Commissioners, "You must just tell the Queen Victoria that we are quiet, loyal subjects; women-people here don't mind work; but they object to horse-work; and

* Southey, "Colloquies," vol. i. p. 171.

† *Ante*, p. 333.

that she would have the blessings of all the Scotch coal-women if she would get them out of the pits, and send them to other labour." Through the employment of children the seeds of painful and mortal disease were sown, which were steadily developed as they advanced to maturity; but their moral corruption, through their subjection to uneducated and ferocious men and the indiscriminate employment of girls and boys, was as serious an evil, of which the evidence was perfectly clear. Children of seven years of age, of amiable temper and conduct, who went for one season into the collieries returned greatly corrupted, and, as one witness emphatically said, "with most hellish dispositions." The effect of this employment upon women was to produce a total ignorance of all domestic duties; it wholly disqualified them from even learning how to discharge the duties of wife and mother. This awful misuse of the labour of children and women proceeded not from the necessities of the collier's family but from his own gross and sensual indulgences. It was in evidence that many of the miners worked only eight or nine days in a fortnight, and then spent the large earnings of two-thirds of their working-time in drinking and gambling. Throughout the Staffordshire collieries cock-fighting was the ordinary amusement of the population. Their vices had been transmitted from father to son; the employment of women and children was a relic of former days of barbarous ignorance in the general community. In these cases the slave-driver of his wife and children was the father of the family. But there was another species of slavery in the apprenticeship of orphan boys or paupers to "butty" colliers—those who took assistants or partners in their work.* It was the custom of many of these hard task-masters to take two or three apprentices at a time, supporting themselves and families out of the labour of these unfortunate orphans, who from the age of fourteen to twenty-one never received a penny for themselves, by a servitude in which there was nothing to learn beyond a little dexterity readily acquired by short practice. The cruelties which were sometimes endured by these unhappy boys appear now to belong to the times of Elizabeth Brownrigg; yet there is nothing in the story of her whipping her apprentices to death that could not be exceeded by the admission of a collier that he had been in the habit of beating his apprentice with a flat piece of wood in which a nail was driven, projecting about half an inch. There are middle-aged men at the present time amongst us, who having escaped from the horrors of a pit-boy's life twenty years ago, detail the cruel punishments that were inflicted by those who knew no mode of enforcing obedience but that of brutal severity.

The total number of Agricultural Labourers in Great Britain in 1841 was a little above one million one hundred and thirty-eight thousand, of which number fifty-six thousand were females. Since 1811 the proportion of the agricultural to the commercial and miscellaneous classes of the people had been gradually diminishing. The general condition of the agricultural labourers of the South, at the period of passing the Act for the Amendment of the Poor Law, has been already indicated.† The amended law had been

* "Butty. A working companion; a comrade. Not so general with us as amongst the miners and colliers."—*Miss Baker's Northamptonshire Glossary.*

† Chap. xix. pp. 336 to 342.

in operation for three years, when a Parliamentary Inquiry was instituted upon complaints of its administration. The evidence regarding three rural Unions occupied nine-tenths of the labours of the Committee. In 1834 the labourers had manifested a lawless spirit of opposition to the operations of the new law. In 1837 they had become aware that the intention of the amended law was to raise them to a better condition instead of grinding them down. They had increased wages and greater regularity of employment; they had not to endure the degradation of receiving as alms what they had a right to demand as the wages of their industry. Undoubtedly there was individual suffering in the transition from the allowance system to the stern refusal of aid to the able-bodied labourer. In 1840 a great thinker, who had looked below the surface of immediate evils, thus wrote: "Let us welcome the New Poor Law as the harsh beginning of much, the harsh ending of much! Most harsh and barren lies the new plougher's fallow-field, the crude subsoil all turned up, which never saw the sun; which as yet grows no herb; which has 'out-door relief' for no one. Yet patience: innumerable weeds and corruptions lie safely turned down and extinguished under it; this same crude subsoil is the first step of all true husbandry; by Heaven's blessing and the skye influences, fruits that are good and blessed will yet come of it."* But the time was yet distant when what was wanting in the New Poor Law towards placing the agricultural labourer in his proper relation to the whole social system would be supplied, not by what is called the charity of the rich, but by their feeling of brotherhood towards those who sat with them in the same place of worship, and whose children were christened in the same font as their children. There was a great deal to be done by education before the agricultural labourer could be rendered provident and moral by instruction; before the poor should cease to be abject, and the rich should cease to be overbearing; before the friendly intercourse between man and man, which religion and philosophy equally prescribe, should stand in the place of that proud reserve and that suppressed insolence which were the remaining badges of feudality. The time was still distant when, to say nothing of the sympathy arising out of an enlarged public sentiment, land-proprietors and rich cultivators would be ashamed to let the labourers and their families inhabit cottages inferior to the thatched stables and cattle-sheds of the slovenly farmyards of a quarter of a century ago. A recent writer says of Dorsetshire, that "the next thing after the advent of Judge Jefferies that gave the county a downright shake from end to end was the crusade of S. G. O."† What was that crusade of one who seldom put his lance in rest except to tilt against some armour-clad oppressor? The publicity given by this famous correspondent of the "Times" to the miserable condition of the Dorsetshire labourers produced a controversy in Parliament, in which facts alleged against the neglect of the landowners and farmers of that county were attempted to be disproved. The "Times" then employed a Commissioner to see with his own eyes what was the real condition of a county held to be chronically behind the age. That Report was entirely confirmatory of all that had been alleged of the excessively low rate of wages, which in most cases was about seven shillings

* "Chartism," by Thomas Carlyle, p. 22.

† "Quarterly Review," April, 1862, p. 235.

a week; of the oppression exercised over the labourer who did job-work, by his master giving him whatever the master liked; of the system of paying the labourers partly in kind, when they were compelled by the farmers to take an inferior quality of corn called "grists" at a price equal to or above the market price of the best grain; and of the disgraceful state of the labourers' cottages, small, inconvenient, and so entirely unfit for the decent accommodation of a family that in some cases nine persons slept in one room. Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne (S. G. O.), rector of Bryanstone, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire, had in 1842 testified to the physical and moral injuries to the labourer of a dwelling of the most confined space without anything like proper drainage. His evidence was taken by one of the Special Assistant Commissioners, who reported "on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture." Of the early employment of children of both sexes in the fields the greatest evil was to be found in their removal from school before they had acquired the commonest rudiments of knowledge. The employment of women was injurious in their being withdrawn from the proper superintendence of their families, and in that consequent absence of domestic comfort which in most cases drove the labourer to the beer-shop.

In 1836 a Commission was appointed to inquire as to the best means of establishing an efficient Constabulary Force in the counties of England, for the prevention of offences, the detection of criminals, and the protection of property. The Report of this Commission showed that there was an average of a hundred thousand commitments annually of the able-bodied population; and that from eleven thousand to twenty thousand persons were constantly in gaol. Crimes of violence were gradually decreasing, though crimes characterized by fraud were increasing in a still greater proportion. The criminal population of London, and of a few of the larger towns, had been kept within narrower bounds than in the time of George the Fourth, by the establishment of a vigilant Police Force. In the rural districts there was no power but that of the parish constable to prevent the most extensive system of depredation. Even the labouring classes were constantly plundered of the produce of their gardens and garden allotments. "There is no protection for us," said a labourer to a clergyman near Bath. The altered character of criminal punishments, as exhibited in the sentences passed in the years before and after the accession of the Queen, is very remarkable. In 1834 four hundred and eighty persons were sentenced to death; in 1838 a hundred and sixteen. In 1834, eight hundred and ninety-four persons were sentenced to transportation for life; in 1838 two hundred and sixty-six; in 1834 two thousand four hundred were sentenced to transportation for seven years; in 1838 under nineteen hundred. There was a proportionate increase in the sentences of minor punishments. The number sentenced to terms of imprisonment or to summary punishment was eleven thousand five hundred in 1834; it was thirteen thousand in 1838. The per-centage of criminals unable to read and write was, in 1840, 33·32 for England and Wales. The proportion of criminals unable to read and write was 7 per cent. more in the agricultural counties than in the manufacturing and mixed counties.

It was found, upon an average of five years, 1838 to 1842, that more than one-third of those committed for trial at the assizes were under twenty years of age. The records of summary convictions exhibited a frightful amount of

juvenile delinquency. It was estimated that in London thirty thousand of those who have been called the Arabs of civilization, depending from day to day on the uncertain support of mendicancy and plunder, were under sixteen years of age. There was a district lying near Westminster Abbey, called "The Devil's Acre," where depravity was universal; where professional beggars were fitted out with all their appliances of imposture; where there was an agency office for the hire of children to be carried about by forlorn widows and deserted wives to move the compassion of street-giving benevolence; where young pickpockets were duly trained in the art and mystery which was to conduct them in due course to an expensive voyage for the good of their country. A Scotch gardener, Andrew Walker, attempted to weed the Devil's Acre; and in 1839 set up a school, in a stable, for reclaiming and instructing the wretched children who swarmed around him. This was the beginning of "Ragged Schools" in London. In that year died John Pounds, the Portsmouth cobbler, who for many years had been rescuing poor children in a similar way, in the populous town where he earned a scanty living. In the course of his benevolent career he had been the gratuitous instructor of five hundred children, who without him would have swelled the numbers of the criminal population. When the Queen came to the throne there was not a Ragged School in London, Liverpool, Manchester, or Birmingham. Bristol was the first great town in which such an institution was organized. Aberdeen led the way in Scotland, to attempt the abatement of juvenile delinquency by the establishment of Industrial Schools.

In that sermon upon the accession of Victoria with whose prophetic aspirations we concluded our last chapter, the preacher, taking a short view of the duties which devolved upon the young Queen,—what ideas she ought to form of her duties,—and in what points she should endeavour to place the glories of her reign,—says, "First and foremost, I think the new queen should bend her mind to the very serious consideration of educating the people. Of the importance of this I think no reasonable doubt can exist. It does not in its effects keep pace with the exaggerated expectations of its injudicious advocates, but it presents the best chance of national improvement."

A quarter of a century is past since these words were uttered. The necessity that was first and foremost in the thought of the sagacious divine, and the especial application of his words, can only be adequately measured, and properly understood, by referring to the fact that up to the period of the accession of queen Victoria the government had scarcely considered it a part of its duty to interfere with the course of private benevolence in rendering assistance to the general education of the people. In 1834, however, lord Althorp, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, had proposed a vote of 20,000*l.* for assisting in building schoolhouses. This sum was to be placed at the disposal of the Treasury; but the government was to take the recommendations of the National Society and of the British or Lancasterian Society, in its appropriation. Grants of nearly similar amount were made by Parliament in 1835, 1836, and 1837. During those four years a sum, double to that contributed by Parliament, had been supplied by the private funds of individuals towards the erection of schools. The same private funds,

in addition to the old endowed charities, had been deemed sufficient to carry on the great work of rescuing the people out of the thick darkness in which too many of them were groping their way through life. In February, 1839, the government first constituted a Board of Education, consisting of five Privy Councillors, with the President of the Council as the head of the Board. It was proposed that the distribution of the votes of Parliament for the promotion of education should be confided to this Board, which was especially charged with the formation of Normal Schools. In June of that year a vote of 30,000*l.* was proposed by the government, and was only carried by a majority of two in the House of Commons. After a debate of three days, two hundred and seventy-three members voted an amendment to the ministerial proposition, praying the Queen to revoke the Order in Council by which the Board of Education had been appointed. An address of the same character was carried by a large majority in the House of Lords. But the government, with a firmness for which every poor child born in the reign of Queen Victoria has cause to be grateful, persevered in its plan.

We have thus anticipated the regular course of our notice of parliamentary proceedings that we may proceed to the last, but not the least important, point of our estimate of the social condition of the great body of the people at the accession of the Queen. In the debate of June, 1839, Mr. Wyse, one of the lords of the Treasury, who, as Member for Waterford, had during several sessions laboured with unwearied diligence to rouse the House of Commons to sanction even the faintest beginnings of a national system of education, boldly maintained that, instead of standing the highest in rank in point of civilization, this country might be regarded as being almost the lowest in comparison with other European nations, in the general diffusion of knowledge amongst the people. He instanced the evils which were constantly experienced of want of education in the elements of science, in matters of every-day life, and in the general pursuits of industry. The farmers were almost wholly ignorant of agriculture as a science; the greater number of them kept indifferent accounts, and many of them none. They were jealous of their labourers, discouraged the education of their children, and made no attempts to improve their social condition. In the towns the gross ignorance of all sanitary arrangements prevented any desire for the improvement of the condition of the lower classes being made available. The people, whether of town or country, whether in the wynds of Glasgow or the cultivated fields of Norfolk, were equally incapacitated by the want of education from rising above the misery and degradation of their social condition. Calculating that there were three million of children in England to be supplied with instruction, half of whom were left in a state of complete ignorance, he maintained that through the effects of this ignorance there were large masses of the population either actually in the commission of crime, or preparing for it. Most truly did he say that the inattention of the upper classes led to the dislocation of the lower classes from them, and they were thus often induced to adopt Chartism and infidelity. The religious education as given in this country was not sufficient.* As an especial illustration of this remark Mr. Wyse referred to an extraordinary occurrence in 1838, when a band of

* Hansard, vol. xlvi. cols. 529 to 538.

fanatics near Canterbury manifested an amount of ignorance which appeared rather to belong to the superstitions of barbarous countries than to the England of the nineteenth century. We reserve the relation of this outbreak of the grossest ignorance for our next chapter.

Popular education had been making progress in England since 1818.* Taking the Public and Private Schools, it appears as to Day Schools that while in 1818 there was a scholar for every 17·25 persons, in 1833 there was a scholar for every 11·27 persons. As to Sunday Schools, it appears that while in 1818 there was one Sunday scholar for every 24·40 persons, in 1833 there was one scholar for every 9·28 persons. The Day scholars in 1833 had more than doubled those of 1818; the Sunday scholars were three times as many. Between 1811 and 1841 there had been above thirteen thousand schools established, of which five thousand four hundred were Public Schools, and eight thousand seven hundred Private Schools.† The increase of Public Schools in the period between 1831 and 1841 had been equal to the total increase in the three decennial periods from 1801 to 1831. The increase from 1831 to 1841, in the numbers of schools where the children of the Labouring Classes could be taught in the schools to which the State had begun to lend a grudging assistance, had slowly proceeded, amidst the disputes of the advocates and the opponents of popular education in the abstract, and of Churchmen and Dissenters, who, essentially differing as to the religious elements in the instruction of the poor, resisted the interference of the State at all. The increase of schools eight or ten years before the accession of the Queen had produced very little visible effect upon those growing into young men and women. In 1838, upon a comparison of statistical returns in some agricultural and manufacturing districts, the conclusion was come to that, speaking roughly, it might be safely asserted that less than one-half of the adult population of England could write, and that less than three-fourths could read.‡

If we were to attempt to pass from the condition of the poor and lowly to any minute view of the condition of the rich and powerful, we should necessarily be in the region of vague generalities instead of having our course marked out by trustworthy statistics. We must therefore conclude this imperfect notice of the social condition of the kingdom by a few remarks, having reference to all classes, derived from the observations of others rather than from our own impressions.

An Englishman whom circumstances had compelled to relinquish the fashionable society of the Regency for a residence in Paris, returns to London in 1841. He finds the great capital very much altered, and in some respects, such as the buildings and parks, considerably improved. The change of society, he says, has become very apparent within the last few years. "It was called, and perhaps justly, in my time, dissipated; but the leaders were men of sense and talent, with polished manners, and generally high-minded feelings."§ One of the most distinguished of Frenchmen comes as ambassador to England in 1840, and regarding with a philosophical intelligence both

* See *ante*, p. 230.

† See Education Report, Census 1851, pp. xix, xx.

‡ "Penny Magazine," vol. vii. p. 324.

§ Raikes's "Diary," vol. iv. p. 181.

the great and the humble, he thus contrasts the past with the present. Looking back to the end of the eighteenth century, he says that there were at that time, even in the elevated classes of English society, many remains of gross and disorderly manners. Precisely because England had been for centuries a country of liberty, the most opposite results of that liberty had been developed in startling contrasts. A puritan severity was maintained side by side with the corruption of the courts of Charles II. and the first Georges; habits almost barbarous kept their hold in the midst of the progress of civilization; the splendour of power and of riches had not banished from the higher social regions the excesses of a vulgar intemperance; even the elevation of ideas and the supremacy of talent did not always carry with them delicacy of taste, for the Sheridan who had been electrifying Parliament by his eloquence might the same night have been picked up drunk in the streets. This picture of M. Guizot is not an overcoloured one. The union of dissipation with sense and talent and high-minded feelings was not absolutely necessary to the existence of the better qualities. M. Guizot goes on to say, "It is in our time that these shocking incongruities in the state of manners in England have vanished, and that English society has become as polished as it is free—where gross habits are constrained to be hidden or to be reformed—and where civilization is day by day showing itself more general and more harmonious." Two conditions of progress, he continues, which rarely go together, have been developed and attained during half a century in England: the laws of morality have been strengthened, and manners have at the same time become softer, less inclined to violent excesses, more elegant. "Steam," says Mr. Raikes, "has here dissolved the exclusive system, and seems to have substituted the love of wealth for both the love of amusement and of social distinction." There is some truth in this; but the moralist will have no difficulty in making his choice between a profligate exclusive society, and one less brilliant, perhaps less educated, where wealth and learning and refinement are more diffused. Mr. Raikes tells us of Gaming Clubs, the members of which died early, often by their own hands; and how those who survived often looked back to the life at the fashionable Club as the source of their embarrassments.* He tells us of frequent duels, which formerly ended more fatally than when he returned to England. Duelling was not banished then; it was not ridiculed and despised, as it is now. As long as manners were "gross and disorderly," duelling was inevitable; it was almost necessary. The eminent writer and statesman, whose testimony to the social condition of England we are glad to quote, says that the double progress of a stricter morality and a refinement of manners was not confined to the higher and middle classes, but was very apparent amongst the bulk of the people. "The domestic life, laborious and regular, extends its empire over these classes. They comprehend, they seek, they enjoy more honest and more delicate pleasures than brutal quarrels or drunkenness. The amelioration is certainly very incomplete. Gross passions and disorderly habits are always fermenting in the bosom of obscure and idle misery; and in London, Manchester, or Glasgow there are ample materials for the most hideous descriptions. But take it all in all, civilization and

* "Diary," vol. iii. p. 85.

liberty have in England, during the course of the nineteenth century, turned to the profit of good rather than of evil. Religious faith, Christian charity, philanthropic benevolence, the intelligent and indefatigable activity of the higher classes, and good sense spread amongst all classes, have battled, and now battle effectually, against the vices of society and the evil inclinations of human nature. When one has lived some time in England one feels to be in an atmosphere cold but healthy, where the moral and social health is stronger than the moral and social maladies, although these abound there."* Such impressions of English society are written under the date of 1840. The sentence, "when one has lived some time in England," seems to carry us to the time when M. Guizot found a home amongst us. But, at any rate, in 1840 that change was beginning, which it is one of the greatest glories of the reign to have seen steadily advancing—a better understanding between rich and poor, high and lowly, of their relative duties,—something far safer and happier than arrogant assumption or haughty indifference,—than envious discontent or grovelling servility—in their habitual intercourse.

* Guizot—"Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps," tome v. 1862.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Separation of Hanover from Great Britain—Departure of the King of Hanover—The Queen meets the Parliament—Dissolution—Ministry at the Queen's Accession—The New Parliament—Canada—Insurrection in Canada—Lord Durham appointed Lord High Commissioner—Resigns his office—His Report—Coronation of the Queen—Prorogation—Review of the Session—Canterbury Fanatics—Career of John Thom—Proclaims himself the Messiah at Boughton—The Three Days' March of his deluded followers—Neglect of Education in the District—The Tragedy of Bosenden Wood—Meeting of Parliament—Chartism—Condition of the Labouring Classes—Jamaica—Resignation of the Ministry—Failure in the attempt to form a New Administration—The Bedchamber Question—Disloyal Tories—Chartist Riots—Insurrection at Newport—John Frost and others tried for High Treason.

FROM the hour that the Crown of these kingdoms devolved upon Queen Victoria, dates a change which was a real blessing in the relations of the Sovereign to the Continent of Europe. Hanover was at that instant wholly separated from Great Britain. By the law of that country a female could not reign except in default of heirs male in the Royal family. But in addition to the great advantage of separating the policy of England wholly from the intrigues and complications of a petty German State, it was an immediate happiness that the most hated and in some respects the most dangerous man in these islands was removed to a sphere where his political system might be worked out with less danger to the good of society than amongst a people where his influence was associated with the grossest follies of Toryism and the darkest designs of Orangeism. On the 24th of June the duke of Cumberland, now become Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover, left London. On the 28th he made a solemn entrance into the capital of his states, and at once exhibited to his new subjects his character and disposition by refusing to receive a deputation of the Chambers, who came to offer him their homage and their congratulations. By a proclamation of the 5th of July he announced his intention to abolish the representative constitution, which he had previously refused to recognize by the customary oath. We shall have little further occasion to notice the course of this worst disciple of the old school of intolerance and irresponsible government, and we may therefore at once state that he succeeded in depriving Hanover of the forms of freedom under which she had begun to live; ejected from their offices and banished some of the ablest professors of the University of Göttingen, who had ventured to think that letters would flourish best in a free soil; and reached the height of his

ambition in becoming the representative of whatever in sovereign power was most repugnant to the spirit of the age.

The funeral of William the Fourth had taken place at Windsor on the 9th of July. On the 17th the Queen went in state to Parliament. The chronicles of the time are eloquent in their descriptions of the enthusiasm with which her Majesty was received, and of the extraordinary concourse of ladies of rank in the House of Lords to do honour to the rare occasion of the presence there of the third female sovereign who had thus met the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. In the speech from the throne her Majesty stated that amongst the useful measures which Parliament had brought to maturity she regarded with peculiar interest the amendment of the Criminal Code and the reduction of the number of capital punishments. She hailed this mitigation of the severity of the law as an auspicious commencement of her reign. "It will be my care," she said "to strengthen our institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, by discreet improvement wherever improvement is required, and to do all in my power to compose and allay animosity and discord." These were not words of course. They were the key-note of that harmony which, during the progress of a quarter of a century, has superseded in a great degree the harsh discords which had too long distinguished the contests of parties and of principles. The Parliament was prorogued, and was dissolved the same evening.

The ministry which Queen Victoria found at her accession* was one whose general character was in harmony with the opinions in which she had been educated. Viscount Melbourne, the First Lord of the Treasury, was at her hand to guide and assist her in the discharge of the technical business of her great office. The daily duties of the Sovereign are of no light nature. Many of the complicated details of the various departments of the State must pass under the eye of the Constitutional Monarch for approval, and a vast number of documents can only receive their validity from the signature of the Sovereign. During the elections, which were over early in August, the party contests assumed a tone not entirely constitutional; for the adherents of the ministry alleged to their constituents that in supporting them they were exhibiting their loyalty to the Queen, whilst the adverse party maintained that her Majesty had only passively adopted that administration of her uncle which she found established. But amidst these fluctuating demonstrations of political management there was one feeling predominant, which was certainly favourable to the duration of the ministry—that of a deep and growing attachment to the person of the young Sovereign. Never was there a more enthusiastic demonstration of popular feeling than when, on the 9th of November, the Queen went in state to the City to dine with the Lord Mayor at Guildhall. In less than a fortnight after the gorgeous banquet and the universal excitement of a general holiday in London, the real business commenced which was to test the position of the Government. On the 15th of November the new Parliament met. Mr. Abercromby was re-elected speaker without opposition. On the 20th the Queen in person opened the new Parliament. The most important paragraph in her Majesty's speech was—"I recommend to your serious consideration the state of the province of

* See List, p. 381.

Lower Canada.” At the opening of the last Parliament of king William the Fourth a similar expression of solicitude as to the condition of Canada is found in the king’s speech. We shall endeavour to trace as briefly as possible how the discontents which existed at the beginning of 1837 broke out into open insurrection at the end of that year, and how they were finally allayed.

In the House of Commons on the 6th of March, 1837, lord John Russell brought forward a series of resolutions which declared that since the 31st of October, 1832, no provision had been made by the legislature of the province of Lower Canada for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and for the support of the civil government within the province; that for four years the payments in arrear had amounted to a large sum which the House of Assembly, in answer to a recommendation of the Governor, declined to discharge by a vote of supply, declaring, amongst other things, that it persisted in the demand of an elective legislative council, and a free exercise of its control over all the branches of the executive government. The resolutions of lord John Russell expressed the refusal of the British Legislature to accede to these demands, although it was held expedient to adopt certain improvements in the legislative council and in the executive council. These resolutions were passed by large majorities in both Houses. The promulgation in Canada of the determination of the British Government was a signal for revolt. On the 22nd of December the Government announced in both Houses of Parliament that there was an open insurrection and rebellion in Lower Canada, and it was in consequence proposed that the adjournment for Christmas should be for a shorter period than originally intended. The debate on this occasion shows how completely it had become a creed of those who held strong democratic opinions that the dominion of England in America should at once be brought to a conclusion. “Great,” said sir William Molesworth, “would be the advantages of an amicable separation of the two countries.” The civil war which sir William Molesworth considered almost inevitable would, he believed, involve this country in a contest with the United States of America. A passage in the philosophical baronet’s speech is worth considering, although a quarter of a century has passed over since its utterance. “How powerful soever the central government of the United States may be when it goes along with the wishes of the people, it is most feeble when the people are opposed or indifferent to its commands, or when one or more of the sovereign states are desirous of evading its decrees. It is exactly in a case like this that the central government of that republic is weakest; for how anxious soever it may be, from general views of policy, to prevent all interference in the affairs of Canada—all hostilities with this country—yet its people will see in this struggle but a repetition of their own glorious struggle for independence; they will behold in the conduct of England towards Canada the sequel of those despotic and unjust principles which a little more than half a century ago caused them to shake off our yoke.”* The ultimate consequence of this temporary estrangement of the popular party in Canada from the Imperial government was the establishment of a better system of policy. This change had been strenuously advocated by colonial reformers, who contended that all which was needed to preserve our

* Hansard, vol. xxxix. col. 1465.

colonies was "a clear demarcation of their rights from ours, a full exemption from all control in the matters which solely regarded them, with a supervision only on the part of the empire in matters strictly of imperial concernment." This view, it is added, "may be said to have rendered Canada loyal." *

Between the adjournment and the re-assembling of Parliament, important events had taken place in Canada. On the 14th of December the rebels were defeated at St. Eustace, their leaders saving themselves by flight. On the 29th of December the United States' steamboat "Caroline," which was laden with arms and ammunition for the insurgents, was attacked and burnt on the territories of the United States. This act was committed under the orders of the governor, sir Francis Head. It produced a long controversy between the two governments, and was justified by the necessity of defending the British territory, which had been assaulted from the American side. The President of the United States subsequently forbade the attacks of the citizens of the republic on neighbouring states. On the 5th of January, 1838, the insurgents, headed by Dr. Mackenzie, surrounded Toronto, but were repulsed by sir Francis Head. Such was the course of the insurrection, when, on the 22nd of January, in the House of Commons, lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill by which, for a certain time, the calling of an assembly in Lower Canada, which was a duty incumbent on the governor for the time being, might be suspended, and authority be given to meet the present emergency, and to provide for the future government of the province. He thought with respect to the principal question on which the alleged grievances of the Canadians were based, a satisfactory adjustment might, in the course of time, be arrived at. He proposed that a high functionary should be sent out, who should be conversant with matters of administration, with the most important affairs which are from time to time brought before Parliament, as well as with the affairs of the various states of Europe, and moreover that it should be implied by his nomination that he was favourable to popular feelings and popular rights. He then announced that her Majesty had been pleased to entrust the conduct of this affair, with the high powers implied in the appointment, to the earl of Durham, who had accepted the office. Lord Durham, in his place in the House of Lords, stated that he did not go to Canada for the purpose of suspending the constitution, but in the endeavour to provide for the extraordinary state of circumstances produced by the rebellious part of the Canadian community, that would render it impossible for the constitution to continue in operation. "I go," he said, "not for the purpose of exercising that power, that species of discreditable power, as the noble and learned lord [Brougham] calls it, which is to be vested in me; but in the first place to restore, I trust, the supremacy of the law, and next, to be the humble instrument of conferring upon the British North American provinces such a free and liberal constitution as shall place them on the same scale of independence as the rest of the possessions of Great Britain." †

Lord Durham landed at Quebec on the 29th of May, 1838. The history

* "Secularia," by Samuel Lucas, M.A., p. 265.

† Hansard, vol. xl. col. 243.

of the administration of Canada by her Majesty's High Commissioner furnishes a remarkable proof of how great and salutary changes may be effected in the government of a great dependency, by the union of firmness and conciliation, and by the application of liberal political principles in the place of a continued system of coercion and tutelage. Lord Durham had at his side an adviser, a person of eminent ability and with large views of statesmanship—Mr. Charles Buller. All went well for a few months. The rebellion was dying out. The French population had given up their notion of being supported by the borderers of the United States, and were conciliated by seeing that no difference was to be made between British and French subjects. A general amnesty was published, and measures were taken for inquiring into the feasibility of a plan for constituting a Federal Union of the British North American provinces. The measure which lord Durham pursued with regard to the disposal of the rebel prisoners was successful in the colony, but obnoxious to many of influence in the legislature of Great Britain. By an ordinance of the 28th of June it was declared that eight rebel leaders in the jail of Montreal who had acknowledged their guilt should be transported to Bermuda; that sixteen other rebel leaders who were named had fled, and that if any of either class should return without permission and be found in the province, they should suffer death. On the 7th of August lord Brougham made a strong attack upon what he described as the "appalling fact of fourteen persons, and M. Papineau making fifteen, being adjudged to suffer death, if they appeared in Canada, not one of those individuals having been previously tried. Such a proceeding was contrary to every principle of justice, and was opposed to the genius and spirit of English law, which humanely supposed every accused party to be innocent until he was proved to be guilty."* On the 10th of August lord Melbourne announced that her Majesty's Government had counselled the disallowance of the ordinance. When lord Durham received the news of this censure of his administration he resolved to resign his great office; and on the 9th of October he issued a proclamation, according to the terms of the Indemnity Act which lord Brougham had proposed and carried, which proclamation was a humiliating abrogation of the ordinance of the 28th of June. Lord Durham at the same time published a document in which he justified the policy pursued by him since his arrival in Canada, and announced his determination of resigning his government. He did not wait to obtain leave for his return. This was a grave error. He arrived home in a state of wretched health, produced by the irritation of a proud and sensitive nature working upon a feeble constitution. The censure implied in the abrogation of the ordinance of lord Durham was a severe measure towards a man whose great hope was to have secured the allegiance and prosperity of Canada, by a system of high policy which was utterly opposed to the old methods of colonial government. Great lawyers at home differed as to the legality of the course which he pursued. The eloquence of lord Brougham in denouncing it as an illegal act of despotic authority met with supporters amongst those who hated lord Durham's liberal policy. He came home a broken-hearted man; and his career, which might otherwise have been so

* Hansard, vol. xliv. col. 1022.

glorious, terminated in his death in 1840, but not without the noble satisfaction he derived from establishing his policy in his counsels to his successor, Mr. Poulett Thompson. During the voyage home his Report on the affairs of British North America, which is attributed to the pen of his friend Mr. Charles Buller, was in great part prepared. It is a most able view, not only of the particular circumstances of the provinces which were placed under lord Durham's government, but generally of colonial administration. A passage in the conclusion of this Report is now of higher interest than the occurrences to which it had a special reference. "The experiment of keeping colonies and governing them well ought at least to have a trial, ere we abandon for ever the vast dominion which might supply the wants of our surplus population, and raise up millions of fresh consumers of our manufactures and producers of a supply for our wants. The warmest admirers, and the strongest opponents of republican institutions, admit or assert that the amazing prosperity of the United States is less owing to their form of government, than to the unlimited supply of fertile land, which maintains succeeding generations in an undiminishing affluence of fertile soil. A region as large and as fertile is open to your Majesty's subjects in your Majesty's American dominions." At that time emigration from the United Kingdom was upon a very limited scale. The vast resources of Australia were yet undeveloped. In 1837 the emigrants to the North American colonies were about 30,000, and to the United States 36,000; to the Australian colonies and New Zealand the number was only 5,000. In 1838 the emigration to America was reduced to one-fourth of the amount of the previous year, whilst that to Australia was trebled. From 1815 to 1838 the annual average of emigrants to all places during the 24 years was 38,376. From 1839 to 1852, when what is termed the Irish Exodus was in full operation, and the gold discoveries had been made in Australia, the annual average during the 14 years was 181,612. The realization of the great triumph of science in accomplishing the passage by steam power alone across the Atlantic offered new facilities for emigration. The first vessels which solved this problem were the "Sirius" and the "Great Western;" the one having accomplished the voyage to New York in twenty days, the other in sixteen days. We may conclude this rapid notice of the affairs of our American colonies by stating that, after a series of defeats in November, especially one on the 17th near Prescott in Upper Canada, the insurrection was wholly suppressed. In 1840 an Act was passed for the union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada as one province, under one Legislative Council and one Assembly.

The coronation of the Queen at Westminster Abbey took place on the 28th of June. The splendours which had attended the coronation of George the Fourth were to some extent dispensed with. There was no solemn procession of the Estates of the Realm. There was no banquet in Westminster Hall, with its accompanying feudal services. But there was a gorgeous cavalcade which more than realized the pomp of ancient times, when the king came "from the Tower of London to his Palace at Westminster through the midst of the City, mounted on a horse, handsomely habited, and bare-headed, in the sight of all the people." Charles the Second was the last king who thus went to his coronation in procession from the Tower.

Queen Victoria went from Buckingham Palace through the line of streets from Hyde Park Corner, where the houses were not hung with tapestry, as of old, but where galleries and scaffolding were raised throughout the line, and the windows were filled with ladies whose enthusiasm was as hearty as that to which Elizabeth bowed. Never were the streets more crowded. Never were the cheers of an enormous multitude—swelled, it is said, by two hundred thousand persons from the country—more deafening than when the Queen passed along; the last of a cavalcade in which, next to herself, the persons most greeted by the popular voice were the Duke of Wellington and his old opponent Marshal Soult, who came as a Special Ambassador on this occasion. The day was remarkable, not only for the entire absence of accidents, but for the wonderful forbearance of that class who are most usually active on public occasions; there being only seven persons brought to the police stations for picking pockets. The day was observed throughout the kingdom as a general holiday; with public dinners, feasts to the poor, and brilliant illuminations. On this occasion, when the attachment of the people to their young queen was so universally manifested, some might recollect an eloquent passage of a speech made by lord Brougham in the House of Lords six months before, in which he qualified his opposition to some of the details of the Civil List: "Not any one among you all can rejoice more sincerely than I have done in the enthusiasm of affection which has burst from all her subjects, to greet the accession of the reigning Monarch. They have generously let expectation usurp the place of gratitude. They have taken counsel with hope, rather than experience. For as memory scatters her sweets with a cold and churlish hand, it has been found more pleasing to array the object of the general love in the attire of fancy; and as fervent a devotion has been kindled towards the yet untried ruler, as could have glowed in her people's bosom after the longest and most glorious reign, in which she should have only lived and only governed for the country's good; by some chronic miracle escaping all error and all failure, and only showering down blessings upon mankind. I heartily rejoice in this enthusiasm, and I do not complain of it as premature. I rejoice in it because it must prove delightful to the royal object of it. I rejoice still more because I know that it will stimulate the queen to live for her country, in order to earn the affections which have already been bestowed, and justify the opinion which has been formed, and is so fondly cherished upon trust. But most chiefly do I rejoice, because it extinguishes for ever all apprehensions of the English people's loyalty and trustworthiness; puts to shame all who would represent them as disaffected towards monarchical institutions; demonstrates the safety of entrusting them with an ample measure of political rights; and teaches to statesmen this great practical lesson, that the more we extirpate abuse from our system, the more searching we make our reforms, the more we endear the Constitution to the people by making them feel its benefits—the safer will be the just rights of the monarch who is its head, and the stronger will be the allegiance of the subject who cheerfully obeys."*

Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person on the 16th of August.

* "Speeches of Henry lord Brougham," vol. iv. p. 337.

The chief measures which had occupied the discussions in both Houses were the settlement of the Civil List and the state of Canada. Other measures, which provoked less conflict, were not less important. In his review of the measures of the Session the Speaker emphatically dwelt upon the provision made for the destitute in Ireland. He said that no measure like the introduction of a Poor Law into a country circumstanced as Ireland is with respect to the number and condition of its population, could be proposed without incurring heavy responsibility; but that looking at what had been done on this subject by former parliaments with respect to England, they had thought that the time was come when they might legislate for Ireland with safety and with a reasonable prospect of success. The Irish Poor-Law Statute was in great degree founded upon three comprehensive Reports of Mr. Nicholls. The Speaker expressed a hope that the execution of that most important law would be watched over and guided by the same prudent and impartial spirit which governed the deliberations which led to its enactment. It was felt by every one conversant with the subject, that no better prospect could be afforded of the probable realization of this hope than the immediate determination of the Government that Mr. Nicholls should proceed to Ireland for the purpose of carrying the new law into operation, which he had, in great part, planned, basing it upon the most searching inquiry and the most careful consideration. Amongst the other important measures of the Session were a mitigation of the law of imprisonment for debt; the abridgment of the power of holding benefices in plurality; and the abolition of composition for tithes in Ireland, substituting rent-charges payable by those who had a perpetual interest in the land. In his Address to her Majesty the Speaker adverted to "the improving opinions and increasing knowledge of the educated classes of the community." He probably considered that the time was distant when there would be "improving opinions and increasing knowledge" amongst the bulk of the population who could scarcely be recognized as "educated classes." A circumstance which occurred during this Session furnished a sufficient proof of the necessity for exertion before the labours of Parliament to maintain respect for our laws and institutions by salutary amendments should be generally appreciated.

A month before the coronation of the Queen, that manifestation of popular ignorance took place in Kent, to which we alluded in our last chapter. The Reports of the parliamentary discussions upon the subject at the beginning of June in that year, are under the head of "Canterbury Fanatics." The debates to which these occurrences gave rise were little more than personal and party squabbles; except in the argument of Mr. Hume that such an exhibition of brutal ignorance, in a district within fifty miles of London, where the people were surrounded by country gentlemen of great wealth, and where there was a large body of clergy, presented an occasion for endeavouring to arouse the government to the absolute necessity of a comprehensive system of education for the people.* Little as the attention of parliament was aroused by the proceedings of a band of Kentish fanatics, the notice of foreign countries was painfully directed towards this

* Hansard, vol. xliii. col. 547.

contradiction of our boasted advance in civilization as an event almost inconceivable in the Nineteenth Century.*

About the beginning of the year 1832 a stranger made his appearance at Canterbury who attracted a good deal of notice by his commanding figure and handsome features. He represented himself as a Jew, which character was in some degree supported by his ample beard at a time when such an ornament was not common amongst Englishmen. He gradually put forth pretensions of superior sanctity, and mysteriously intimated that he had a mission to fulfil of no common nature. Devotees soon surrounded him, not wholly of the lowest and most ignorant class, but comprising a few having wealth and respectable position. Parliament was prorogued in August of that year, after the passing of the Reform Bill, and the electors of Canterbury began to look out for proper persons to represent their opinions, whether Reforming or Conservative. The handsome Jew had then become sir William Courtenay, the expectant heir of great estates, and a Knight of Malta. There were two candidates for the suffrages of the citizens in the ministerial interest—the Hon. Richard Watson and viscount Fordwich. Two Conservative Baronets came forward to oppose them, but quickly withdrew. No other candidate of known character appearing in the field, a knot of citizens calling themselves Conservatives put forward sir William Courtenay. He came on the hustings in a velvet coat, "like a mountebank," said some irreverent newspapers. He was proposed and seconded at the election by two Conservative tradesmen; members of the liberal professions, and even a clergyman of the Church of England, all of Conservative politics, voted for him; † and the adventurer, who was manifestly an impostor or a madman, actually obtained three hundred and seventy-eight votes. Such was the indiscriminating violence of party feelings at the crisis of our great Constitutional Reform. Defeated in the object of his ambition he retired to Herne Bay, which was then more distinguished as a resort of smugglers than as a fashionable watering-place. In some affray between the coast-guard and a band of these free-traders, sir William Courtenay came forward as a witness; subjected himself by his evidence to an indictment for perjury; and having been convicted under his proper name of John Nicholls Thom was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. He underwent some portion of the penalty of the law until his extravagances rendered it necessary to transfer his safe keeping from the County Prison to the County Lunatic Asylum. In the fourth year of Thom's confinement, namely, in August, 1837, his father and mother-in-law presented themselves to lord John Russell, the Home Secretary, who was residing at Endsleigh in Devonshire, to express their deep distress at the continued confinement of their son; stating that they had been told by his keepers that there was no danger likely to arise from his liberation; promising that the utmost care should be taken of him by themselves; and affirming that he had sufficient property to

* See "Annuaire Historique" for 1838, p. 487.—This most extraordinary episode in the history of the first year of the reign of Queen Victoria appearing to us as something more important than a mere outbreak of local fanaticism, we thought it our duty to ascertain by personal inquiry if any elucidation of these events could be obtained from witnesses still living in the district where they occurred.

† Hansard, vol. xliii. cols. 1108, 1112.

pay for any expense attending upon such care.* Upon these assurances lord John Russell, in his official capacity, took measures for obtaining Thom's release; and having recommended that a pardon should be granted in the case of the prisoner, which was equivalent to an order for his discharge, he was taken away from the asylum in October by some person not accustomed to the treatment of lunatics. The visiting justices had not opposed this discharge. During the winter of 1837, and the spring of 1838, the unfortunate man, who had been described by the medical superintendent of the asylum simply as a lunatic fancying himself a knight, and having a right to an estate and to a castle, was living in farmhouses and cottages in a rural district between Canterbury and Faversham, and there acquired a most extraordinary influence over the deluded people amongst whom he dwelt. From the subsequent parliamentary proceedings connected with this case, it appeared that Thom had been engaged in extensive mercantile transactions in Cornwall; had left Truro for Liverpool in May, 1832, for the purpose of selling a quantity of malt; and after having written a sane and affectionate letter to his wife, had never returned to his home with the money derived from this sale, and had passed entirely out of the notice of his family whilst he was pursuing the high destinies of sir William Courtenay.

On the pleasant high road to London, about six miles from Canterbury, is the village of Boughton-under-Blean. On the right of the road before reaching Boughton is an extensive wood called Bosenden. The parish of Herne Hill on the north adjoins Boughton, as does Dunkirkville, a populous non-parochial place, on the south. Boughton Church is a mile from the village. The hamlets of Goodnestone, Graveney, and Selling lie at short distances around. No district can present a more thoroughly English character of quiet beauty. Broad meadows, rich corn and clover lands, hawthorn hedges bursting into blossom, scattered cottages with pretty gardens, farmhouses with apple and cherry orchards—the scene altogether, such as we beheld it on a morning of May, seemed of all others the most ill-suited for such a tragedy as had been here witnessed on a similar May morning. The winter of 1837-8 was one of extraordinary severity. The spring was cold and raw. The price of wheat was steadily rising. The labourers were suffering through the inclement season, and both farmers and labourers were complaining of the operation of the new Poor Law which compelled the employer to pay wages to his labourers instead of sending them to the poor-rates, and which refused relief to the able-bodied except under the workhouse test. Sir William Courtenay, as he was still called, went about amongst the discontented of both classes, to proclaim himself a great social Reformer. He told the labourers that all laws were made for their oppression, and that their greatest enemy was the new Poor Law. He told the farmers that they were oppressed by their landlords, and that the time would come when they should live upon the land without paying rent. On such matters his harangues on the village-green, or around the blacksmith's shop, were not essentially different from what Mr. Fielden the member for Oldham, and his friends Mr. Feargus O'Connor and the Rev. J. R. Stephens were telling the people at Manchester at this very time, calling upon them to shed the last

* Lord John Russell's Statement, Hansard, vol. xliii. col. 1099.

drop of their blood rather than submit to that law of devils which had filled the country with Poor Law Bastilles, which were intended to be a chain of barracks to be garrisoned by the military and by Russell's Rural Police.* But Courtenay had far more powerful means of arousing the ignorant than those possessed by the common demagogues who afflicted the land in the first decade of the reign of Victoria. He told them that not only was his worldly rank so great that he was to sit on her Majesty's right hand on the approaching day of the coronation, but that he was really the Messiah; that no harm could befall him whatever force came forth against him; that if he anointed them with oil and gave them the sacrament no bullet could touch them; but that if they disobeyed his commands he should rain fire and brimstone upon them and then call them to judgment. At the entrance of Boughton village there is a little public-house, the Woodman's Hall. In a room of that house the frantic impostor used to perform his impious rites. The old landlord, with whom we conversed, did not like to acknowledge his share in this fanaticism, but he was not unwilling to speak of the tall and stout man whom he had heard preach of a Sunday afternoon—"Oh! he was a fine man, and talked so grand." It was Monday morning the 28th of May when the landlord of the Woodman's Hall saw Courtenay coming over the fields from Fairbrook, a yeoman's house where he was harboured. There were many people with him whom he compelled to go on, as he threatened to shoot them if they hung back, for he had two pistols in his hand. Away they went, and four days after the old publican had heard him preach that he was the Messiah, he saw him lying dead in Bosenden Wood with many others who fell with him. "Ah; it was a sad job."

At the head of a large troop of willing or terrified followers, about a hundred in number, Courtenay sallied forth from Boughton on that morning of the 28th of May, with a flag of white and blue and the device of a rampant lion. A broken loaf was also carried upon a pole. They marched by one of the pretty byroads to Goodnestone near Faversham. Here some of the multitude attempted the old and ready process of redressing their wrongs by putting a lighted match to a bean-stack; but lo, it would not burn; and this was a miracle wrought by the power of him they worshipped. To Herne Hill they next proceeded; where Courtenay required that his people should be fed, and without delay their wants were supplied. Sometimes praying with the fanatics on their knees,—occasionally performing some piece of imposture, such as firing at a star to bring it down,—he led them into Bosenden Wood. The night was coming on, and before the people dispersed he said they should have music from heaven to attest his mission. There was method in his madness, for there was a confederate up a tree with a flute. Supper was given them at a farmhouse, and they slept in the barns. An intelligent tradesman of middle age who lives in Boughton parish, on the road to Herne Hill, described to us the movements of Courtenay and his followers on that day. He knew most of those who believed in him and were amongst his train. They were not all ignorant labourers. There were small farmers amongst them, with some of whom Courtenay had been living, going about from house to house. They not only had confidence in his divine

* "Spectator," June 9, 1833.

mission, but were assured that every man should have an estate in land, and should enjoy plenty, as well as eternal happiness. Many of the more decent people who followed him were at the present time ashamed to speak of it. There was one who was now an office-bearer in a Wesleyan congregation who would speak frankly of the circumstances, and acknowledge the folly of which he had been guilty. But the greater number of the rabble were horribly ignorant. They could not well be otherwise. At Dunkirk, with a large population, there was then no church and no clergyman. There were no National or Lancasterian schools for the children in any of the villages. The people were utterly neglected by their rich and educated neighbours. The Wesleyans had their meetings in cottages, but they had then no chapel. The statements of this sensible tailor of Boughton were perfectly in accordance with the details of the education of this district presented by Mr. Wyse in parliament in 1839. Out of fifty-one families at Herne Hill there were forty-five persons above the age of fourteen, of which number only eleven could read and write. Forty-two out of a hundred and seventeen children were at school, but they learnt little, and those who had left school and could once read the New Testament could not do so now. The Sunday schools were inefficient, as the children could never be brought to connect what they learned with their practice in life. In the ville of Dunkirk there were a hundred and thirteen children, of whom only ten could read and write, thirteen could do so a little, and the remainder not at all. Of a hundred and nineteen children in Boughton, thirty-two attended the Sunday school, but only seven went to a school where writing was taught.* All with whom we conversed were strongly impressed with the belief that the occurrences which they deplored were wholly attributable to the neglect of education, and to the indifference of the superior classes to the welfare of their poorer neighbours. Out of evil comes good, said an honest wheelwright of Selling. After the outbreak the Dunkirk gentry built a church. The Boughton people were ashamed of what Dunkirk people did, and built a National school. Clergy and Dissenters bestirred themselves, and church, chapel, and schools in a few years rose up and flourished.

With the dawn of the 29th of May the fanatics were on their march from Bosenden Wood. Along the great road they tramped for ten miles till they reached Sittingbourne—along that road where the fields on each side looked like one garden to the foreigner who travelled from Dover—along that road which exhibited such beauty to the eyes of a sanguinary republican in 1792 that he exclaimed, "Oh, what a pity, what a pity, if they set about to revolutionize this fine country."† If the ignorant enthusiasts who followed an impious madman along that road in 1838 had gathered in any formidable numbers, there might have been scenes even worse than the days of terror in France,—scenes that would have revived the memories of the Anabaptists of Münster. John Thom and John Matthias present a remarkable parallel in their fates. The baker who made himself master of Münster, and calling

* Hansard, vol. xlviii. col. 538. These statistics, quoted by Mr. Wyse, were furnished from a Report made to the Central Society of Education on the State of the Peasantry at Boughton, Herne Hill, and the Ville of Dunkirk, near Canterbury, by F. Liardet, Esq., published in 1838.

† *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 210.

himself its king, undertook with thirty followers to disperse a military force which came against him, perished with all around him at the first onset with regular soldiery. The factor of Truro, who stiled himself king of Kent, stood up to do battle with a detachment of the 45th Foot regiment, who had seen a hundred fights, and he and eight of his wretched disciples fell at the first volley. The circumstances of the catastrophe may be shortly told. From Sittingbourne the rabble marched during two days through a circle of villages on the south of the great road—Newnham, Eastling, Throwley, Sheldwich, Lees, Selling. The leader prayed and preached—promised and denounced—the peasants knelt—they obtained food at yeomen's houses—they gathered more and more in numbers—farm-labourers quitted their field-work—women threw down their hoes and left the beans unweeded. The third night closed upon this mad march as they once more entered Bosenden Wood, and lay down in barns or under the leafy canopies of that spring-time. On Thursday morning the 31st, three men appeared in the camp to search for a farmer's labourer who had been seduced from his employment to follow a man who promised that all should have plenty without work. One of these, a constable, bore a warrant to arrest the servant who had offended against the law. Thom took as effectual a method to resist intruders as did his great predecessor Cade when he hanged the clerk of Chatham—Thom instantly shot the constable. Drawing his sword, he hacked the body of his victim, and cried out to the people, "Now, am I not your Saviour?" Two of the fanatics then knelt at his feet. One of them, who still lives to repent his folly as he quickly repented it for a year in Maidstone gaol, was asked by Thom whether he would follow him in the body, or go home and follow him in heart; upon which he sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "Oh be joyful—the Saviour has accepted me—Go, go on—till I drop I'll follow thee." The murder of Mears, the constable, caused a messenger to be sent to Canterbury for military aid. A party of a hundred men immediately marched in two divisions. One division under major Armstrong proceeded into the centre of the thick wood, about a mile and a half from the road. Here a party of fifty or sixty men made their appearance, led on by one who answered the description of the person called Courtenay. Lieutenant Bennett, with his section of the soldiers, advanced towards these men, one of whom carried a white flag. The lieutenant and the leader of the fanatics each advanced till they were within two rods of each other. Courtenay commenced running; jumped over the trunk of a tree; there was a shot; and lieutenant Bennett fell. The soldiers screamed with horror; there was a rush upon them with bludgeons by the frantic rabble, led on by Courtenay; another man was shot by them; the command was given to the soldiers to fire; Courtenay and eight others of the rioters were killed; several were severely wounded. Those who did not fly in time were apprehended, and were subsequently tried. Three were sentenced to death, which was commuted for transportation; and six others were imprisoned for a year. The wretched cause of this bloodshed and misery, at once madman and impostor, was buried in the churchyard of Herne Hill. Not a stone marks where he lies under the green turf. But years passed over before the peasants ceased to visit that grave, firmly believing that his coming to life again would take place, although the promise he had given to the poor woman who lived in the farm in the

wood that if he were killed, and she poured water on his face, he would assuredly revive, was not fulfilled.

Three hundred years before these events there was a display of fanaticism of a very different nature at Adlington, in Kent, not twenty miles from Bosenden Wood. Elizabeth Barton belonged to an age "when the pretensions to miraculous powers, which still lingered round the shrines of a thousand saints and martyrs, imposed to some extent upon the clearest understandings."* The statute, by which she and five others were attainted, states that she deluded by her false revelations a great multitude of the king's subjects "inclined to newfangledness." The followers of John Thom were also inclined to newfangledness; but their fanaticism was not connected with the superstitions of a perishing faith or the devices of a cunning priesthood. It was the ignorance that had no foundation of religious belief or secular knowledge; the ignorance that had not been reached by the divine or the schoolmaster; the ignorance which was a reproach to the nation, and especially discreditable to the richly endowed Church under whose proudest seat of Christian instruction such a state of society had grown up. Although forming an exceptional illustration of the degrees in which knowledge had advanced during the nineteenth century, these events are yet suggestive of how much was required to be done before England should arrive at the state of social improvement which marks the greatest difference between the first year and the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Queen Victoria.

When the Parliament was opened by the Queen on the 5th of February, 1839, a passage in the Royal Speech had reference to a state of domestic affairs which presented an unhappy contrast to the universal loyalty which marked the period of the Coronation. Her Majesty said: "I have observed with pain the persevering efforts which have been made in some parts of the country to excite my subjects to disobedience and resistance to the law, and to recommend dangerous and illegal practices." Chartism, which for ten subsequent years occasionally agitated the country, had then begun to take root. On the previous 12th of December a proclamation had been issued against illegal Chartist assemblies, several of which had been held, says the proclamation, "after sunset by torch-light." The persons attending these meetings were armed with guns and pikes; and demagogues, such as Feargus O'Connor and the Rev. Mr. Stephens at Bury, addressed the people in the most inflammatory language. The existence of Chartism was a painful and almost an appalling fact, of far deeper significance than the discontents of ignorant masses of the manufacturing population stirred up by unscrupulous leaders. Thinking men felt that there was something rotten in the composition of society—a gangrene that must be removed before the body politic could be sound and healthful. The state of the labouring classes was the subject of anxious solicitude, in their want of employment or their low wages, partly arising out of the great changes produced by scientific applications to industry, at a time when an unsound commercial and fiscal policy forbade the developments of skill, under the influence of increasing capital, to be a general blessing. The evils of unrestricted competition, in its operation upon a superabundant population of artizans and factory workmen, were then very slightly mitigated by any

* *Anti*, vol. ii. p. 355.

considerate feelings of the employer for the employed. There was no sympathy,—there was in most parts a jealous antagonism,—between the two classes. Dr. Arnold wrote to a friend in 1839, “Men do not think of the fearful state in which we are living. If they could once be brought to notice and to appreciate the evil, I should not even yet despair that the remedy may be found and applied; even though it is the solution of the most difficult problem ever yet proposed to man’s wisdom, and the greatest triumph over selfishness ever yet required of his virtue.”* It was seen, however imperfectly, at that period, what a resource England, Scotland, and Ireland possessed against the evils of over population,—against the terrible competition for a bit of potato ground, or for a hand-loom, or for a seat in a tailor’s pestilent garret—in all which forms of unprofitable labour there was the sweat of the brow but not the earning of the bread. These sufferings were taking place “in a world where Canadian forests stand unfelled, boundless plains and prairies unbroken with the plough; on the west and on the east, green desert spaces never yet made white with corn; and to the over-crowded little western nook of Europe, our Terrestrial Planet, nine-tenths of it yet vacant or tenanted by nomades, is still crying, Come and till me, come and reap me!”† The eloquent expounder of the miseries of that unhappy time has a hopeful prophecy of a better future: “Is it not as if this swelling, simmering, never resting Europe of ours stood, once more, on the verge of an expansion without parallel; struggling, struggling like a mighty tree again about to burst in the embrace of summer, and shoot forth broad frondent boughs which would fill the whole earth? A disease; but the noblest of all,—as of her who is in pain and sore travail, but travails that she may be a mother, and say, Behold, there is a new Man born!”‡ It was not only the benevolent schoolmaster and the philosophic man of letters who were perplexed by the condition of the working-classes. M. Guizot records that in his first intercourse with sir Robert Peel in 1840, what struck him most of all was sir Robert’s constant and earnest solicitude with regard to the condition of the labouring classes in England. “There is,” he often said, “too much suffering and too much perplexity in the condition of the working classes; it is a disgrace as well as a danger to our civilization; it is absolutely necessary to render their condition less hard and less precarious. We cannot do everything, far from it; but we can do something, and it is our duty to do all that we can.”§ Was sir Robert Peel then thinking that the time might come when he should “leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour, and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice?”||

The document called “The People’s Charter,” which was embodied in the form of a Bill in 1838, comprised six points—universal suffrage, excluding, however, women; division of the United Kingdom into equal electoral

* “Life,” vol. ii. p. 164.

† Carlyle—“Chartism,” p. 112.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 113.

§ Guizot—“Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel,” p. 83.

|| Sir R. Peel’s Speech on the resignation of Ministers, June 29, 1846.

districts; vote by ballot; annual parliaments; no property qualification for members; and a payment to every member for his legislative services. These principles so quickly recommended themselves to the working classes, that in the session of 1839 the number of signatures to a petition presented to Parliament was upwards of a million and a quarter. The middle classes almost universally looked with extreme jealousy and apprehension upon any attempt for an extension of the franchise. The upper classes for the most part regarded the proceedings of the Chartists with a contempt which scarcely concealed their fears. This large section of the working population very soon became divided into what were called physical-force Chartists and moral-force Chartists. As a natural consequence, the principles and acts of the physical-force Chartists disgusted every supporter of order and of the rights of property, and left the whole educated community very unwilling to sanction any measure which would rectify the anomaly of which many sound-hearted and right-thinking working men complained,—that the Reform Bill of 1832 had set up an invidious and irrational barrier against the claim of the artisan to the rights of citizenship; and had settled the question as to who was qualified to choose a representative in Parliament by the arbitrary and varying test of occupying a tenement at an annual rent of Ten Pounds. There were many of the best men amongst a class rapidly growing into the ability to judge temperately and honestly on all political questions who deeply felt this exclusion; and they resented it the more when they were confounded with the physical-force slaves of the brutal demagogues that disturbed England in 1839.

At the opening of Parliament it was stated in the Queen's Speech that in the West Indies the period fixed by law for the final and complete emancipation of the negroes had been anticipated by Acts of the Colonial legislatures; and that the transition from the temporary system of apprenticeship to entire freedom had taken place without any disturbance of public order and tranquillity. But although the emancipation had taken place without any excesses on the part of those who had now become free men, responsible only to the laws, the planters in Jamaica were in a state of moody discontent at the altered relations between the capitalist and the labourer, and they testified their displeasure by opposition, often frivolous and always stubborn, to the desire of the Imperial government to protect the negroes from cruelties and oppressions. Local legislation came to a stand. Lord Melbourne and his colleagues determined to adopt a strong measure, by proposing to Parliament a suspension of the Constitution of Jamaica for five years, during which period the affairs of the colony would be administered by a provisional government. A motion to this effect was brought forward on the 9th of April by Mr. Labouchere. It was a great occasion for a trial of the strength of parties. Counsel were heard at the bar of the House of Commons against the bill, and it was not till the 6th of May that the parliamentary discussions on this subject were brought to a close by a division in which two hundred and ninety-four voted with the ministry, and two hundred and eighty-nine against them. This slender majority showed upon how frail a foundation rested the tenure of office by the Melbourne ministry. On the 7th of May lord John Russell announced the resignation of ministers upon the ground of not having such support and such confidence in the House of Commons as would enable them

efficiently to carry on the public business. Upon the resignation of her servants the Queen had consulted the duke of Wellington, who recommended that sir Robert Peel should be sent for. The attempt to form a new administration failed, and lord Melbourne and his colleagues returned to power in a week. On the 13th sir Robert Peel, having received her Majesty's permission to explain the circumstances under which he had relinquished the attempt to form an administration, made that explanation in the House of Commons. The Queen's most ingenuous truthfulness was conspicuous in these negotiations. Her Majesty at once asked sir Robert Peel whether he was willing to undertake the duty of forming an administration, at the same time telling him that it was with great regret that she parted with the administration which had just resigned. The next day sir Robert submitted to her Majesty the names of those he proposed to associate with him. No objection was raised as to the persons who were to compose the ministry or to the principles on which it was to be conducted. But a difficulty suggested itself to the minds of sir Robert and his friends. He again waited upon the Queen to state to her Majesty the necessity of making some change in the appointment of ladies to fill the great offices of her household. Her Majesty consulted her ministers, and on the 10th wrote the following note: "The Queen, having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by sir Robert Peel, to remove the Ladies of her Bedchamber, cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." Sir Robert, it seems, took an especial objection that the wife of lord Normanby, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the sister of lord Morpeth, the Chief Secretary, were in the closest attendance upon the Queen. He and his party had wholly disapproved the policy of conciliation which was advocated by the Irish administration, and they thus objected to the continued position about the royal person of the marchioness of Normanby and the duchess of Sutherland. Upon the abstract constitutional question it is now generally felt that sir Robert Peel was right. Immediately after he had declared his inability to form an Administration unless the Ladies of the Bedchamber were removed, the ministry recorded their opinion in a Cabinet minute that they held it "reasonable that the great offices of the Court, and situations in the household held by members of Parliament, should be included in the political arrangements made in a change of the Administration; but they are not of opinion that a similar principle should be applied or extended to the offices held by ladies in her Majesty's household." The Cabinet had precedents to support their view. Lady Sunderland and lady Rialton had remained in the bedchamber of Queen Anne for a year and a half after the dismissal of their husbands from office, and it was the uniform practice that the ladies of the household of every queen consort should be retained on changes of administration, notwithstanding their relationship to men engaged in political life.

The discussions in and out of Parliament which arose upon this question were protracted and violent. The people generally were inclined to think that an attempt had been made to treat the Queen with harshness by removing from her presence ladies who had become her personal friends—ladies exemplary in their private lives, and whose accomplishments shed a grace over the Court of a female Sovereign. Meetings were held in various

parts of the country to express approbation of her Majesty's conduct. These were no doubt to some extent meetings influenced by political considerations; but the sentiments there expressed were consonant with the general opinion that the Queen was worthy of the most respectful sympathy with her actions and feelings. It is painful to relate that from this period was manifested, on the part of some who, disdaining the name of Conservatives, clung to the extremest Tory opinions, a virulence that did not even exempt from their personal attacks the conduct and character of the Sovereign. To those of the present day who have not traced the course of politics in the early part of the Queen's reign it would seem impossible to believe that a member of Parliament, at a public dinner at Canterbury, should have designated the Sovereign who has secured to an unparalleled extent the love and veneration of her subjects, as one who thought that if the monarchy lasted her time it was enough; that this party firebrand should have been cheered when he talked of the abdication of James the Second as a precedent not to be forgotten. It would seem impossible to imagine that the colonel and officers of a regiment should have brought themselves under the censure of the Commander-in-Chief for having sat at a Conservative dinner, at Ashton-under-Lyne, to listen to "expressions most insulting and disrespectful towards the Queen."* Mr. Macaulay,—who, in May, 1839, had been returned as member for Edinburgh, upon the elevation of Mr. Abercromby to the peerage, when he retired from the office of Speaker,—thus expressed himself on the first night of the Session in 1840, in burning words that must have been bitterer to some than the contempt of good and quiet subjects: "A change has come over the spirit of a part, I hope not the larger part, of the Tory body. It was once the glory of the Tories that, through all changes of fortune, they were animated by a steady and fervent loyalty which made even error respectable, and gave to what might otherwise have been called servility something of the manliness and nobleness of freedom. A great Tory poet, whose eminent services to the cause of monarchy had been ill requited by an ungrateful Court, boasted that

' Loyalty is still the same,
Whether it win or lose the game;
True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shined upon.'

Toryism has now changed its character. We have lived to see a monster of a faction made up of the worst parts of the Cavalier and the worst parts of the Roundhead. We have lived to see a race of disloyal Tories. We have lived to see Tories giving themselves the airs of those insolent pikemen who puffed out their tobacco-smoke in the face of Charles the First. We have lived to see Tories who, because they were not allowed to grind the people after the fashion of Strafford, turn round and revile the Sovereign in the style of Hugh Peters. I say, therefore, that, while the leader is still what he was eleven years ago, when his moderation alienated his intemperate followers, his followers are more intemperate than ever." †

Let us contemplate this violence of the fierce and unscrupulous partizans who professed to serve under the leadership of sir Robert Peel, but who

* See Annual Register (then a vehicle of Conservative politics), 1839, pp. 311, 312.

† Macaulay's "Speeches," p. 201.

were most indignant that his great measure of Catholic Emancipation was attended with some practical results—let us view these Tory agitators going about the country proclaiming that the Poor Laws were a system of wholesale murder, that children were tortured in factories for the amusement of the mill-owners, and that the Corn-laws were the only restraint upon the power of the manufacturers to oppress their work-people—and then let us ask ourselves how the country could have been full of this madness and folly without inducing the physical-force Chartists to believe that their time for action was at hand. The first serious demonstration of this revolutionary spirit was made at Birmingham in a series of outbreaks and contests between the police, the military, and the mob, which lasted from the 4th to the 15th of July. There were smashing of windows and street-lamps; bonfires made of goods pillaged from warehouses; houses burnt down. The community of this thriving seat of manufactures, where workmen had ample wages and could afford to be Ten-pound householders, was kept in terror till the riots were put down by the necessary employment of the military under judicious regulation. There were the same demonstrations at Sheffield, with the disposition too common in that place to think lightly of secret murder. The most violent outbreak took place later in the year. At Newport, in Monmouthshire, there was a magistrate of the borough, named John Frost, who in the previous February had used violent language at a public meeting at Pontypool. Lord John Russell was greatly blamed for treating this insolent demagogue with some leniency, and for not at once removing him from his position as a magistrate. In a few months, however, he earned his degradation by new violence. During the summer and autumn he was organizing an insurrection in the country near Newport, where there was a large population engaged in labours connected with the mineral wealth of the district. The Attorney-General, on the trial for high treason in which this Chartist organization ended, described the country as, in a great degree, wild and mountainous, abounding in every part with mines of coal and iron, of late years worked to a considerable extent. In a district, he said, where, fifty years before, there were scarcely any inhabitants, save the scattered huts of a few shepherds and mountaineers, there was then a dense population, amounting to upwards of forty thousand. Those who know the wonderful country from which the Usk and the Taff, assisted by railroads running into the hearts of the mountains, bring their rich freights to Newport and Cardiff, will comprehend how those towns alone now comprise more than fifty thousand inhabitants. It was arranged by the insurgents that on the night of Sunday the 3rd of November, three divisions from various points were to march upon Newport and take possession of the town while the inhabitants were asleep. The weather was such as to prevent the completion of these arrangements. The divisions from Nant-y-Glo and Pontypool did not join their leader at the time appointed, but after waiting till daylight he marched into the town with five or six thousand followers about ten o'clock. The mayor, Mr. Phillips, was very imperfectly prepared for resistance to this rabble, who came into the town five abreast, armed with guns, bludgeons, pikes, and pickaxes. Mr. Phillips, with his party of special constables and about thirty soldiers had taken his position in the West Gate Inn, which stands in the market-place. The insurgents moved up to the door of the inn

and called upon those within to surrender. The demand was of course refused. A volley from the street was then discharged against the bow-window of the room. The wooden pillars of the porch still show by bullet-holes the sort of conflict that here took place. Almost at the instant of the first street firing, the rioters broke open the door of the inn and poured into the house. There would have been a massacre of the civil and military guardians of the peace, had not the officer in command given orders to fire, as the Chartists were rushing down the passage. A volley soon put to flight the terrified assailants. The mayor distinguished himself by the gallantry which befits an English gentleman. He, with lieutenant Gray and serjeant Daley, fearlessly opened each one of the three shutters of the window that looked upon the street. A shower of slugs was immediately poured in upon them, and Mr. Phillips and several others were wounded; but the construction of the window enabled the military to pour a raking fire upon the mob, who soon fled in all directions. The soldiers then made a sortie and effectually cleared the streets. Frost and two other of the leaders, Zephaniah Williams and William Jones, were quickly apprehended. On the 1st of January they were tried at Newport, under a Special Commission before that able and constitutional judge, sir Nicholas Tindal. They were each found guilty of high treason, and received the capital sentence, which was finally commuted to transportation for life. Within the last few years the chief delinquent has been allowed to return. Sir Thomas Phillips was knighted by her Majesty, and was received at Court with signal honour.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The System of Penny Postage first comes into operation—Mr. Rowland Hill—Opposition to the proposed change—Postage Stamps—Marriage of the Queen to Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg—Privilege of Parliament—Stockdale *v.* Hansard—Attempt upon the Queen's Life—Prorogation—Affairs of the Levant—Treaty of Alliance—Exclusion of France—Prince Napoleon lands near Boulogne—Failure of his attempt to produce an insurrection—Differences of England and France on the affairs of the East—War threatened—M. Thiers and lord Palmerston—Naval Successes against Mehemet Ali—Interment at Paris of the remains of Napoleon—Session of Parliament—The Anti-Corn Law League—Declarations of the Ministry on questions of Free Trade—Debates on the Sugar Duties—Ministers defeated on the question of the Sugar Duties—Meeting of New Parliament—Amendment to the Address carried—Resignation of Ministers.

ON the morning of the 10th of January, 1840, the people of the United Kingdom rose in the possession of a new power—the power of sending by the post a letter not weighing more than half an ounce upon the prepayment of one penny, and this without any regard to the distance which the letter had to travel.* At this time, when the system of a universal penny postage has been in operation two-and-twenty years—when the number of letters transmitted by the post has increased from 76 millions in 1839 to 593 millions in 1861, an increase of 680 per cent.—it is more interesting to look back upon the difficulties of achieving such a result than to trace the gradual success which in a few years put an end to all opposition to a system so pregnant with national advantage. To the sagacity and the perseverance of one man, the author of this system, the high praise is due, not so much that he triumphed over the petty jealousies and selfish fears of the post-office authorities, but that he established his own convictions against the doubts of some of the ablest and most conscientious leaders of public opinion. The government adopted his views reluctantly, strengthened in their hesitation by such a clear-headed supporter of the government as Sydney Smith. Temperate opposers of the government, such as the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel, saw great danger and little good in the project. Mr. Rowland Hill in 1837 published his plan of a cheap and uniform postage. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1837, which continued its inquiries throughout the session of 1838, and arrived at the conviction that “the mode recommended of charging and collecting postage, in a pamphlet published by Mr. Rowland Hill,” was feasible, and deserving of a trial under legislative

* *Ante*, p. 390.

sanction. The Committee examined a great number of mercantile and other authorities, the questions and answers contained in their Report amounting to nearly twelve thousand. There were necessarily strong differences of opinion amongst the witnesses, many even of the most favourable to a reduction to a uniform rate considering that a penny postage was too low. Lord Ashburton, although an advocate of Post-office Reform, held that the reduction to a penny would wholly destroy the revenue. Lord Lowther, the Postmaster-General, thought twopence the smallest rate that would cover the expenses. Colonel Maberly, the secretary to the post office, considered Mr. Hill's plan a most preposterous one, and maintained that if the rates were to be reduced to a penny, the revenue would not recover itself for forty or fifty years. The Committee, after a long struggle between its members, negatived both a penny and a three-halfpenny rate as inadequate, and finally recommended the adoption of a twopenny rate. Public opinion, however, had been brought so strongly to bear in favour of a penny rate, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, on the 5th of July, 1839, proposed a resolution, "that it is expedient to reduce the postage on letters to one uniform rate of a penny postage, according to a certain amount of weight to be determined—that the parliamentary privilege of franking should be abolished, and that official franking be strictly limited—the House pledging itself to make good any deficiency that may occur in the revenue from such reduction of the postage." A Bill was accordingly passed to this effect in the House of Commons, its operation being limited in its duration to one year, and the Treasury retaining the power of fixing the rates at first, although the ultimate reduction was to be to one penny. This experimental measure reduced all rates above fourpence to that sum, leaving those below fourpence unaltered. With this complication of charge the experiment could not have a fair trial, and accordingly on the 10th of January, 1840, the uniform half-ounce rate became by order of the Treasury one penny. The final accomplishment of this great reform presented a signal example of the force of public opinion when brought to bear upon a subject unconnected with party feelings, and the demonstration of whose necessity had been established not by passionate appeals for public support and sympathy, but by patient investigation and conclusive reasoning. This was the high merit of the man who conceived the scheme of Post-office Reform; and the manifest earnestness of his character, and the invincibility of his logic, mainly conduced to establish those convictions in the public mind which eventually settled all doubts. Lord Melbourne, in moving the second reading of the bill, assigned as a conclusive answer to the question, how he could venture to tamper with so large a sum as that derivable from the Post-office revenue, that "there was such a general demand from all classes of the community for a measure of this nature, that it was a very difficult matter to withstand it."* In 1840 the number of letters sent through the post had more than doubled, and the legislature had little hesitation in making the Act of 1839 permanent, instead of its duration being limited to the year which would expire in October. A stamped envelope, printed upon a peculiar paper, and bearing an elaborate design, was originally chosen as the mode of

* Hansard, vol. xlix. col. 1214.

rendering prepayment convenient to the sender of a letter. A simpler plan soon superseded this attempt to enlist the Fine Arts in a plain business operation. The plan of prepaying letters by affixing a stamp bearing the head of the ruler of the country, came into use here in May, 1840. The habit of prepayment by postage stamps has now become so universal throughout the world, that in 1861 the system was established in eighty different countries or colonies; and there were between six and seven hundred varieties of stamp known to the post-office authorities. Even in the Sandwich Islands the Postage Stamp was in use.*

On the 16th of January Parliament was opened by the Queen in person. The first paragraph of her Majesty's speech contained an announcement which had been previously made to the Privy Council. "Since you were last assembled, I have declared my intention of allying myself in marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg and Gotha. I humbly implore that the Divine blessing may prosper this union, and render it conducive to the interests of my people as well as to my own domestic happiness, and it will be to me a source of the most lively satisfaction to find the resolution I have taken approved by my Parliament." The preliminary measures of the legislature for the naturalization of prince Albert, and for granting him an annuity, produced some discussion,—first, upon the subject of precedence, and next, as to the amount of the annual sum to be granted. The one question was settled by omitting from the bill of naturalization all mention of precedence; the other by a reduction of the ministerial proposition of an annuity of 50,000*l.* to one of 30,000*l.* The distresses of the country fully justified the decision of the majority who supported the grant of a smaller sum. The good sense of the Queen and of prince Albert prevented the slightest expression of discontent at the vote of the House of Commons, which was carried by the union of the Conservative party with those generally classed amongst Radicals. The marriage took place on the 10th of February, and it was welcomed with general festivities throughout the country. There was a welcome of a higher kind from those who knew something of the character and acquirements of the young prince; from those who were aware that he had received a public education at the University of Bonn, and that his abilities were as conspicuous as his total freedom from all desire to find "a royal road to learning." But the people generally rejoiced in this union because it was understood to be one of affection, and which gave that earnest of domestic happiness which offered a solid foundation for the discharge of public duty. The modest answer of prince Albert to the congratulatory messages of the Houses of Parliament evidently expressed the feelings of one who was careful to weigh the words which he uttered. To the marquis of Lansdowne and other peers who had attended upon his Royal Highness with the congratulations of the peers, he said, "I return to the House of Lords my warmest thanks for the message which you have now delivered. I learn with lively satisfaction their approbation of the choice which her Majesty has made, and it will be the study of my life to justify the favourable opinion which you have now expressed."

There was a subject which occupied the attention of Parliament during

* Report of the Postmaster-General. 1862.

this Session which excited considerable public interest at the time, but which must be dismissed by us as briefly as possible. It was the question of Privilege of Parliament. In 1837 the privilege of the House of Commons came into conflict with the jurisdiction of the Law Courts. There had been similar conflicts in earlier times, and the opinions of great lawyers were by no means settled as to the powers of Courts of Law in matters of privilege. The words of the Bill of Rights would appear to have settled that "debates and proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament." But since the Revolution there had been several occasions in which there was a clashing of jurisdictions. The House of Commons was probably taken by surprise when, in the case of Stockdale against Hansard,—which was an action for libel against the printer of the House of Commons, contained in a Report of the Inspector of Prisons, published by order of that House,—Lord Chief Justice Denman declared that the fact of the House of Commons having directed Messrs. Hansard to publish all their Parliamentary Reports was no justification for them, or for any bookseller who publishes a Parliamentary Report containing a libel against any man. A Committee of Parliament was then appointed to inquire into this question. The House resolved that the publication of its Reports was essential to the constitutional functions of Parliament; that the House of Commons has a sole and exclusive jurisdiction to determine upon its privileges; and that for any Court or tribunal to assume to decide upon matters of privilege inconsistent with the determination of either House, is a breach and contempt of the privileges of Parliament. Stockdale was defeated upon the first trial. He commenced a second action, when the Queen's Bench again decided against the privileges of the House. Upon a third action, which was undefended, Messrs. Hansard were instructed by the House of Commons not to plead; judgment consequently went by default; and the damages were assessed in the Sheriff's Court at six hundred pounds. Then ensued a contest between the House and the Sheriffs. As in all cases in which personal interests are held to be arbitrarily attacked, the sheriffs had a large amount of public sympathy when they, as well as Stockdale, were committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. The sheriffs were kept in close custody for having refused to obey the order of the House for restoring the money which they had levied upon Hansard, holding that they were bound by their duty to the Court of Queen's Bench to refuse their obedience to the order. There were other actions arising out of these vexatious proceedings; but the main question was finally settled by the passing of an Act, which received the Royal Assent on the 14th of April, 1840, by which proceedings, criminal or civil, against persons for publication of papers printed by order of either House of Parliament, were to be stayed by the Courts, upon delivery of a certificate and affidavit to the effect that such publication was by order of Parliament. Mr. May has very clearly stated the necessity for this measure, which was one of compromise. "No course was open to the Commons besitting their high jurisdiction and dignity, by which the obedience of courts and plaintiffs could be ensured: their power of commitment was at once impotent and oppressive; yet they could not suffer their authority to be wholly defied and contemned. Hence their proceedings were inevitably marked by hesitation and inconsistency. In a case for which the Constitu-

tion has made no provision, even the wisdom of sir Robert Peel, and the solid learning of Mr. Serjeant Wilde, were unequal to devise expedients less open to objection."*

The Houses of Parliament were proceeding in due course in the discussion of various important matters—such as a rupture with China, the reform of the municipal institutions of Ireland, measures for further carrying into effect the Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Corn Laws—when they were startled by a circumstance which produced a similar amount of alarm and indignation throughout the kingdom. As the Queen, with prince Albert, was riding up Constitution Hill in an open carriage, a pistol was fired at them, and in about half a minute there was a discharge of a second pistol. Neither of the royal couple were injured, and they both preserved remarkable presence of mind. Lord John Russell, in moving the next day for a joint address with the House of Lords to congratulate her Majesty on her escape, stated that the Queen, immediately after the attempt, proceeded to the house of her mother to relieve her mind under the anxiety in which she might have been thrown by exaggerated reports; and that on her return her Majesty showed herself in her usual manner to her subjects, affording a proof at once of her safety and of the kindness and fortitude of her character.† The youth, named Oxford, who had committed this atrocious crime, was a barman at a public-house. He was tried at the Old Bailey on the 9th of July. Witnesses were produced to prove that he was insane. Dr. Connolly held that he was of unsound mind. Dr. Chowne considered the doing a criminal act without a motive was a proof to some extent of an unsound mind—what was called moral insanity. Chief Justice Denman cautioned the jury against the dangerous doctrine that the commission of a great crime without an apparent motive was in itself proof of insanity. Sir Benjamin Brodie has written some sensible remarks upon the acquittal of the boy Oxford upon the ground of moral insanity. We give these remarks of an eminent physiologist, because juries are too often embarrassed by opinions and arguments which, if taken without great qualification, would have the effect of impairing the safer belief that every person not absolutely a lunatic is responsible for his actions: "It seems to me that juries have not unfrequently been misled by the refinements of medical witnesses, who, having adopted the theory of a purely moral insanity, have applied that term to cases to which the term insanity ought not to be applied at all. It is true, that the difference in the character of individuals may frequently be traced to difference in their organization, and to different conditions as to bodily health; and that, therefore, one person has more, and another has less, difficulty in controlling his temper, and regulating his conduct. But we have all our duties to perform, and one of the most important of these is, that we should strive against whatever evil tendency there may be in us arising out of our physical constitution. Even if we admit (which I do not admit in reality) that the impulse which led Oxford to the commission of his crime was at the time irresistible, still the question remains, whether, when the notion of it first haunted him, he might not have kept it under his control; and thus prevented himself from passing into that

* "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 454.

† Hansard, vol. liv. col. 1047.

state of mind which was beyond his control afterwards. 'If I have been rightly informed, Oxford was himself of this opinion; as he said, when another attempt had been made to take away the life of the Queen, 'that if he himself had been hanged, this would not have happened.' *

Parliament was prorogued by the Queen on the 11th of August. The Royal Speech touched upon some important points in the foreign relations of the country. Her Majesty congratulated the Parliament upon the termination of the civil war in Spain, the objects for which the Quadruple engagements of 1834 had been contracted having been accomplished. Differences with the government of Naples had been put into a train of adjustment by the mediation of France. Her Majesty was "engaged, in concert with the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, in measures intended to effect the permanent pacification of the Levant, to maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, and thereby to afford additional security for the peace of Europe."

The events which had rendered the intervention of the European powers necessary for the pacification of the Levant were these: Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, had in 1831 invaded Syria, in a war which he waged against the pasha of Damascus. Egypt and Syria were both integral parts of the Ottoman dominions, and Mehemet Ali was bound to yield obedience to the command of the sultan. He refused to withdraw his troops from Syria; and in 1832 the sultan Mahmoud and his powerful viceroy were at open war. The Turkish government was saved from utter ruin by the aid of its most formidable enemy, Russia. But the victories of Mehemet Ali had secured for him the possession of Syria, yet only as a vassal of the Porte. A war between the sultan and his viceroy was prevented for six years by the mediation of England, France, and Russia. But in 1839 the sultan could no longer endure the ambition of his great vassal, who evidently designed to subject all Arabia to his sway; and Mahmoud sent an army across the Euphrates to recover Syria. A signal victory of Mehemet Ali preceded the death of Mahmoud on the 1st of July, 1839. His successor Abd-ul-Mejid, was only in his sixteenth year. The pasha of Egypt was encouraged in his resistance by the youth and apparent weakness of the new sultan, who was surrounded by treacherous officers. The influence of Mehemet Ali was so powerful at Constantinople that the Capitan Pasha (High Admiral) took the Turkish fleet through the Dardanelles to Alexandria and delivered it over to the sultan's rebellious viceroy. The strong will and propitious fortune of Mehemet Ali seemed to threaten the dissolution of the Turkish empire. The European powers tendered their mediation, which the sultan accepted. He offered Mehemet Ali the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt instead of remaining a vassal, but the ambitious pasha required to have Syria as well. France, although formally bound by a treaty of 1839 to act in co-operation with England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had her own policy as to a settlement of the Syrian question, and declined entering into the views of the other four powers. Lord Palmerston resolved to conclude a treaty for the maintenance of the Ottoman empire without the co-operation of France. The

* Brodie's "Psychological Inquiries," 3rd edition, p. 93.

treaty of Alliance to which allusion was made in the Queen's speech was signed at London on the 15th of July, 1840.

The exclusion of France from the European alliance was very nearly precipitating us into a war with the government of Louis Philippe. M. Thiers, then President of the Council, evinced no desire to calm that passionate agitation which burst out in France in the belief that the nation had been insulted. The duke of Wellington, with his usual strong sense, rightly interpreted the disposition of the people and of the government of this kingdom. In a private letter of the 5th of October he thus expressed himself: "God send that we may preserve peace between these two great countries, and for the world! I am certain that there is no desire in this country on the part of any party, I may almost say of any influential individual, to quarrel with, much less to do anything offensive towards France. But, if we should be under the necessity of going to war, you will witness the most extraordinary exertions ever made by this or any country, in order to carry the same on with vigour, however undesirable we may think it to enter into it."* Upon the conduct of lord Palmerston, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, there was some diversity of opinion at home. Even members of the Cabinet were not wholly in accord with his policy, and many of the public held that he was rash and obstinate. His policy was signally triumphant. Although the cry of the Parisians for a few months was, "*Guerre aux Anglais*," the French Government found that their country was not in a condition to go to war, and that the popular cry for hostilities had some association with revolutionary tendencies. After the lapse of twenty-one years, M. Guizot has published his Memoirs of that stirring time, when he was ambassador in England. His intelligent and candid revelations may present to those who are curious to trace the movements and counter-movements of two such adroit players in the great game of politics as M. Thiers and lord Palmerston, a juster view of the causes of this temporary interruption of the friendly feelings between the two governments and of the policy of the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, than they could otherwise derive from the contemporary expressions of opinion either in England or in France.

The Resolutions of the four powers upon which the treaty of the 15th of July was founded had become known in London on the 23rd. At the anniversary of the 28th of July, when sixty thousand men were under arms in Paris, the popular desire for war was shown in the most marked manner. M. Guizot was perplexed by the contrast of the uneasiness of lord Melbourne and lord John Russell with the decided language of lord Palmerston. In answer to the ambassador's despatches, M. Thiers had only one word to reply—" *tenez ferme*,"† but the warlike minister invited him to a meeting with the king and himself at the Château d'Eu on the 7th of August. Guizot left London for this interview on the 6th. Whilst he was crossing the Channel to Calais another person was crossing the channel to Boulogne, to be the hero of what was then described as "a wild attempt to excite civil

* Raikes's "Private Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington," &c., p. 156.

† Guizot—"Mémoires," tome v. p. 255.

war, made by a maniac of the Bonaparte family."* The maniac of 1840 became the emperor of 1852.

On the 7th of July the French frigate *la Belle Poule*, commanded by the prince de Joinville, had sailed for the purpose of receiving at St. Helena, and transporting to France, the remains of the emperor Napoleon. To this somewhat strange request of the government of Louis Philippe made by M. Guizot, the English Cabinet accorded its consent, lord Palmerston giving a courteous reply to the demand, whilst he was unable to conceal a passing smile. At this time prince Louis Napoleon was residing at Carlton Gardens, in London, and M. Guizot had been required to keep an eye on his movements. The ambassador described the refugee as being constantly in the park; as frequently also at the opera, where aides-de-camp stood behind him in his box. In public they were bragging and ostentatious. Their private life was idle and obscure. In spite of their tall talk M. Guizot thought there was little of reality in their boastful projects. The French Foreign Office, however, believed that some attempt would be made by this party of Bonapartists, although their action would be confined to a very narrow circle.

On the 4th of August a steam packet, the *City of Edinburgh*, which had been hired as for a party of pleasure, left the port of London, bearing prince Louis Napoleon, count Montholon, and about forty officers and attendants. Arms and ammunition, military uniforms, horses and carriages, and a large quantity of specie, had been previously taken on board; with a tame eagle that the prince had taught to feed out of his hand. The steam-packet dropped down the river; took a French pilot on board at Gravesend; and made for the French coast, where it arrived on the evening of the 5th. Between two and three miles to the north of Boulogne is the miserable village of Wimereux, around which, in 1803, a camp was formed of a portion of the Grand Army for the invasion of England. The country here is barren, and a few hovels lie between the sand hills on the shore. Here, at the mouth of a petty stream, Napoleon caused a port to be formed, which at the end of six months was capable of containing a hundred and seventy vessels. It is now choked up and altogether decayed. Here, then, surrounded by associations with the memory of the great emperor—in the harbour which his army had dug out of the sands, and in view of the column which they had raised to his glory—the nephew landed with his followers at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th. Those of military rank had exchanged their ordinary dress for the uniform then worn by French officers. The invading band, who had been joined from Boulogne by a young lieutenant of the 42nd, named Aladenise, and three soldiers, marched towards the town, bearing a tri-coloured flag surmounted by an eagle. There were few persons about at that hour except two or three officers of the customs, who were compelled to march with them. Upon arriving at the guard-house in the Place d'Anton, an attempt to seduce the soldiers failed, and the party marched to the Quai de la Caserne. The barrack there, now given up to peaceful purposes as a vast storehouse, was occupied by the 42nd regiment. The officers slept out of the barrack, and had not arrived at five o'clock,

* "Spectator," August 8.

when lieutenant Aladenise called up the soldiers, ordering them to take their arms, and march with the nephew of the emperor to Paris; Louis Philippe, he told them, had ceased to reign. The proposed march was, however, interrupted by the arrival of captain Puygelier and two other officers. To the splendid offers that were made to the captain and his companions they turned a deaf ear. The captain was as unmoved by the threats of some of his men as by the promises of the adventurers. To the shouts of *Vive le Prince Louis* he replied *Vive le Roi*. A scuffle ensued, when a shot was fired from a pistol which Louis Napoleon had in his hand, by which a grenadier was wounded. The prince was not absolutely charged with a murderous intention in thus discharging his pistol, but it was implied that this part of the affair was an accident, or at least unpremeditated. Immediately after this the barrack-yard was cleared of the intruders, and they marched to the Haute Ville, distributing proclamations and throwing about money. They fancied they could seize arms in the old château for the purpose of arming the population, but their course was stopped by the sub-prefect of Boulogne, who, in the name of the king, commanded them to disperse. He was answered by a blow on the head with the eagle which one of the officers carried. They tried to force the door of the château. During this time the rappel had called out the National Guard, who marched out towards Wimereux, to do battle with a large force which they were told had landed there. It was now six o'clock. Failing in the attempt to force the château, unsupported by any portion of the population, there was nothing left to the adventurers but flight to the place of their debarkation. With a mad movement of defiance they marched on the Calais road, and then stopped at the Napoleon column, instead of proceeding over the hill to Wimereux. The first stone of the column had been laid by Marshal Soult in 1804. Left unfinished under the Empire, it had been proceeded with under Louis XVIII., "as a monument of peace." Louis Philippe, whose doubtful policy was to revive the national appetite for glory which belonged to the memory of Napoleon, was in 1840 finishing this column. But the statue of the great Emperor by which it is crowned was not placed there till 1841. The prince and his party surrounded the monument, whilst the eagle-bearer entered the column to plant the standard on its summit. He was left to mount the dark stairs whilst his leader and his companions made a hasty retreat before the large force that was now coming against them. The soldiery, commanded by captain Puygelier, with the National Guards and gendarmerie under the orders of the sub-prefect and the mayor, rendered resistance vain. Some fled into the fields. Louis Napoleon and five or six others got down to the sands to the north of the harbour. The prince threw himself into the sea and swam to a little boat. The National Guard fired upon the fugitives, of whom one man was killed and another dangerously wounded. An inhabitant of Boulogne, who had been one of the National Guard in 1840, expressed to us the indignation which he felt at beholding men who were swimming for their lives being fired upon when their power of doing mischief was at an end. Louis Napoleon swam back and surrendered himself. He was taken to the dungeon of the château, where he remained two days before being conveyed to Paris.

The trial of the prince and of nineteen other conspirators took place on

the 6th of October before the Chamber of Peers. Louis Napoleon maintained a bold front upon his trial. In the speech which he addressed to his judges he said, "I represent before you a principle, a cause, a defeat: the principle, it is the sovereignty of the people; the cause, that of the empire; the defeat, Waterloo. The principle, you have recognized; the cause, you have served; the defeat, you desire to avenge." He was sentenced to imprisonment for life; his companions to various terms of confinement. The prison of Louis Napoleon was the fortress of Ham in the department of Aisne. The six years of solitude which he there passed were not unprofitably employed in study. In 1846 he escaped in the dress of a workman, and again found a refuge in England. The Paris press of 1840 teemed with denunciations against the ministers of Queen Victoria, maintaining that they had encouraged the prince in his project, being angry with the government of Louis Philippe. It was asserted that lord Palmerston had made a visit to Louis Napoleon, or had been visited by him, previous to his departure. Lord Palmerston found it necessary to assure, upon his honour, le baron de Bourqueney, who represented the French embassy in the absence of M. Guizot, that neither he nor lord Melbourne had seen Louis Napoleon for two years, nor any one of the adventurers who had accompanied him.*

The conferences at the Château d'Eu were soon terminated. The king of the French went to Boulogne to express his thanks to the inhabitants for their loyalty on the 6th of August. To a deputation of the English he said that affairs between France and England were taking a favourable turn. M. Guizot returned to England, and was satisfied by the cordiality of his reception by the authorities and populace of Ramsgate that the English people bore no ill-will towards France. Arrived in London he found an invitation from the queen to visit her at Windsor, where he met the king and queen of the Belgians, lord Melbourne, and lord Palmerston. With Leopold he had many confidential discussions, the sagacious king manifesting the strongest desire that the amicable relations between England and France should be preserved. M. Guizot says that not a word of politics passed between him and lord Palmerston or lord Melbourne. He was satisfied that Leopold's attempts to shake the resolution of the Foreign Secretary had produced no effect, that the situation was in no degree changed, and that events would follow the obscure course indicated by the treaty of the 15th of July. In a few days he had a private after-dinner talk with lord Palmerston. One part of that conversation still preserves its interest. "Is it true, my lord," said Guizot, "that you are increasing your fleet by several vessels?" This question had reference to the Mediterranean fleet. "Yes," replied lord Palmerston, "we will raise it to sixteen vessels,—you, at this moment, have raised yours to eighteen. Moreover, you have five new ships building, which will give you a preponderance which we cannot accept."† Mr. Cobden shows that in 1840-41 the accustomed proportion of the French navy to ours underwent a great and sudden derangement, and that instead of being content

* The details of this extraordinary attempt are to be collected from the proceedings on the trial of the conspirators, given in "Annuaire Historique," 1840, p. 268 to p. 291. See also Guizot's "Mémoires," tome v. p. 258 to p. 264.

† Guizot—"Mémoires," tome v. p. 282.

with two-thirds of our force, the French navy approached almost to an equality with our own.* M. Thiers, a few weeks later, contemplated an increase of 150,000 men to the French army, making a total of 639,000.† It was not raised to this height, but it was greatly increased. The duke of Wellington, at the beginning of 1841, wrote: "I very much fear the consequences of these large armaments. It would almost appear that it was the interest of France to recommence the war in Europe."‡ One consequence of the feeling in France that produced these armaments was the interruption to two important treaties with England. M. Guizot on the 2nd of September wrote to M. Thiers: "If you conclude at the same time with England a treaty on material interests—the treaty of commerce, and a treaty on a great moral interest—the abolition of the slave-trade, that will produce a great effect and a good effect upon the English public."§ At this period Mr. Porter, of the Board of Trade, had been sent to Paris to negotiate a commercial treaty. "I will receive Mr. Porter well," replied M. Thiers, "but it is a serious thing to consent to a treaty of commerce in our present situation. Nevertheless I comprehend the inconveniences of a refusal I must hold counsel as to the treaty about the negroes. I dread to make treaty upon treaty with folks who have done so ill by us."|| We have heard Mr. Porter say that one morning Thiers dipped his pen in the ink to sign the treaty, but suddenly said that he would wait another day. When that day came Mr. Porter had been ordered to proceed no further in the business. He believed that Thiers was sincere. He further believed, most unjustly, that lord Palmerston was the instrument of Russia. Mr. Porter—one of the most honest and confiding of men—was in some degree under the same influence as many other persons ordinarily of calm judgment. He surrendered his judgment to a monomania which acquired a plausible shape in the hands of a man of great talent and powers of persuasion, who talked of "treason" and "Russian gold" in a way that attracted many followers. These, by their frantic denunciations of lord Palmerston at "Urquhartite meetings," constrained even his political enemies to vindicate his personal honour.¶ The Foreign Secretary remained unmoved either by the extravagances of a feeble minority in England, or the threatenings of a war-majority in France. He vindicated his policy by the promptitude of his acts.

The four powers had determined that the ports of Syria and Egypt should be declared to be in a state of blockade. Our Mediterranean fleet was under the command of sir Robert Stopford, and his second in command was Charles John Napier. Whilst in August admiral Stopford was blockading the port of Alexander, captain Napier was blockading Beyrout. On the 9th of September admiral Stopford was before Beyrout with the English fleet and a few Turkish and Austrian vessels. On the 10th the bombardment of the town and fortress commenced; which continued till the 16th, when the Egyptian troops abandoned the place. Meanwhile Napier, who had landed

* "The Three Panics," p. 5.

† Guizot, tome v. p. 342.

‡ Raikes's "Private Correspondence," p. 248.

§ Guizot, tome v. pp. 299, 300.

|| Guizot, tome v. pp. 299, 300.

¶ See "Quarterly Review," vol. lxxvi. art. viii.

with 5000 men, had routed the army of Ibrahim Pasha, and had taken Saida by storm. On the 3rd of November the allied squadron commenced hostilities against the famous fortress of St. Jean d'Acree, which was considered to be almost impregnable. It was bombarded through that day. In the night the Egyptian troops quitted the town, and it was taken possession of by a party of Turks and Austrians. The bombardment of St. Jean d'Acree was remarkable as being the first occasion on which war-steamers had been employed in battle. To the rapidity of movement of four English steamers, which enabled them to take the most advantageous positions, it was in some degree owing that so strong a fortress was reduced by the cannon of ships of war in so short a time, and with scarcely any loss to the assailants. When the thanks of the House of Lords were voted to admiral sir Robert Stopford and to commodore sir Charles Napier, the duke of Wellington stated that he considered the achievement of St. Jean d'Acree one of the greatest deeds of modern times. He thought it his duty on this occasion to warn their lordships that they must not always expect that ships, however well commanded, or however gallant their seamen might be, were capable of commonly engaging successfully with stone-walls.* The decided naval successes led to the final submission of Mehemet Ali. The British government, with the other powers, had recommended that if he yielded in a reasonable time; gave up possession of the Turkish fleet; and evacuated Syria, Adana, Candia, and the Holy Cities, he should be reinstated as Pasha of Egypt, and have an hereditary tenure of his pashalic. On the 2nd of December he accepted the terms proposed. The contest was at an end.

Looking at the execution of the treaty of the 15th of July, M. Guizot frankly acknowledges the errors of the policy of the French government. "We had attached to this question an exaggerated importance; we had regarded the interests of France in the Mediterranean as more associated than they really were with the fortunes of Mehemet Ali." France had, he says, believed that Mehemet Ali would have been able to resist all the efforts of the four powers united, when it was finally shown that an English squadron would be sufficient to subdue him. These errors, he continues, were public, national, everywhere spread, and maintained in the Chambers as well as in the country, in the opposition as well as in the government. "The hour of disappointment was come, and it was the cabinet over which M. Thiers presided which had to bear the burthen."† Louis Philippe refused his assent to the warlike speech which M. Thiers proposed for the opening of the Chambers. The ministry resigned, and Soult and Guizot were their successors.

The belligerent spirit which had been called forth in France by these differences between the English and French governments were not likely to subside into cordial friendship under the influence of a pageant which recalled the glories and the humiliations of the Empire. The population of Paris had the gratification of a magnificent spectacle on the 15th of December, when the remains of Napoleon were interred in the church of the Invalides. The procession has been described as wearing more of a tri-

* *Hansard*, vol. lvi. col. 254.

† "*Mémoires*," tome v. p. 644.

umphant than a funeral air. Long cavalcades of troops were succeeded by a few mourning coaches; Grenadiers of the Old Guard and Mamelukes followed the splendid car on which was placed the body. Imperial eagles veiled with crape were carried by eighty-six non-commissioned officers. Even to the sword and the hat of the Emperor, which were laid upon the coffin, the whole solemnity was calculated to call up remembrances of the past which were not favourable to the security of the reigning family. There was no tumult; but there were demonstrations of popular feeling which showed that the pacific policy of the king and of his new ministry was not so welcome to the populace as M. Thiers and war with Europe.

The public interest in foreign affairs became merged in the more immediate importance of the discussions upon great subjects of domestic policy, which signalized the Session of parliament opened by the queen on the 26th of January, 1841. This Session will be memorable, not more for the defeat of the Whig government after ten years of power, than for the unexpected adoption of the principles of free-trade by that government, after a long period of indecision, if not of hostility to any vital changes, especially in regard to the Corn-Laws. In February, 1839, Mr. Villiers was not supported by the members of the Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Poulett Thompson, in his motion that evidence should be taken at the bar of the House on the operation of the Corn-Laws. Lord John Russell had, however, declared to his constituents at Stroud that the time had come for a change in the Corn-Laws, which he considered as indefensible in principle. The motion of Mr. Villiers was negatived by a majority of a hundred and eighty-one. Between the Session of 1839 and that of 1841 a most effective agitation against these laws had been carried on throughout the country. Associations were established in Manchester, and in other great manufacturing and commercial towns, for promoting the principles of Free Trade; and their scattered efforts were effectually combined by the formation of the Anti-Corn-Law League. This name was adopted by a convention of three hundred delegates assembled in London at the opening of the Session of 1839. Large sums were subscribed for the purpose of circulating tracts, and for engaging lecturers to enlighten public opinion upon the injurious operation of the Corn-Laws and other laws called protective. These efforts produced necessarily strong convictions in the minds of many of the thinking part of the community. But the principle of abandoning protection for agriculture could scarcely be expected to find favour with any large portion of landlords and cultivators, who believed that a fall in prices would be the ruin of their property and the bane of their industry. The class of mechanics and factory-workers were too ready to believe the fallacy proclaimed in parliament, that a fall in the price of food would inevitably produce a lowering of the wages of labour. The Chartists always presented themselves in force at the Anti-Corn-Law Meetings, to maintain the one panacea for the distress of the country—universal suffrage. It is difficult therefore to imagine that when Lord John Russell, on the 7th of May, 1841, announced the intention of government to propose a fixed duty on the importation of foreign corn, instead of the sliding-scale which was then in operation, the Cabinet had come to this resolve solely with the object of obtaining some popularity that might eventually compensate them for the gradually increasing loss of their strength

in parliament. The popular opinion was decidedly against them. The interests that would be affected by Free Trade were too deeply rooted in old habits and traditions—the benefits were too remote—to be swayed by the convictions of believers in the doctrine that legislation ought first to have regard to the general good—that of the consumers. Members of the government were necessarily open to the charge of inconsistency. Lord Melbourne, on the 3rd of May, was twitted by the duke of Buckingham that in the previous year, upon the motion of earl Fitzwilliam “that it is expedient to reconsider the laws relating to the importation of foreign corn,” he had opposed the motion, believing that the advantages to be gained by the change were not worth the evils of the struggle. Lord Melbourne answered this reproach by stating that the words which he used also conveyed his opinion that a time might come, and circumstances might arise, when this question must be taken into consideration. Those circumstances had arisen; that time in his opinion had now come when it was found necessary, in order to meet the exigencies of the country, to adopt wide and extensive financial measures. Sir Robert Peel, in Part III. of his Memoirs relating to “Corn-Laws, 1845—46,” says that at the close of the Session of 1845 “the progress of discussion had made a material change in the opinions of many persons with regard to the policy of protection to domestic agriculture, and the extent to which that policy should be carried.”* He names lord John Russell and lord Melbourne as having adopted, as well as himself, the opinions upon this subject generally prevalent at an early period of his public life among men of all parties. It would seem, therefore, rather unjust not to give the Whig Cabinet of 1841 some credit for being influenced by “the progress of discussion,” instead of repeating the charge commonly made against them of having rushed into free-trade principles “to make a bid for popularity” when the agitation of the League had produced its effect upon public opinion. Little effect had been produced in 1841. What lord John Russell proposed was not accepted by the League, which in point of fact repudiated his plan of a fixed duty, demanding an absolute freedom from all duty upon foreign corn.

The “wide and extensive financial measures” to which lord Melbourne alluded on the 3rd of May, were brought forward in propositions by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his budget, to raise the duty on colonial timber, reducing that on Baltic timber; and to keep the existing duty on colonial sugar, lowering the duty on foreign sugar. These propositions were really a considerable step in the direction of Free Trade. The proposal in reference to the sugar duties was brought forward by lord John Russell in a Committee of Ways and Means on the 7th of May. During eight nights was this proposal debated with all the zeal that was stimulated by the fears of West India merchants and Canadian timber merchants, and by the more influential terrors of the landed interest. All saw in this abandonment of the principle of protection a dismal future of the general ruin of domestic industry. It was expected, moreover, in this protracted debate that the result would involve the fall of the Whig government, which had prematurely and rashly espoused the Free Trade doctrines. A necessary consequence

* “Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel,” vol. ii. p. 98.

would be the restoration to power of the Conservative party, who, it was supposed, would always hold to the principles of Protection, which Toryism had never willingly relaxed even when under the pressure of the economical doctrines of Canning and Huskisson. The importance of these debates on the sugar-duties has necessarily in a great measure passed away; but it is interesting to look back upon the opinions maintained by two of the most accomplished debaters of that day—sir Robert Peel and lord Palmerston. Sir Robert Peel maintained that if the principle of Free Trade announced by the government was that, without reference to any other consideration, we should go to the cheapest market, he could not concur in it. "In a country of such complicated relations as this, the rigid application of such a principle would involve us in inextricable confusion." Never, on the other hand, were Free Trade principles more ably advocated than by lord Palmerston. "We intend to supply the deficiency of the revenue by striking a blow at some of the great monopolies which have hitherto retarded the prosperity of the country. . . . The question is, whether the great springs of our national industry shall be relieved from some of those artificial obstructions which have hitherto retarded their development, or whether the sources of our national prosperity shall, for the benefit of private interests and of privileged classes, continue to be choked up. The question is between Free Trade (and by Free Trade I mean trade open to competition) on the one side, and monopoly on the other. The question is between reason and prejudice: between the interests of the many and the profits of the few. . . . Protection, in the sense in which the word is used by those who now oppose the plan of the government, is a tax levied upon the industry and skill of the mass of the community to enable a few to remain indolent and unskilful. Such protection is not only erroneous in principle, but, after all, utterly useless to those for whose particular benefit it is maintained. Show me a trade that is free, by which I mean, open to fair competition, and I will show you a trade carried on with intelligence, enterprise, and success." From his own official experience he adduced many examples that "Protection is a game that two can play at." He showed conclusively that it was impossible that a great country like England could go on protecting, as it was called, its various interests, and that other countries should not follow its example.*

In his reply, which concluded the last night of the debate, lord John Russell emphatically asserted the principle of a free trade in corn. The noble lord the member for North Lancashire (lord Stanley) "had said, that the producer of corn could not depend upon his own skill and industry, but must rely upon the sunshine or the storm for the abundance or scarcity of his crop. That was true as to the producer of a particular country; he must depend upon a higher power. But the same power that directs the storm had given a remedy for any local disadvantage, for such was the bounty and benevolence of Providence, that if in one country there was a bad season and a deficient crop, another was blest with a good season and an abundant harvest. It was fortunately in the power of man, by his skill and ingenuity and the means they gave of traversing the ocean, to take advantage of the beneficence of the Creator. If that intercourse were not permitted by short-

* Hansard, vol. lviii. col. 655.

sightedness and error, do not let it be said that it was to the infliction of heaven that a deficiency of food was to be attributed. Let the blame be laid where it was due. Let the laws be blamed which defeated the magnificent scheme by which plenty would be given to all the nations of the world, more or less depending upon each other, and keeping up a kindly and a beneficial intercourse. Let the laws be blamed which blasted the fair prospects of a nation, and inflicted the curse of sterility, barrenness, and scarcity upon a land where plenty might reign, and marred the gracious desigus of Providence by unjust legislation." *

Upon the question of the Sugar Duties the ministers were defeated by a vote of 317 to 281. With this majority of 36 against them it was expected that there would have been an immediate resignation. The notice to quit did not expel the tenants of Downing Street. On the 27th of May sir Robert Peel moved, "that her majesty's ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the House of Commons to enable them to carry through the House measures which they deem of essential importance to the public welfare; and that their continuance in office under such circumstances is at variance with the spirit of the constitution." This Resolution was carried by a vote of 312 to 311. On the 7th of June lord John Russell stated that the ministry had determined to appeal to the country. On the 22nd the parliament was prorogued by the queen, and the dissolution was proclaimed the next day.

When the new Parliament met on the 19th of August, 1841, it had been ascertained with tolerable accuracy that the results of the elections were wholly unfavourable to the continued existence of the ministry. What was called the Conservative principle was not only triumphant over the Free-trade principle boldly proclaimed at the last hour by the Whigs; but many of their former supporters, now known as the Radical party, were either distinctly hostile towards the ministry, or very lukewarm in their support. The parliamentary trial of strength was close at hand. Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre was re-elected Speaker without opposition. The queen did not open the Parliament in person, the Speech being read by the Lords Commissioners. With the absolute certainty that a change of administration would very quickly ensue, some expressions in the Speech from the throne must have appeared rather as the challenge to a future contest from a retreating force to an enemy about to drive it from the field, than as the measured and conciliatory language of the sovereign to those ranged in battle array on either side. The attention of Parliament was in this Speech called to the revision of duties affecting the productions of foreign countries. It would be for Parliament to consider not only whether some of those duties were unproductive to the revenue, but were vexatious to commerce; whether, further, the principle of Protection, upon which others were founded, was not carried to an extent injurious alike to the income of the state and the interests of the people. Her Majesty also expressed her desire that the Parliament should consider the laws which regulated trade in corn. It would be for them to determine whether those laws did not aggravate the natural fluctuations of supply, embarrass trade, derange currency, and diminish the comfort and increase the privations of the great body of the community. Lord Stanley, on a subsequent night,

* Hansard, vol. lviii. col. 666.

expressed his regret that the Speech had been so framed as to be liable to misconstruction in the eyes of the country; that its recommendations appeared to be the recommendations of the Crown, and not of the ministers who constitutionally advised the Crown. Lord John Russell answered, that he thought it was generally understood that the Speech from the throne was the Speech of ministers; the Speech was the result of the advice of ministers, and ministers alone were responsible for it. M. Guizot shrewdly observes, that with the sagacity of party spirit the adversaries of sir Robert Peel estimated more accurately than perhaps he did himself the difficulties which awaited him. "Retiring with every possible advantage, the Whigs charged sir Robert Peel to repair their faults, and to perform their promises."*

In the House of Commons an Amendment to the Address was moved by Mr. Stuart Wortley, to the effect that the public expenditure having for several years exceeded the annual income, the House was convinced of the necessity of adopting measures for the purpose of remedying so great an evil; that it was the duty of the House humbly to submit to her Majesty that it was essential to the satisfactory results of their deliberations in reference to the subjects to which their attention had been especially directed, and other matters of public concern, "that your Majesty's government should possess the confidence of this House and of the country; and respectfully to represent to your Majesty that that confidence is not reposed in the present advisers of your Majesty." The debate on the Address was continued four nights. The speeches by the leaders of the two parties, sir Robert Peel and lord John Russell, were necessarily the most important. Sir Robert Peel, in concluding his address, said "If I accept office, it shall be by walking in the open light and in the direct paths of the constitution. If I exercise power, it shall be upon my conception—perhaps imperfect—perhaps mistaken—but my sincere conception of public duty. That power I will not hold unless I can hold it consistently with the maintenance of my own opinions, and that power I will relinquish the moment I am satisfied that I am not supported in the maintenance of them by the confidence of the House and of the people of this country."† The conclusion of lord John Russell's speech was equally emphatic: "I have only to express my conviction, that if this country is governed by enlarged and liberal counsels, its power and might will spread and increase, its influence will become greater and greater; that liberal principles will prevail, and civilization will be spread to all parts of the globe; that you will bless millions by your dominion and mankind by your example."‡ On the 27th of August the House divided on Mr. Wortley's Amendment, when in a House of six hundred and twenty-nine members the government was in a minority of ninety-one. In the House of Lords, where an Amendment to the Address, similar to that of the Commons, had been proposed by the earl of Ripon, the majority against ministers was seventy-two. Her Majesty's answer to the amended Address of the House of Commons conveyed the only decision which could be made by a constitutional sovereign. "Ever

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 91.

† Hansard, vol. lix. col. 429.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. lix. col. 449.

anxious to listen to the advice of the Parliament, I will take immediate measures for the formation of a new administration." The resignation of ministers was announced in both Houses on the 30th of August.

The biographer of sir Robert Peel has said, "Never perhaps had a first minister united at his accession so many elements and guarantees of a safe and strong government. But he was called on to perform the most difficult of tasks—a task essentially incoherent and contradictory. He was obliged to be at once a Conservative and a Reformer, and to carry along with him, in this double course, a majority incoherent in itself, and swayed, in reality, by immovable and untractable interests, prejudices, and passions."* Sir Robert Peel has given his own testimony to the difficulties which beset his path at the very onset of his attempts as a commercial reformer. One of his first acts was to propose to his colleagues a material change in the Corn-Law of 1828. He had also to propose a removal of the prohibition which existed on the import of foreign cattle and meat. "These changes," he says, "although they gave little satisfaction to the most eager opponents of the Corn Law, and were indeed denounced by some as perfectly nugatory, were not effected without great murmuring and some open opposition to the government on the part of many of its supporters. The duke of Buckingham resigned his seat in the Cabinet rather than be a party to them, nor was it an easy matter to procure the unanimous adoption of the measures I proposed by the remaining members of the government." †

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 89.

† "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. ii. p. 100.

THE MINISTRY AS FORMED BY SIR ROBERT PEEL.

CABINET.

Lord Wharncliffe	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Lyndhurst	Lord High Chancellor.
Duke of Buckingham*	Lord Privy Seal.
Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel	First Lord of the Treasury.
Right Hon. Henry Goulburn	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Earl of Haddington	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Right Hon. Sir James Graham, Bart.	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Earl of Aberdeen	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Stanley	Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Lord Ellenborough†	President of the Board of Control.
Earl of Ripon	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Sir E. Knatchbull, Bart..	Paymaster-General.
Duke of Wellington	Without office.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Lord Lowther	Postmaster-General.
Lord Granville Somerset	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone	Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint.
Earl of Lincoln	First Commissioner of Land Revenue.
Right Hon. Sir George Murray	Master General of the Ordnance.
Sir Frederick Pollock	Attorney-General.
Sir William Webb Follett	Solicitor-General.

GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

Earl of Liverpool	Lord Steward.
Earl Delawarr	Lord Chamberlain.
Earl of Jersey	Master of the Horse.

IRELAND.

Earl de Grey	Lord Lieutenant.
Sir Edward Sugden	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Eliot	Chief Secretary.

SCOTLAND.

Right Hon. Sir William Rae, Bart.	Lord Advocate.
Duncan M'Neil, Esq.	Solicitor-General.

* His Grace resigned January 31, and was succeeded by the Duke of Buccleuch.

† Lord Ellenborough accepted the Governor-generalship of India, and was succeeded by Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci, October 23.

CHAPTER XXV.

War with China and War with Afghanistan—Commercial Relations with China—Beginnings of the Opium War—Its Moral Aspects—Debates in Parliament—Chusan captured—Treaty made at Canton repudiated by the Emperor—Canton attacked—Arrival of Sir H. Pottinger—Capture of Chin-Kiang-Poo—Treaty of Nanking—Afghanistan—Lord Auckland, Governor-general of India—Causes of the Afghan War—British Army crosses the Indus—The Bolan Pass—Siege of Ghuznee—Cabul entered in triumph—Shah Soojah restored—False security at Cabul—Afghan plots—Massacre of Burnes—The British Army in peril—Massacre of MacNaghten—Capitulation of the British—The Retreat from Cabul—Ladies and children given up—Destruction of the Army—One survivor arrives at Jellalabad—Sale's Defence of Jellalabad—Arrival of General Pollock—Cabul retaken—Release of the prisoners—The Army returns to India—Lord Ellenborough's proclamations—Gates of Sonmath.

At this point of our domestic history it may be convenient to take a rapid view of the events connected with two distant wars in which the country was now engaged—a war with China and a war in Afghanistan. Briefly referring to the origin of each of these serious contests, we shall conduct the narrative to the period when peace was concluded with the Chinese government, and when terrible calamities in India were overcome, and security was again won, by the triumphs of our arms. We begin with China.

In the Session of Parliament which was opened on the 16th of January, 1840, it was announced, in the Speech of the Queen, that "events had happened in China, interrupting commercial intercourse." The circumstances attending this interruption were debated in the House of Commons on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of April, upon a resolution moved by Sir James Graham, to the effect that the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with China, and the hostilities which had since taken place, were mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight on the part of her majesty's advisers, and especially in their neglect to furnish the superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband trade in opium. As the circumstances which led to this first war between Great Britain and the Chinese empire are really more important than any minute details of the events of the war, we must, as briefly as we can, relate what was the position of affairs up to the time when the discussion on Sir James Graham's motion took place.

By the new charter of the East India Company, granted in 1833, the Company's monopoly of the China trade was abolished. It had probably not been sufficiently considered that serious collision with a government that had

so long and so pertinaciously insisted upon the exclusion of foreigners would be the natural consequence of the position in which the trade with China was now placed. The change was calculated to inspire vague fears of aggression amongst those who were not unacquainted with the fact that the merchants who, not a century before, had humbly asked for permission to establish a trade in India, were now the masters of that country, and that the descendants of Aurungzebe were their pensioners. The Chinese, however, had got accustomed to the East India Company, whose officers pretended to no public capacity, who came as humble merchants, and who kept up a quiet sleepy trade. In this intercourse there were occasional quarrels between the natives and the foreigners, but their traffic, whether legal or illegal, kept on its jog-trot course by the adroit management of the Company's agents, who could calculate to a nicety the amount of bribery that was necessary to propitiate a Chinese official. The British legislature upset all this; abolished supercargoes, vesting their authority in king's officers instead of mercantile agents; and authorized the executive to employ a Superintendent, with instructions to get into direct communication with the Chinese authorities. The number of European ships, merchants, and seamen, rapidly increased. The contraband trade in opium was suddenly augmented. In the first ten years of the present century the exports of opium from India to China averaged about 2500 chests; in 1833 they exceeded 23,000 chests, having risen from 13,000 chests in the previous year; and the subsequent average of five years was about 19,000 chests.* Opium was always an article prohibited by the Chinese government, or rather by the public acts of the Court of Peking. The provincial authorities invariably nullified everything which was done by the superior power to discountenance the illicit trade, so that when the government of Peking attempted to put down that traffic between Lin-tin and Canton, the viceroy of Canton substituted himself for the other opium smugglers, so that the whole affair bore the aspect of a juggle among the Chinese authorities.† The Imperial government of China increased the severity of the law against opium smuggling, but still the smuggling went on, and especially increased on the east coast. There was a belief in 1837-8 that the trade would be legalized. A mandarin in high authority at Peking, having sounder notions about smuggling than had prevailed in Europe with some persons, proposed that the sale of opium should be legalized, it being admitted like other goods with a duty of seven dollars a chest, whilst the expense of smuggling amounted to forty dollars. In a very able state paper he argued that the increased severity of the law against opium had only tended to increase the amount of the bribe paid to the official underlings for their connivance. The unfortunate mandarin was banished for his liberal advice, and the Imperial government adopted more violent but less effectual measures to put down the opium trade.‡ There were two motives which influenced the Court of Peking. They were alarmed at the rapid drain of silver for the purchase of opium, and they had to protect the interests of native poppy-growers. Lord Palmerston quaintly said, in the debate on the

* MacCulloch's "Commercial Dictionary," article, Opium.

† Speech of Mr. Charles Buller, Hansard, vol. liii. col. 788.

‡ Davis's "Chinese," chap. iv.

9th of April, "The fact was that this was an exportation-of-bullion question, an agricultural-interest-protection question."* The Chinese authorities were at last brought into open collision with the resident British merchants. In consequence of an attempt to strangle a Chinese opium-smuggler in front of the factories at Canton, there was an affray between the Europeans and the Chinese. Captain Elliot, the Superintendent at Canton, issued a notice requiring all British-owned vessels trading in opium to leave the river within three days. But this measure did not conciliate the High Commissioner from the Imperial Court, Lin-Tsih-Sew, who in 1839 commanded all opium in British ships, whether in the Canton river or on the coast of China, to be given up. All the foreign residents being forbidden to leave China, Captain Elliot joined his countrymen in the Factories, which were surrounded by Chinese soldiers. More than twenty thousand chests of opium were delivered up and destroyed. War was now imminent. Captain Elliot applied for a naval force, and in October two English frigates were blockading Canton. These were attacked by Chinese war-junks, which were beaten off with great loss. In January, 1840, an Imperial edict directed all trade with Great Britain to cease for ever.

Thus commenced what has been called the Opium War. Putting aside the consideration of the treatment of this subject as a party question—one which so nearly involved the fall of the Ministry, that in a House of five hundred and thirty-three members, they had only a majority of nine upon Sir James Graham's motion—it is startling, after this lapse of time, to trace the very different views which its moral aspects presented. The combatants were fighting about the colour of a shield which showed its blackness on one side and its whiteness on the other. The representative of the British Government, it was argued by the supporters of the Ministry, had been treated in a manner contrary to all public law, and the whole body of English traders had been subjected to imprisonment and indignities in consequence of offences in which they had no participation. Exact reparation for these injuries, said Mr. Macaulay. In one of his despatches Captain Elliot described his arrival at the Factory in the moment of extreme danger. "As soon as he landed he was surrounded by his countrymen, all in an agony of distress and despair. The first thing which he did was to order the British flag to be brought from his boat and planted in the balcony. The sight immediately revived the hearts of those who had a minute before given themselves up for lost. It was natural that they should look up with hope and confidence to that victorious flag, for it reminded them that they belonged to a country unaccustomed to defeat, to submission, or to shame; to a country which had exacted such reparation for the wrongs of her children as had made the ears of all who heard of it to tingle; to a country which had made the Dey of Algiers humble himself to the dust before her insulted Consul; to a country which had avenged the victims of the Black Hole on the Field of Plassey; to a country which had not degenerated since the great Protector vowed that he would make the name of Englishman as much respected as ever had been the name of Roman citizen." † "I am not compe-

* Hansard, vol. liii. col. 940.

† Macaulay's Speeches, p. 227.

tent," answered Mr. Gladstone, "to judge how long this war may last, or how protracted may be its operations, but this I can say, that a war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated in its progress to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of." He asked, with reference to the eloquent description of the British flag planted on the balcony at Canton, "How comes it to pass that the sight of that flag always raises the spirit of Englishmen? It is because it has always been associated with the cause of justice, with opposition to oppression, with respect for national rights, with honourable commercial enterprise; but now, under the auspices of the noble lord, that flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic, and if it were never to be hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror, and should never again feel our hearts thrill, as they now thrill, with emotion, when it floats proudly and magnificently on the breeze." * Such were the contrary views in 1840 of the nature of this war; such are the contrary views which still prevail amongst those who write upon this war. The China merchants of London, in a Memorial to lord Palmerston, expressed their opinion that unless the measures of the government were followed up with firmness and energy, the trade with China would no longer be conducted with security to life and property. This was the commercial point of view. The sentimental point of view is that, confident in our military power and the comparative ignorance of the Chinese in the arts of war, we forced upon them the contraband drug which the government would have kept out of the reach of the intemperate. The opponents of the Whig ministry in 1840 did not, however, deny the necessity of a hostile demonstration with respect to China. Sir Robert Peel said that, "after what had passed, British honour and the British name would be disgraced unless some measure were taken to procure reparation for the injuries and insults which had been committed on us. . . . Again and again I say, do not enter into this war without a becoming spirit—a spirit becoming the name and character of England. Do not forget the peculiar character of the people with whom you have to deal, and so temper your measures that as little evil as possible may remain. Remember that the character of the people has lasted for many generations; that it is the same now that was given to them by Pliny and many subsequent writers. It is your duty to vindicate the honour of England where vindication is necessary, and to demand reparation wherever reparation is due." †

A small naval force having been left in the Canton river to maintain a blockade, the British fleet sailed northward along the coast of China. The first important operation of the war was the capture on the 5th of July, by the squadron, of the city of Ting-hai in Chusan. The Chusan islands, upon the possession of which the maritime intercourse of the eastern coast of China essentially depended, were captured after a slight resistance. Admiral Elliot arrived as plenipotentiary at Chusan on the day on which the city was taken, and he despatched to Ning-po a letter from lord Palmerston to be transmitted to the emperor of China at Peking. The autho-

* Hansard, vol. liii. col. 818.

† Hansard, vol. liii. col. 923.

rities at Ning-po refused to receive or to forward the letters. A blockade was consequently declared of the east coast, from Ning-po to the mouth of the Kiang. Captain Elliot in August entered the Pei-ho, which flows past Peking on the south. The letter of lord Palmerston was now forwarded, and on the 30th of August a conference was held between captain Elliot and the emperor's minister Keshen, who was subsequently appointed Imperial Commissioner, Lin having been deprived of his office. Admiral Elliot somewhat indiscreetly consented to transfer the negotiations for peace to Canton, thus neutralizing the effect that had been produced by the successes at Chusan, and by the approach of British vessels of war to the vicinity of Peking. The admiral soon after resigned. A truce which had been announced by admiral Elliot was violated, in the midst of the negotiations, by an edict that all Englishmen and ships should be destroyed wherever they were met with near China. The forts Chuen-pe and Tae-cok-tow on the Canton river were now stormed and captured, and the Chinese squadron of war junks collected in Anson's Bay was destroyed. Negotiations were then resumed; and on the 20th of January, Captain Elliot issued a circular stating that a treaty had been agreed to by Keshen, the conditions of which were that Hong-Kong should be ceded to England; that six million dollars should be paid by the Chinese; that the trade should be opened within ten days; and that there should be direct official communication between the two countries on equal terms. Formal possession was taken of Hong-Kong, and Chusan was evacuated—not too soon—for the troops left there had been greatly reduced by the unhealthiness of the climate. Keshen proclaimed that the English barbarians were now obedient to order, and that all affairs were perfectly well settled. But, on the 11th of February an Imperial edict was received from Peking by the Commissioner at Canton, disapproving and rejecting the conditions agreed to by him. The war was now resumed with increased vigour.

On the 2nd of March general Gough,—who had entered the British army in 1794, had greatly distinguished himself in the Peninsular war, and in 1837 was in command of a division of the Indian army,—arrived in China to take the command of the British land forces. From the renewal of hostilities to the end of April there had been armistice upon armistice, during which the attempts of Captain Elliot to negotiate were repeatedly defeated by the intervention of the Imperial government. Keshen was degraded and deprived of his office for consenting to these suspensions of hostility, the Imperial edicts proclaiming, “it is difficult for heaven and earth to bear any longer with the English.” General Gough saw that this temporizing policy would only prolong the war, and be more injurious to the Chinese themselves than its vigorous prosecution. He determined to attack Canton. It was resolved to make the principal points of debarkation of the British forces to the north-west of the city, while another column was to take possession of the Factories, which had been ceded to the Chinese. The attack upon the Factories was very soon successful. The point chosen for debarkation on the north-west was about five miles by the river line above the Factories. The troops were landed on the 23rd, and early on the morning of the 24th proceeded to the attack. General Gough describes the heights to the north of Canton. They were crowned by four strong forts, and the city walls ran over their southern extremity. The intervening ground between the point of

landing and the forts was undulated, and intersected by hollows under wet paddy cultivation. The walls of Canton, of brick on a foundation of red sandstone, were about twenty feet thick, and varied in height from twenty-five to forty feet. At this time there were twenty thousand Tartar troops, famous for their courage and daring, garrisoning the city. On the 24th the two western forts were captured with comparatively small loss, and "in little more than half an hour after the order to advance was given, the British troops looked down on Canton within a hundred paces of its walls."* It was intended next day to assault the city itself, but the attack was prevented by a flag of truce being hoisted on the walls. Captain Elliot wrote to the general, requesting him to suspend hostilities, as he was employed in a settlement of the difficulties. The terms were little different to those which had been formerly agreed to, and to which the Chinese government had refused its assent. General Gough observed upon this termination of the conflict: "Whatever might be my sentiments, my duty was to acquiesce; the attack, which was to have commenced in forty-five minutes, was countermanded, and the feelings of the Chinese were spared. Of the policy of this measure I do not consider myself a competent judge; but I say 'feelings,' as I would have been responsible that Canton should be equally spared, with the exception of its defences, and that not a soldier should have entered the town farther than the fortified heights within its walls." The terror induced by the operations of the fleet and army extorted from the authorities of Canton the payment of six million dollars as a ransom for the city.

Although trade was resumed in Canton, peace was still distant. The Imperial edicts still breathed vengeance against the "barbarians;" the British government disapproved the arrangements of captain Elliot. Sir Henry Pottinger, who arrived as Plenipotentiary on the 10th of August, took the chief direction of the affairs which had so long been in the hands of the Superintendent. He immediately published a copy of his credentials, authorising and empowering him "to negotiate and conclude with the minister vested with similar power and authority on the part of the emperor of China, any treaty or agreement for the arrangement of the differences now subsisting between Great Britain and China." He also issued a notification, in which, after stating his anxiety to promote the prosperity of all her majesty's subjects and other foreigners, he went on to say that "it was his first duty distinctly to intimate for general and individual information, that it was his intention to devote his undivided energies and thoughts to the primary object of securing a speedy and satisfactory close of the war; and that he therefore could allow no consideration connected with mercantile pursuits and other interests to interfere with the strong measures which he might find it necessary to authorize and adopt towards the government and subjects of China, with a view to compelling an honourable and lasting peace."

To the end of 1841 there were various successes achieved by the land and naval forces, which gave the British possession of many large fortified towns, amongst which were Amoy, Ting-hai, Chiu-hai, Ning-po, and Shang-hai. The Chinese were nevertheless persevering in their resistance, and in most cases evinced a bravery which showed how mistaken were the views which regarded

* General Gough's Despatch, "Annual Register," 1841, p. 282.

the subjection of this extraordinary people as an easy task. To the end of June these successes had produced no overtures from the Imperial government evincing a real desire for a pacification. The British fleet on the 13th of June entered the great river Kiang, and on the 6th of July advanced up the river, and cut off its communication with the Grand Canal, by which Nanking, the ancient capital of China, was supplied with grain. The point where the river intersects the canal is the city of Chin-Kiang-foo. "This city, with its walls in excellent repair, stands within little more than half a mile from the river; the northern and the eastern faces upon a range of steep hills; the west and southern faces on low ground, with the Imperial Canal serving in some measure as a wet ditch to these faces. To the westward the suburb through which the canal passes extends to the river and terminates under a precipitous hill."* On the morning of the 21st the city was stormed by the British, in three brigades. The resistance of the Tartar troops was most desperate. Our troops fought under a burning sun, whose overpowering heat caused some to fall dead. The obstinate defence of the place prevented its being taken till six o'clock in the evening. When the streets were entered, the houses were found almost deserted. They were filled with ghastly corpses, many of the Tartar soldiers having destroyed their families, and then committed suicide. The city, from the number of the dead, had become uninhabitable. On the 9th of August the British fleet, proceeding up the river, had arrived before Nanking. General Gough determined to storm this fortified city, containing half a million of inhabitants. The debarkation was suspended, upon a communication from sir Henry Pottinger that he was negotiating with high officers of the empire who had now the direct authority of the emperor to treat for peace. The treaty was finally signed before Nanking on board the Cornwallis on the 29th of August, by sir Henry Pottinger on the part of Great Britain, and by Ke-ying, Elepoo, and Neu-Kien, on the part of the emperor of China. Its most important provisions were as follows: Lasting peace and friendship were to be maintained between the two empires; China was to pay to Great Britain twenty-one millions of dollars within four years; the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ning-po, and Shang-hai, were to be thrown open to British merchants, consular officers were to be allowed to reside at these ports, and just tariffs, as well as inland transit duties, established and published; Hong-Kong island to be ceded in perpetuity to Great Britain; all British subjects, whether natives of Europe or of India, then in confinement in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released; an amnesty to be published by the emperor to all Chinese subjects on account of their having held service under the British government or its officers; correspondence between the officers of the two governments to be conducted on terms of perfect equality. On receipt of the emperor's assent to the treaty, and of the first six million dollars of the indemnity, the British forces were to retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and the military posts at Chin-hai were to be withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Ku-lang-su were to be held till the whole amount of the indemnity was paid, and the ports opened. On the 8th of September the emperor signified his assent to the treaty; which,

* "Annual Register," 1842, p. 273.

on the last day of the year, received the ratification of the great seal of England.



Chinese Military Station.

On the 10th of September, 1838, lord Auckland, the Governor-general of India, who had entered upon his office at the end of 1835, proclaimed in General Orders his intention to employ a force beyond the North-West frontier. On the 1st of October he published a declaration of the causes and objects of the war. The ostensible object was to replace Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul, the troubles and revolutions of Afghanistan having placed the capital and a large part of the country under the sway of Dost Mahomed Khan. Shah Soojah, driven from his dominions, had become a pensioner of the East India Company, and resided in the British cantonment of Lodiana. Dost Mahomed had in May, 1836, addressed a letter to lord Auckland, which conveyed his desire to secure the friendship of the British government. He was desirous of obtaining the aid of the British against Persia, whose troops were besieging Herat, and to recover Peshawur from Runjeet Singh, the ruler of the Punjaub. The Governor-general in 1837 despatched Capt. Alexander Burnes as an envoy to Cabul. He was received with great courtesy. His instructions did not allow him to give any hopes of British assistance to Dost Mahomed. Soon after the arrival of Burnes a Russian envoy arrived at Cabul, who was liberal in his promises, but whose authority was afterwards disavowed by his government. In the posthumous narrative by sir Alexander Burnes of his journey to Cabul, he says that the tranquillity which had dawned on the east, and the invasion of Afghanistan by the Persians on the west, "had a prejudicial effect at Cabul, which was further heightened by the presence of an agent from Russia, who reached the place soon after my arrival. To the east, the fears of Dost Mahomed Khan were allayed—to the west they were increased; and in this state of things his hopes were so worked upon, that the ultimate result was his estrangement from the

British government." * Capt. Burnes carried back with him a belief that Russia was meditating an attack upon British India, having established her influence in Persia; that Dost Mahomed was treacherous; and that the true way to raise a barrier against the ambition of Russia was to place the dethroned Shah Soojah upon the throne of Cabul, as he had numerous friends in the country. The alarm of the possible danger of a Russian invasion through Persia and Afghanistan led to the declaration of war against Dost Mahomed in the autumn of 1838, and to the preparation for hostilities under a Governor-general whose declared policy, at the commencement of his rule, was to maintain the peace which had been scarcely interrupted since the conclusion of the Birman war. But it is not to the apprehensions alone of the envoy to Cabul, or the impressions produced by him upon the sensitiveness of the Governor-general, that we must wholly impute the resolve to put forth the British strength in a distant and dangerous expedition. There was an universal impression throughout India that some imminent danger was about to assail us on the north-west; that a powerful combination of hostile powers, of which Russia was the head, was about to pour down upon our territories, whose arrival would be the signal for a general rise amongst the neighbouring States and in our own provinces.† This general feeling of alarm was confirmed by representations made to the Governor-general from all the intelligent men who were in the Government, or connected with the different districts in India.‡ Unquestionably there was a panic, and under such circumstances the heaviest charge against lord Auckland would have been that he remained in supine indifference.

On the 14th of February the Bengal division of the army under sir Willoughby Cotton crossed the Indus at Bukkur. The Indus is here divided into two channels, one of which is nearly five hundred yards in breadth. The passage of eight thousand men with a vast camp-train and sixteen thousand camels was effected without a single casualty. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, in moving the thanks of the House of Commons to the Indian army, in February, 1840, read a glowing description of this passage. "It was a gallant sight to see brigade after brigade, with its martial music and its glittering arms, marching over file by file, horse, foot, and artillery, into a region as yet untrodden by British soldiers." He quoted also from a periodical publication an eloquent allusion to the grand historical contrasts of this expedition. "For the first time since the days of Alexander the Great, a civilized army had penetrated the mighty barrier of deserts and mountains which separates Persia from Hindustan; and the prodigy has been exhibited to an astonished world of a remote island in the European seas pushing forward its mighty arms into the heart of Asia, and carrying its victorious standards into the strongholds of Mohammedan faith and the cradle of the Mogul empire." § The Bengal army was preceded by a small body of troops under the orders of Shah Soojah, and it was followed by the Bombay division under the command of sir John Keane. Into an almost unknown

* "Personal Narrative," p. 143.

† Letter of General Cibbon from Bangalore, quoted by Lord John Russell in Debate, March 1, 1843.—Hansard, vol. xlvii., col. 154.

‡ Lord John Russell—Hansard, vol. xlvii. col. 154.

§ Hansard, vol. li. col. 1330.

and untrodden country twenty-one thousand troops had entered through the Bolan Pass. Sir Willoughby Cotton, with the Bengal column, entered this Pass in the beginning of April. Beloochee rulers had rendered him all the aid in their power, but the Beloochee freebooters were murdering stragglers and cutting off baggage and cattle. The passage of this formidable Pass, nearly sixty miles in length, was accomplished in six days. For the first eleven and a half miles into the Pass the only road is the bed of the Bolan river. The mountains on every side are precipitous and sterile; not a blade of vegetation of any kind being found, save in the bed of the stream. There was no sustenance for the camels, unless it were carried for their support during six days, and thus along the whole route their putrefying carcasses added to the obstacles to the advance of the army.* At length the column emerged into the open country. Havelock, who now, after twenty-three years' service, had been promoted to the command of a company, has described how the eye swept with delight over a wide plain bounded with noble mountain ranges, how the carol of the lark mounting up in the fresh morning air broke charmingly on the English ear.†

The Bombay army sustained considerable loss from freebooters in their passage through the Bolan Pass, but the two columns were enabled to unite at Candahar, and to proceed to the siege of Ghuznee, under the command of sir John Keane. On the 22nd of July the British forces were in camp before this famous city, built upon a rock, towering proudly over the adjacent plain. The intelligent officers of the army could not have viewed without deep interest this stronghold of Mohammedism, where the tomb of sultan Mahmoud, the conqueror of Hindustan, was still preserved, and where Mohammedan priests still read the Koran over his grave. The sandal-wood gates of this tomb, which in 1025 had been carried off from the Hindoo temple of Somnauth in Guzerat, were to acquire a new celebrity at the close of this Afghan war by an ostentatious triumph, not quite so politic as that of the sultan Mahmoud. At Ghuznee, Mohammedism maintained its most fanatical aspect. On the day before the final attack, major Outram attempted with part of the Shah's contingent to force the enemy from the heights beyond the walls. He describes that over the crest of the loftiest peak floated the holy banner of green and white, surrounded by a multitude of fanatics, who believed they were safe under the sacred influence of the Moslem ensign. A shot having brought down the standard-bearer, and the banner being seized, the multitude fled panic-stricken at the proof of the fallacy of their belief.‡ This was desultory warfare. But it had been determined that three hours after midnight, on the morning of the 23rd, the fortress and citadel should be stormed. Ghuznee was regarded by the Afghan nation as impregnable. It had a garrison of three thousand five hundred Afghan soldiers, with a commanding number of guns, and abundance of ammunition and other stores. The Cabul gate was blown open by a terrific explosion; the storming party entered the gate; a few moments of darkness and confusion, and then the foremost soldiers caught a glimpse of the morning sky, and pushing gallantly

* Outram, "Rough Notes of the Campaign," pp. 71, 72.

† Kaye, "History of the War in Afghanistan," vol. i. p. 408.

‡ Outram, "Rough Notes of the Campaign," p. 111.

on, were soon established in the fortress.* In two hours from the commencement of the attack Ghuznee was in the hands of the British forces. There were great doubts, almost universal doubts, at home as to the policy of this Afghan war. There could be no doubt as to the brilliancy of this exploit. The duke of Wellington gave his warmest testimony to the merits of the officer who had achieved this success. The duke went further. Carefully reserving his opinion as to the origin of the war, he declared, in assenting to the vote of thanks to the army of the Indus, that he had had frequent opportunities of noticing the arrangements made for the execution of great military enterprises, but that he had never known an occasion on which the duty of government had been performed on a larger scale, on which more adequate provisions had been made for all the contingencies which might have occurred, or in which more attention had been paid to the wishes of the officers, the comforts of the soldiers, and all those considerations which are likely to make a war successful.†

On the 29th of July the British army quitted Ghuznee. It entered Cabul in triumph on the 7th of August. Shah Soojah, restored to his sovereignty, was once more seated in the Bala-Hissar, the ancient palace of his race. Dost Mahomed had fled beyond the Indian Caucasus. The country appeared not only subjected to the new government, but tranquil and satisfied. There was a notion at one time of withdrawing the greater part of the forces, but it was finally determined that the first division of Bengal infantry with the 13th Queen's regiment should remain in Cabul and Candahar, and that Ghuznee and Jellalabad should be occupied by native regiments. One division of the Bombay army, which was returning home, effected the capture of the strong fortress of Khelat, with a view to the deposition of the Khan, who had conducted himself hostilely and treacherously towards the British. To the forces remaining in Cabul there were a few months of ease and recreation. As the spring and summer advanced insurrections began to break out in the surrounding country. Dost Mahomed had again made his appearance, and had fought a gallant battle with the British cavalry, in which he obtained a partial victory. Despairing, however, of his power effectually to resist the British arms, he wrote to Cabul, and delivered himself up to the envoy, sir William MacNaghten, claiming the protection of his government. He was sent to India, where a place of residence was assigned to him on the North-West frontier, with three lacs of rupees (about 30,000*l.*) as a revenue. But the danger of the occupation of Afghanistan was not yet overpast. The events of November and December, 1841, and of January, 1842, were of so fearful a nature as scarcely to be paralleled in some of their incidents by the disasters of the mutiny of 1857.

In September and October, 1841, the direction of affairs at Cabul was almost wholly in the hands of sir William MacNaghten, the envoy. Sir Alexander Burnes was also there, but without any official appointment. The chief command of the army was committed to major-general Elphinstone, an old Peninsular officer, but whose energy had passed into a state of nervous debility, totally unfitting him for any sudden emergency. Shah Soojah was

* Kaye, vol. i. p. 447.

† Hansard, vol. li. col. 1174.

complaining that he had no real authority, and that he did not understand his position. Burnes was equally dissatisfied that at Cabul he was without employment, consulted at times, but possessing no responsibility. An administrative change was at hand. MacNaghten was appointed governor of Bombay, and Burnes looked forward to the attainment of a sphere of duty suited to his abilities, as the successor of MacNaghten. The British at Cabul were in a condition of false security. The army was in cantonments, extensive, ill-defended, overawed on every side. Within these indefensible cantonments English ladies, amongst whom were lady MacNaghten and lady Sale, were domesticated in comfortable houses. Sir Robert Sale had left Cabul in October, expecting his wife to follow him in a few days. The climate was suited to the English; and our officers, true to their national character, had been cricket-playing, riding races, fishing, shooting, and, when winter came, astonishing the Afghans with skating on the lakes. After the catastrophe which we shall have to relate, an unfinished memorandum was found among the papers of sir William MacNaghten, in which he says, "I may be considered culpable for not having foreseen the coming storm. To this I can only reply that others, who had much better opportunities of watching the feelings of the people, had no suspicion of what was coming."* All looked with complacency upon the profound tranquillity around them, as that of an unclouded morning,—all

"Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That, hush'd in grim repose, expects his evening prey."

On the night of the 1st of November there was a meeting of Afghan chiefs, who were banded together, however conflicting might be their interests, to make common cause against the Feringhees (foreigners). One of these, Abdoollah Khan, who had been active in his intrigues to stir up disaffection, had an especial quarrel with Burnes, who had called him a dog, and had said that he would recommend Shah Soojah to deprive the rebel of his ears. He proposed that at the contemplated rising on the 2nd of November the first overt act should be an attack on the house of Burnes. Lady Sale, in her journal of that day, says, "This morning early all was in commotion in Cabul; the shops were plundered, and the people were all fighting." Before daylight an Afghan who was friendly to Burnes came to report to him that a plot had been hatched during the night which had for its chief object his murder. The Vizier arrived with the same warning. Burnes was incredulous, and refused to seek safety either in the king's fortress-palace, the Bala Hissar, or in the British cantonments. A mob was before his house. Perfect master of the language of the people, he harangued them from a gallery. At his side stood his brother Charles, and lieutenant Broadfoot, who had arrived to perform the office of military secretary to Burnes when he should be the highest in place and power. The mob clamoured for the lives of the British officers, and Broadfoot was the first to fall by a shot from the infuriated multitude. The insurgents had now forced their way into Burnes's garden, upon the culture of which he prided himself, and they called to him

* Kaye, vol. ii. p. 3.

to come down. Charles Burnes and the servants of the house had been firing from the gallery. A Mussulman from Cashmere, who had entered the house, swore by the Koran that if they would cease firing, he would convey the brothers in safety to the Kuzzilbash (Persian) fort. The three entered the garden, when the betrayer proclaimed to the insurgents "This is Secunder Burnes." The brothers were instantly struck down, and were cut to pieces by the Afghan knives. Sir Alexander Burnes, who thus perished in the thirty-sixth year of his age, was of the same family as the great Scottish poet, his grandfather being the brother of the father of Robert Burns. He was one of those remarkable men who have won their way to high distinction in the service of the East India Company through their intimate knowledge of the Oriental languages, associated with that indefatigable spirit of inquiry and observation which have made Hindostan and the neighbouring countries so familiar to the nation that was gradually advancing to supreme dominion over two hundred millions of men. He is described as one of an impulsive temperament, whose mind was subject to fluctuations of opinion,—sometimes an alarmist, more frequently sanguine and over-confident. "His talents were great; his energies were great. What he lacked was stability of character."*

From the 2nd of November to the 23rd of December, the position of the British at Cabul became more and more perilous. At the beginning of the insurrection some vigorous resolve, some demonstration of the power of the British arms, might have insured safety, if not ultimate triumph. There were four thousand five hundred good troops in the cantonments, but there was no one effectually to lead them against the rebels in the city. There were about six hundred British troops in the Bala Hissar. MacNaghten at the beginning of December urged general Elphinstone to retire from the cantonments, and place the remainder of the troops in that fortress, in which they would be in a position to overawe the populace. The last alternative was to march at once to India, and turn with the desperate courage of the lion at bay upon their surrounding foes. General Sale and general Nott were expected with reinforcements, but they were themselves hemmed in by enemies. The public events of this distressing time are told with the clearness and spirit of the intelligent historian by Mr. Kaye. The alternations of hope and fear amongst the unhappy residents, especially the women, are recorded in the journal of lady Sale. In the first week of December the troops in cantonments were threatened by the near approach of starvation. The camp followers were living upon the carcases of dead camels. Negotiations were going on with the Afghan chiefs for the safe retreat of the army, and for a supply of provisions. They were protracted from day to day, the Afghans requiring as a first condition that the forts in the neighbourhood of the cantonments should be given up. They were evacuated; and then the enemy looked down with triumphant derision upon those who, within their defenceless walls, were perishing, whilst the supplies which had been promised them were intercepted by a rabble from the city. Every day added to the expected difficulties of the retreat. The winter was setting in. On the 18th of December snow began to fall. MacNaghten,

* Kaye, vol. ii. p. 13.

wearied and almost desperate amidst the bad faith and insulting demands of the chiefs, received on the evening of the 22nd a proposal from Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, which even Elphinstone, enfeebled as he was by illness and generally inapt to offer a decided opinion, regarded as treacherous. On the morning of the 23rd, according to the proposal that had been made to him, MacNaghten, with three friends, Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, went out about six hundred yards from the cantonment for a conference with Akbar Khan, the Sirdar (the title which the chief assumed). The envoy had desired to propitiate him by sending that morning the present of a beautiful Arab horse. On a hill side Akbar Khan's servants had spread some horse-cloths over the fallen snow. The party were invited to dismount and sit down. The Afghans were gathering around them in numbers—a circumstance which corroborated the suspicions of Lawrence and Mackenzie. In an instant they were seized from behind. The two who were best prepared by their apprehensions for some plot against their lives contrived to escape. Trevor was murdered; Akbar Khan rushed upon MacNaghten in the endeavour to seize and detain him. "The look of wondering horror that sat upon his upturned face will not be forgotten by those who saw it to their dying days. The only words he was heard to utter were, *Az barae Khoda* ('for God's sake!')." * Akbar Khan drew a pistol from his girdle—it was one of a pair which MacNaghten had presented to him the previous day—and he shot the unarmed envoy through the body. Wonderful to relate, not a gun was fired from the British cantonments, not a soldier went forth to avenge the murder of the British minister. On Christmas-day intelligence arrived that reinforcements were on their way from India. Major Pottinger, who now took the place of the unfortunate MacNaghten as political agent, exhorted the military chiefs either to fight their way to Jellalabad, or forcibly to occupy the Bala Hissar. They preferred to capitulate. At a Council of War on the 26th a treaty was ratified, which contained the humiliating conditions that all the guns should be left behind except six; that all the treasure should be given up, and forty thousand rupees paid in bills, to be negotiated upon the spot; and that four officers as hostages should be detained to insure the evacuation of Jellalabad by general Sale. On the 6th of January, 1842, on a morning of intense cold, the army, consisting of four thousand five hundred fighting men and twelve thousand followers, began to move out of the cantonments. So tedious was the progress, chiefly caused by the disorderly movements of the camp-followers, that, at six o'clock in the evening, the rear-guard was leaving the walls of the cantonments which the advanced guard had quitted at half-past nine in the morning. The order and discipline which could alone save an army retreating in the midst of a hostile population had no place in that confused mass, who were without food or fuel or shelter. Akbar Khan came up with a body of six hundred horsemen to demand other hostages as security for the evacuation of Jellalabad. On the 8th, Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie were placed in his hands. Akbar Khan declared that he also came to protect the British and Hindoos from the attacks of the Ghilzyes, one of the most fanatic of the Mussulman tribes of Afghanistan. His autho-

* Kaye.

rity appears to have been exerted with all sincerity to interfere between these cruel assailants and their victims; but it was manifested in vain. The disorganized force entered the Pass of Khoord-Cabul, which for five miles is shut in by precipitous mountains, with a torrent rushing down the centre. On the hill-sides were the unrelenting Ghilzies, who shot down the fugitives without a chance of their being resisted or restrained. In this Pass three thousand men are stated to have fallen. "The ladies were mostly travelling in kujavas (camel-panniers), and were mixed up with the baggage and column in the Pass. Here they were heavily fired on." * Lady Sale, who rode on horseback, was shot in the arm. Her son-in-law was here mortally wounded. On the 9th, Akbar Khan, who had arrived with his three hostages, "turned to Lawrence and said that he had a proposal to make, but that he did not like to do so lest his motives might be misconstrued; but that, as it concerned us more than himself, he would mention it; and that it was, that all the married men, with their families, should come over and put themselves under his protection, he guaranteeing them honourable treatment, and safe escort to Peshawur. He added, that Lawrence must have seen from the events of the day previous—the loss of captain Boyd's and captain Anderson's children—that our camp was no place of safety for the ladies and children." † Lawrence and Pottinger urged the acceptance of this proposal upon general Elphinstone. There were ten women and thirteen or more children; six married men went with them, with two wounded officers. It was better to trust to Akbar Khan for the protection of these helpless women and children than to continue their exposure to the attacks of the cruel tribes whom the Sirdar could not restrain, and to the horrors of a continued march in a most inclement season. "There was but faint hope," says lady Sale, "of our ever getting safely to Jellalabad; and we followed the stream. But although there was much talk regarding our going over, all I personally know of the affair is, that I was told we were all to go, and that our horses were ready, and we must mount immediately and be off."

On the 10th of January the small remnant of the force that had left Cabul on the 6th continued its march towards Jellalabad. The Native regiments were nearly annihilated by cold and hunger and the Afghan knife. The frost-bitten Asiatics, who still crawled to a narrow defile, were unable to make any resistance. The dying and the dead soon choked up the narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills. There was now not a single Sepoy left. Not more than a quarter of the men who had left Cabul now survived. The European officers and soldiers scarcely numbered five hundred. They would have fought with the energy of desperation, but they were hemmed in by the crowd of camp-followers, who from the first had rendered their march as dangerous as the assaults of their enemies. The next day Akbar Khan invited general Elphinstone and two English officers, brigadier Shelton and captain Johnson, to a conference. The Sirdar required that the three should remain as hostages for the evacuation of Jellalabad. Elphinstone implored the Afghan to permit him to return and share the fortune of his troops. The two officers were equally unwilling to leave their doomed comrades. But resistance was in vain. On the evening of the 12th the march

* Lady Sale's "Journal."

† *Ibid.*

was resumed. They had to struggle with the dangers of the Jugdulluck Pass, in which the steep road ascends through a dark defile. As they approached the summit they found a barricade of bushes and branches of trees. Here the relentless enemy was in waiting. A general massacre ensued, in which many of the remaining officers perished. Twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers were able to clear the barricade. The next morning they were surrounded by an infuriated multitude. They were as one to a hundred; most of them were wounded; but they were resolute not to lay down their arms. They all perished except one captain and a few privates, who were taken prisoners. Out of those who had been in advance of the column in the Pass, six reached Futtehabad, within sixteen miles of Jellalabad. These last companions in misery were three captains, one lieutenant, and two regimental surgeons. Five were slain before the sixteen miles were traversed. General Sale's brigade had held possession of Jellalabad from the morning of the 13th of November, when they took the place from the Afghans by surprise. From time to time they heard rumours of the perilous position of the British force in Cabul. At last a letter, addressed to captain MacGregor, the political agent, arrived from Elphinstone and Pottinger, stating that an agreement having taken place for the evacuation of Cabul, they should immediately commence their march to India. In the absence of any security for the safe conduct of the troops to Peshawur, they resolved to disobey these instructions, and not to surrender the fort, whose defences they had been assiduously labouring to improve. The Afghan chief who bore the letter had been appointed governor of Jellalabad. On the 13th of January a sentry on the ramparts saw a solitary horseman struggling on towards the fort. He was brought in, wounded and exhausted. The one man who was left to tell the frightful tale of the retreat from Cabul was doctor Brydon.

The refusal of Sale and MacGregor to surrender Jellalabad was that heroic determination to face the danger which in almost every case makes the danger less. Akbar Khan lost no time in besieging Jellalabad. Sale had well employed his enforced leisure in repairing the ruinous ramparts and clearing out the ditch. He had made the place secure against the attack of an army without cannon. But the garrison was not secure against the approach of famine. Akbar Khan with a large body of horse was hovering around to prevent the admission of supplies. On the 19th of February a serious misfortune called forth new energies in these resolute men. An earthquake to a great extent rendered the labour vain which had been so long employed in the repairs of the works. By the end of the month the parapets were restored, the breaches built up, and every battery re-established. At the close of March, being at the last extremity for provisions, the garrison made a sortie, and carried off five hundred sheep and goats. It was known to sir Robert Sale that general Pollock was advancing to his relief. The time was come when a vigorous attack on the enemy without might have better results than a protracted defence. On the morning of the 7th of April three columns of infantry, with some field artillery and a small cavalry force, issued from the walls of Jellalabad to attack Akbar Khan, who with six thousand men was strongly posted in the adjacent plain. The columns were commanded by colonel Dennie, colonel Monteath, and captain Havelock, who

led the attack. In leading his column to storm a square fort colonel Dennie fell. Every point attacked by the three columns was carried, and the victory was completed by a general assault upon the Afghan camp. In a few hours the battle was over. Two days before this victory general Pollock had forced the Khyber Pass, which general Wild had previously attempted without success. This was an achievement in which the bravery of troops would have been thrown away if the arrangements of the general had been less skilful. The Afghans made no attempt to resist the progress of the troops till they were at the entrance of the Pass. They relied upon being able to destroy them from the precipices that overhung the road. The heights were carried on both sides, and the Afghans themselves in the Pass were exposed to that fire from above which had been so perilous to the British army in its former marches through the mountainous barriers of their country. It is considered that if Pollock had moved precipitately with his main column into the Pass, he would probably have been driven back with great slaughter, but that the precaution he took in crowning the heights and turning the enemy's position secured him, though not without some fighting the whole way, a safe passage.* On the 16th of April Pollock's advanced guard was in sight of Jellalabad; and the two little armies were united in the exulting hope that it would be for them to retrieve the disasters which had befallen the British arms. Lord Ellenborough had arrived at Calcutta as Governor-general on the 25th of February. The close of lord Auckland's rule in India was clouded with misfortunes which fell heavily upon a proud and sensitive man. His policy was proved to be a mistake. Nothing in the annals of our country had ever exhibited so disastrous an issue to a war undertaken in the confidence that it would avert the possibility of an impending danger. When, on the 30th of January, the utter destruction of the army of Cabul was known at Calcutta, the Governor-general published a proclamation containing brave words. A new Governor-general had arrived, who, appointed by a new Administration, had been amongst the most vehement denouncers of the Afghan war.

The interest attached to the remaining history of this war is the interest attached to the hopeful anticipation of lord Auckland in his proclamation of the 31st of January. The calamity which had overtaken the British arms was, he said, "a new occasion for displaying the stability and vigour of the British power, and the admirable spirit and valour of the British-Indian army." The successes of Sale and Pollock had renewed the confidence of our countrymen in India that the storm would soon be overpast. They had interrupted the hopes of those native Powers who believed that the rule of the Feringhees was coming to an end. Shah Soojah had been for some time able to maintain himself in the citadel of Cabul after he had been left to his own resources. He finally perished by assassination. The English ladies, children, and officers, who were treated as prisoners rather than as hostages, were carried from fort to fort. General Elphinstone died at Tezeen on the 23rd of April. At the end of April, general England had forced the principal Pass between Juettak and Candahar; and early in May had joined his forces to those of general Nott at Candahar. Ghuznee, which was in the possession of the Afghans, was recaptured by him on the 6th of September. General Pollock had been

* Kaye, vol. ii. p. 333.

detained by sickness and other impediments at Jellalabad to the end of August. He then fought his way through the Passes, and was joined by general Nott. On the 15th of September the British standard was flying on the Bala Hissar of Cabul. The prisoners of Akbar Khan had been hurried towards Turkistan. The khan who had charge of them agreed with the English officers, for the future payment of a sum of rupees and an annuity, that he would assist them to regain their freedom. The advance of the army upon Cabul secured the aid of other chieftains. On the 15th of September, the hostages, the ladies and the children, had quitted the forts of the friendly khan, and were proceeding towards Cabul, when, on the 17th, they were met by a party of six hundred mounted Kuzzilbashes, under the command of sir Richmond Shakespear, who had been sent by general Pollock to rescue them from their perils. On the 19th a horseman met the party alternating between hope and fear, to say that general Sale was close at hand with a brigade. The husband and the father met his wife and widowed daughter. Their happiness produced "a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears." The soldiers cheered; a royal salute from mountain-train guns welcomed them to the camp; the joy was proportioned to the terrible dangers that were overpast. On the 1st of October a proclamation was issued from Simla by lord Ellenborough, which stated that the disasters in Afghanistan having been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune, the British army would be withdrawn the Sutlej. On the 12th of October the army began its march back to India. Dost Mahomed was released, and returned to his sovereignty at Cabul.

Of the proclamation dated from Simla on the 1st of October there was much adverse notice in Parliament. Mr. Macaulay maintained that it was ante-dated; for that on the 1st of October the release of the captives on the 19th of September could not have been known to the Governor-general; and that knowing of this joyful event on the 12th he omitted all mention of it, that he might have the childish gratification of insulting his predecessor in the vice-royalty, by dating on the same day on which, in 1838, lord Auckland had published his unfortunate declaration of the causes and objects of the war. But there was another proclamation by lord Ellenborough which his ministerial friends could scarcely vindicate, and which brought down upon him the bitterest denunciations of his political enemies. It was as follows:

"From the Governor-General to all the Princes, and Chiefs, and People of India.

"MY BROTHERS AND MY FRIENDS,

"Our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahomed looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee.

"The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory; the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus.

"To you, Princes and Chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war.

"You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored temple of Somnauth.

"The chiefs of Sirhind shall be informed at what time our victorious army will first deliver the gates of the temple into their guardianship, at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlej."

The Hindoo temple of Somnauth was in ruins, and it was maintained by those to whom the pompous words of the proclamation were distasteful, that the Governor-general meant to restore it, and thus to manifest a preference for one of the great rival creeds of India—a preference which the policy of England expressly forbade. This might be a wrong inference from the words of the proclamation. But to despoil the tomb of a worshipper of Mahomed, that honour might be done the worshippers of Vishnu, was to offer an outrage to those sensibilities which more than any other cause made and still make the British rule in India so like treading on beds of lava.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Continuation of the previous notices of English literature—Law of Copyright—Mr. Serjeant Talfourd's long struggle to amend the Law—Mr. Carlyle's petition—Serjeant Talfourd's Bill rejected—Lord Mahon's Bill—Mr. Macaulay's Amendments—Application of the Act to Copyrights about to expire—Authors recently deceased—Novelists—Theodore Hook and the Silver-fork School—Ephemeral Critics and Writers without knowledge—Utilitarianism—Changes in the Character of Literature—Historians—Macaulay—Hallam—Carlyle—Lingard—Fraser Tytler—Palgrave—Kemble—Forster—Mahon—Napier—Mitford—Thirlwall—Grote—Arnold—Novelists—Bulwer Lytton—Dickens—Ainsworth—Thackeray—Serials—Prevalence of Fiction—Kitchen Literature—Miss Martineau's Tales illustrative of Political Economy—Social Aims of Novelists—Dickens—Mrs. Gaskell—Kingsley—Thackeray's Novels—Poets—Tennyson—Browning—E. Barrett Browning—Thomas Hood—Union of Pen and Pencil—Theology—Milman—Robertson—Political Economy—Science—Criticism—Antiquarian Inquiry—Travels—Book Trade—Newspapers.

BEFORE we enter upon a narrative, which may be best given continuously, of the great historical period from 1841 to 1846 during which sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister, we purpose to introduce a chapter on the Literature of that period and of the period immediately preceding. We shall attempt this in connexion with the subject of the New Law of Copyright, which was finally settled in the session of 1842.

In the present volume we have devoted a chapter to English Literature in the three latter decades of the reign of George the Third, and have given a chronological table of the principal writers of the present century, with the exception of those who were living at the end of 1861. We propose in this chapter to point out a few of the more prominent instances of the beneficial operation of the Copyright Act of 1842 with reference to the families of authors then recently deceased. Its benefits to living authors, whether in the maturity of a high reputation or rising into public notice, need not be illustrated by individual instances. The oldest writer with a dependant family, and the youngest writer who had given hostages to fortune, felt a comfort and a relief in its salutary provisions against the uncertainty of the future with regard to the descendants "of those who devote themselves to the most precarious of all pursuits."* What is now called "the Victorian Era" of Literature, in contrast with "the Georgian Era," had established its most prominent characteristics, and had produced the greater number of its eminent writers, at the period when the New Law of Copyright came into

* "Pickwick Papers," 1837; Dedication to Serjeant Talfourd.

operation. We therefore do not essentially narrow the range of our view of "the Victorian Era" when we take our stand-point in the sixth year of the queen's reign. Although this view must be incomplete with regard to some popular writers of the more immediate present,* it relieves us from the invidious task of making any pretension to estimate the value of new reputations; leaving us to speak chiefly of those whose foremost place in the long file of illustrious contemporaries had been for the most part settled by continuous public opinion in the first decade of the queen's reign. Of these contemporaries we shall consider it most becoming to speak with the brevity of a bibliographer rather than with the elaborate judgment of a critic.

In the session of 1842 "an Act to amend the Law of Copyright"—the Act now regulating literary property—was passed, after a struggle that had endured five years. In 1837 Mr. Serjeant Talfourd first drew the attention of the House of Commons to the law of Copyright, as it then existed under the statute of the 54th of George the Third, which gave to the author of a book or his assigns the sole liberty of reprinting such book for the term of twenty-eight years from the date of publication, and if the author should be living at the expiration of that term, for the residue of his natural life. The proposition of Serjeant Talfourd was to extend the term of copyright in a book to sixty years, reckoned from the death of the writer, in addition to its duration during his life. The opposition to this proposal, on every occasion on which it was debated, was of a mixed character. There were legislators who altogether denied the inherent natural right of an author to a property in his labours. These maintained that it was for the public interest that he should labour without reward, or at any rate that he should receive as little as possible in the shape of a money reward, the love of fame being deemed by them amply sufficient to secure to the public an adequate supply of the best books. Others, who did not go quite so far, maintained that the existing term under the Act of George the Third—"an Act to amend the several Acts for the Encouragement of Learning by securing the Copies and Copyright of printed Books to the Authors of such Books and their Assigns"—was amply sufficient for the remuneration of authors. Others more reasonably opposed Serjeant Talfourd's Bill, upon the ground that the term which he suggested would in many cases give a monopoly for eighty years and even for a hundred years. There was a class of publishers then, as there always will be, who were only debarred by the laws against piracy from reducing to practice the philosophical theory that an author should work for nothing, to make books cheap. One of these kept a very accurate account of the original date of a publication by a living author, and could calculate the chances of his life according to the most trustworthy tables of mortality. There was a worthy citizen and merchant-taylor of London of the days of Queen Elizabeth, who kept a most exact register of the funerals of the great and wealthy in his time. It was in the way of business, for he was "a furnisher of funeral trappings." † So was it in the way of business that the industrious publisher of Cheapside in the days of Queen Victoria recorded, with Christian satisfaction, the final release of those who, after long battling with fortune, left,

* We shall in part supply this deficiency by appending to this chapter a Table supplementary to that before given, pp. 133 to 138.

† "Diary of Henry Machyn"—Camden Society.

by the expiry of their copyright, no heritable title to the property which they had created. Such encouragers of learning stoutly petitioned against any alteration of the law. There were few petitions for the Bill, but there was one which amused and edified the House of Commons in 1839. Of this remarkable and characteristic document we give a sentence or two: "The petition of Thomas Carlyle, a writer of books, Humbly sheweth, That your petitioner has written certain books, being incited thereto by various innocent or laudable considerations, chiefly by the thought that said books might in the end be found to be worth something. . . . That your petitioner does not undertake to say what recompense in money this labour of his may deserve: whether it deserve any recompense in money, or whether money in any quantity could hire him to do the like. That this his labour has found hitherto, in money or money's worth, small recompense or none: that he is by no means sure of its ever finding recompense: but thinks, that, if so, it will be at a distant time, when the labourer will probably no longer be in need of money, and those dear to him will still be in need of it."

The various discussions on the Copyright Bill, during five sessions of parliament, brought forward many curious points of literary history. The almost universal range of the learning of Mr. Macaulay had a great effect in inducing the House in 1841 to reject Mr. Serjeant Talfourd's Bill. He argued against the public injury of a monopoly of sixty years that the boon to authors would be a mere nullity, but that considered as an impost upon the public it would be a very serious and pernicious reality. He maintained that there would be the danger that, when an author's copyright should remain for so long a period in the hands of his descendants, many valuable works would be totally suppressed or grievously mutilated.* On that occasion Serjeant Talfourd's Bill was rejected by a majority of seven. His long-continued advocacy of the extension of copyright is held to have been unsuccessful "chiefly through the efforts of Mr. Macaulay who, strange to say, strained every nerve to defeat a measure calculated to give independence to a class of which he himself was so bright an ornament."† This judgment upon the conduct of a great writer towards his fellows is more than unkind, coupled with the entire suppression of the fact that in the next session of parliament when "the tardy act of justice was done to literary men," the benefits conferred upon them were greatly increased, not only by the insertion of clauses known to have originated with Mr. Macaulay, but by his proposition for an extension of time more practically beneficial than that proposed by lord Mahon. On the 3rd of March, 1842, his lordship obtained permission to bring in a Bill to amend the law of Copyright, his plan being that the existing term of twenty-eight years should stand—he would make no addition to the term that was certain,—but that the copyright should last twenty-five years after the author's death. Mr. Macaulay proposed a different plan. He would make no addition to the uncertain term, but would add fourteen years to the twenty-eight years which the law allowed to an author. The illustrations from the history of literature, ancient and modern, foreign and domestic, which Mr. Macaulay brought forward, went to prove that the most valuable works

* To meet this possible consequence a clause was introduced in the Bill of 1842.

† Alison—"History of Europe," chap. xli.

of an author being generally produced in the maturity of his powers, his proposition would give a longer term of copyright than that of lord Mahon. "To Lear, to Macbeth, to Othello, to the Faery Queen, to Paradise Lost, to Bacon's *Novum Organum* and *De Augmentis*, to Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*, to Clarendon's *History*, to Hume's *History*, to Gibbon's *History*, to Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, to Addison's *Spectators*, to almost all the great works of Burke, to *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*, to *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, and *Amelia*, and with the single exception of *Waverley*, to all the novels of sir Walter Scott, I give a longer term of copyright than my noble friend gives. Can he match that list? Does not that list contain what England has produced greatest in many various ways, poetry, philosophy, history, eloquence, wit, skilful portraiture of life and manners?"* Sir Robert Peel supported the amendment upon the original proposal, but at the same time he "admitted the weight of the argument founded upon the necessity for an author to provide for his family after death, and on this account he should be glad, if possible, to combine the two propositions, and besides the forty-two years of the amendment, to give an author's family a right for seven years after his death." Mr. Macaulay was against this suggestion. The proposition for the term of forty-two years certain was carried by a majority of seventy-nine; that for a further term of seven years commencing at the time of the author's death was carried by a majority of fifty-eight. The extension of term was to apply not only to future publications, but to books previously published in which copyright still subsisted at the time of the passing of the Act. There was an exception, however, in cases of existing copyright to the extension of the term to be enjoyed, when the copyright should belong to a publisher or other person who should have acquired it for other consideration than natural love and affection, in which case it should cease at the expiration of the existing term, unless the extension should have been previously agreed to between the proprietor and the author. The provisions of the Act of 1842 which had reference to an increased and increasing class of literary works—cyclopædias, reviews, magazines, or works published in a series of books or parts—were of the utmost importance both to the interests of publishers and of authors, which interests, rightly understood, are one and the same.

There were no attempts to conceal, on the part of the advocates for the extension of copyright, that one of the objects of that extension was to benefit the family of sir Walter Scott, and to give an assurance to the venerable age of Wordsworth that the advantage to himself or his family in the popularity which had followed his early period of neglect would not suddenly cease. In the House of Lords, lord Campbell, who warmly advocated the Bill, expressed his belief that the copyright of some of the works of the great author of the *Waverley* novels was about to terminate, and without the assistance of this Bill it was doubtful whether the descendants of that illustrious man could continue to occupy Abbotsford.† The case with regard to Scott's works was this: the copyright in four of his poems was expired at the passing of the Act—the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, pub-

* "Macaulay's Speeches," p. 255.

† Hansard, vol. lxiii. col. 812.

lished in 1805, ceased to be copyright in 1833; and so *Marmion* in 1836, *Don Roderick* in 1839, *Rokeby* in 1841. The copyright of the Lord of the Isles would expire in 1842, when the copyright of *Waverley* would also be at an end. It was a favourite argument that a monopoly such as was contemplated by an extended period, would have a tendency to keep up a high price in books. Lord Mahon very truly said, that "the general diffusion of education, and the desire for cheap books which now prevails, precludes the possibility of prices being unduly raised by any copyright bill." Under the extended term of forty-two years, the copyright of *Waverley* and that of six or seven novels, its successors, have expired. But in 1862 those published between 1820 and 1826 still remain the exclusive property of the assignees of the copyright. It was truly prognosticated in 1842 that the interests of booksellers "would be better promoted by a low price to the multitude rather than by a high one to the few." Messrs. Black are issuing the *Waverley* novels in a series, of which three volumes, originally published at a guinea and a half, are comprised in a single volume at one shilling. The case of Wordsworth stands thus:—he died in 1850 in his eightieth year. The old law gave him protection during his life; but it was an exceptional case. He was seventy-two years of age when the Act of 1842 was passed. Had he died before the passing of that Act the "Excursion" would have become the property of that class of speculators whose position Lord Brougham greatly commiserated. "He could show that as much as five thousand pounds had been expended in the expectation of the expiration of copyrights. A man was perfectly justified in making such preparations, and might already have filled his warehouses with the intended publications. Was it for their lordships to step in and ruin those men by a sudden change of the law?"* In the debates on the Copyright Bill the names of Coleridge and Southey were as freely used as those of Scott and Wordsworth. Serjeant Talfourd called up "Coleridge speaking as it were from the grave." It was well known that great as was the reputation of Coleridge in his latter years, "if the income-tax had continued to the day of his death, the collectors of it would have had a sorry recompense for the trouble of calling upon him for his return."† Coleridge has himself said, "I expect neither profit nor general fame by my writings; and I consider myself as having been amply repaid without income."‡ At the time of Coleridge's death in 1834, the copyright of many of his poems had terminated with his own life. His two tragedies, *Christabel*, and a few miscellaneous poems, had one or two years of legal protection left to them. His accomplished nephew, Henry Nelson Coleridge, and the poet's gifted daughter, the wife of his nephew, were engaged in producing those admirable editions of his works which acquired a new value under their hands. In these labours of affection were included a new edition of *The Friend*. The protection of the existing law was thus sufficient to keep off the violating hands of literary traders from these bequests to posterity. But the new law of 1842 enabled these labours to be completed by another son, Derwent.

* Hansard, vol. lxiii. col. 802.

† Anonymous Letter, attributed to "a most illustrious pen" by the "Quarterly Review," vol. lxix. p. 225.

‡ Preface to the first and second editions of his Poems.

We have thus a monument raised to the father's memory in complete editions of his works, which acquired a new commercial value when the world had arrived at a juster appreciation than during his life of that combination of the poetical and philosophical faculty which rendered him one of the most remarkable men of his time. Southey, the early associate in literary enterprise of Coleridge and Wordsworth, was in 1842 in a condition of unconsciousness as to the various modes in which his name was connected with the copyright question. His overtaken intellect had given way a few years before, and he was quite insensible to what was said in parliament by friends or foes—equally indifferent to the just eulogies of Mr. Monckton Milnes, or to the vulgar ridicule of Mr. Wakley. This gentleman—who not only held a coroner's inquest in a jocosé fashion upon "mighty poets in their misery dead," but volunteered an appraiser's estimate of the market value and the proper remuneration of living authors—called upon the House not to be led away by sentimental tales. Mr. Monckton Milnes answered the member for Finsbury, that when he talked of sentimental tales he must have heard the tale of a man of the purest and highest life, who was distinguished in many walks of literature,—a poet, a historian, a critic,—he must have heard that this man was at present bereft of his great mind, and that his family were very dependent for their future comfort on the event of the debate of that night.*

Dismissing the individual consideration of the influence upon the fortunes of their representatives effected by the Copyright Bill of 1842, we may briefly recapitulate the names of a few eminent writers, belonging to what is called the Georgian era, who had then recently paid the debt of nature. Of poets, Crabbe had died in 1832; James Hogg in 1835. Of novelists, John Galt had died in 1839, at the age of sixty. Whilst Scott was in the height of his reputation as a delineator of the past manners of his countrymen, Galt was noting with minute accuracy the domestic characteristics of the humbler classes of Scotland in his own day. The *Ayrshire Legatees* was published in 1820; the *Annals of the Parish*, which appeared in 1821, established Galt's reputation. More interesting perhaps at the present time than either of these is his *Lawrie Todd*. This is not only the true picture of a Scotchman in America, but a most graphic representation of the extraordinary process by which mighty cities have grown up in the forest and the swamp. The persevering labours of adventurers such as the "splorifying" Lawrie have, during the last half century, built miserable shanties on the bank of many a solitary river which has now its vast quays and warehouses—large constituent parts of a mighty empire; yet an empire too extensive not ultimately to be separated by conflicting interests, although long held together by the silken thread of a federal union. Theodore Hook died in 1841. He was essentially the novelist of those manners which came to an end very soon after the close of the reign of the last of the Georges. The clever youth, of whom the Regent declared that "something must be done for Hook"—not for his wisdom or his virtue, but for his powers of mimicry—had five years in the Mauritius of luxurious gratification out of his enormous salary as Accountant-general of the colony. He returned to England a defaulter rather from carelessness than

* Hansard, vol. lxi. col. 1339.

dishonesty; and from 1824 to 1841 wrote some dozen novels, whose aggregate volumes amount to forty. These productions constitute an important item in the collection known as "Standard Novelists." If a reader unacquainted with the literature of the last generation were to open these novels, from *Sayings and Doings* to *Gilbert Gurney*, and therein expect to find a "standard" of wit or humour—even of that worldly wisdom which results from a large observation and clear-sighted estimate of manners—we apprehend that, reasoning from a part to the whole, he would come to very unsound conclusions upon the literary characteristics of an age that had produced *Maria Edgeworth* and *Jane Austen*. Hook's novels are essentially artificial. He was, we trust, the last of that race of authors who, without being the hired servants of the great, found a place at their tables for the sole purpose of contributing to their amusement, like the jesters of the middle ages; the last of those who, indulging the belief that they were valued in their higher capacity as men of letters, arrogated a place in the fashionable world, and devoted all their small powers of ridicule to depict the violations of the conventionalities amongst the middle classes. Hook was almost the last of what was called the "silver-fork school." It was a school that flourished before Reform-bills and railroads; and its disciples long persisted in their ignorant endeavour to paint the domestic life of the flourishing citizen as uniformly vulgar, and in their base delineations of the struggles of honest poverty as revolting and disreputable. Every invention of industry, every social arrangement, which had a tendency to put high and low on a level of convenience and comfort, was hateful to such writers and to their fashionable admirers.

At the time when Theodore Hook flourished, in company with a host of imitators who combined the dandyism of the drawing-room with the ignorance of the servants' hall, the tone of periodical criticism was as essentially artificial as the novels and poems which it held up to popular admiration. It was characteristic of the ephemeral criticism which seized only upon the amusing portions of new books for extracts to administer to a lazy taste for the superficial and exciting, that a sort of antagonism was fomented between the class who desired to instruct and the class who sought only to amuse. It was the same dispute which Swift has so happily described in *The Battle of the Books*, between the Spider and the Bee. The "man of genius," as he called himself—and every small critic was "a man of genius" as well as the object of his laudation—unconsciously used the reproaches of the Spider to the Bee in his periodical attacks upon the literary drudge—"the obscure literary drudge who has not a single idea in his head save what he filches from the British Museum."* Swift's Spider was a self-producing creature, like the "man of genius." The "literary drudge" had his answer in the language of the Bee, who claimed to be the nobler creature of the two, in his universal range bringing home honey and wax, instead of feeding and engendering on itself and producing nothing but fly-bane and cob-web. The "compilers," as they were sneeringly called—and ignorantly called, for what great historical work, for example, is not essentially a compilation—had the best of the battle with the professors of "*la Littérature facile*." The habit of research, which could not be sneered down, tended to produce

* "New Monthly Magazine."

that accuracy which gradually became necessary in journalism and even in the fashionable novel. The value of drawing from nature and realities had been tested by the example of a young writer who never looked upon society or upon "still life" without seeing peculiarities which he faithfully reproduced in his characters and scenes. Dickens at once threw his broad daylight upon the "twilight interim" of the herd of his immediate predecessors in prose fiction. "The mob of gentlemen who write with ease" could no longer hug themselves in the false application of a dictum of Burke's: "It is the nature of all greatness not to be exact." Instead of attempting to verify a quotation, the usual phrase of those who dabbled in history, philosophy, or criticism, was, when they misquoted, "We perfectly well remember that So-and-so said." The poets and novelists, in describing a landscape, never attempted to look upon the face of Nature. Their storms and their sunshine were derived from some hazy recollection of "The Seasons;" their flowers and their trees would have puzzled the greatest master of classification to arrange even in families. They gave the apple blossom to the pear, and brought the wheat into ear before the rye. In their delineations of human character, vague generalities took the place of the nice distinctions of passions and humours found in the great dramatists of the Elizabethan age, and in the great novelists of the first half of the Georgian era. Everything, whether in Nature or in Art, in Science or in Literature, in the Manners of high life or of low life, was indistinctly painted in their ephemeral manufacture for the Circulating Library. Their style was made up of a barbarous jargon of slip-slop English interlarded with the commonest phrases of French that had no idiomatic meaning. Occasional dashes of slang and half-profanity indicated that the old rags of the court-dress of Vice were still the patches upon the easier and neater costume of the age which had succeeded that of buckles and knee-breeches. All honour to a higher criticism, and to the nobler aims of popular writers following the increase of readers, this race is extinct. Each one of its many geni has faded into vapour, and has gone into a bottle to be sealed up with the seal of Solomon.

Little as there was of philosophy in the small criticism that prevailed in the latter time of George the Fourth, it might have had its origin in the popular expression of distaste to the doctrines of Utilitarianism, which were then advocated somewhat dogmatically in many influential quarters. The Utilitarian creed of morals, and the political economy creed which was associated with it, were imperfectly understood; and they thus became to common apprehensions the exponents of whatever was hard, and narrow, and selfish, in a view of human actions and motives. Some of the disciples of Bentham and Malthus in many respects did great injustice to the real benevolence that was at the root of the principle of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number," and of the principle that mankind has a tendency to increase faster than the food which is to maintain an increasing population. The extreme Utilitarians could see no object in the pursuit of knowledge but the acquirement of something that would conduce to worldly success. With them the Industrial Arts attained their highest dignity in ministering to the satisfaction of physical wants. The Beautiful was not an essential adjunct to the Useful. The Utilitarian teaching had many important results in legislation and jurisprudence. But it was wholly incompetent to

deal with the whole realm of thought. Literature refused to submit to the dictation of a new school that soon produced its pedants in abundance. Out of the contests of thirty or forty years has grown up a school of compromise which best reflects the character of our age.

It has been expressively said, "All Literature is more or less both an effect and a cause, both a product and a power. It both follows and leads. It takes an impulse from its age, and it also gives an impulse to its age." * The amount of the impulse which literature imparts to an age must, to a considerable extent, depend upon the genius of the writers. The opinions and feelings of an age are sometimes so definite and so strong, that the most original thinker is moulded by them into a participation with the prevailing modes of thought, so that at one time every form of literature is highly coloured, and at another time all its tints are neutral. Gradually the prismatic colours become blended into an equable light, as the political and religious contentions of a stirring period fade away into something approaching a catholicity of opinion. A period of quietude succeeds a period of excitement. After the outburst of fiery writing produced by the French Revolution, English literature became for the most part Conservative. After the agitation of Parliamentary Reform had come to an end, writers as well as statesmen became tolerant and compromising. The liberal author was not to be hunted out of society as an Infidel and a Democrat; the Conservative was not to have the mob raised upon him as a slave of the Aristocracy and the enemy of the People. One principal cause of this approach towards forbearance, if not to union, was the general spread of intelligence. Extreme opinions flourish amidst popular ignorance. The passions and prejudices of sect and party, during a long period of contention such as the half century before the age of Victoria, influenced every expression of thought in Philosophy, in History, in Poetry, in Prose Fiction. It came at length to be perceived that two halves of any domain of letters are not equal to the whole; that the useful and the beautiful could not be advantageously cultivated apart like a potato-field and a flower garden; that as the classical and the romantic schools of the French drama were gradually blending, so, in History, it was not absolutely necessary to leave the Picturesque to the Novelist, and the Literal to the Chronicler; that Poetry would acquire a new charm by an infusion of the real with the imaginative, as, rightly applied, Pre-Raphaelism would work out a needful reform in the highest and the humblest Art. It is enough for us to indicate this change, without attempting any formal illustration of the progress of all literature in the present generation towards a certain homogeneity.

Of the Historians of this period those who have exercised the greatest influence upon their age have been Henry Hallam, Thomas Babington Macaulay, and Thomas Carlyle. As the office of historian has a wider range than the description of public events, each of these writers was also Essayist and Critic. Their modes of treating the Past and the Present were as essentially different as their mental characteristics. Guizot has described with more than ordinary animation a visit to Westminster Abbey in 1840 in which Macaulay was his *cicerone*. During three or four hours they walked

* G. L. Craik, "English Literature and Language," vol. ii. p. 522.

together through this monumental gallery of the English nation. "At every step," says the memoir-writer, "I stopped, or Mr. Macaulay stopped me. Sometimes answering my questions, sometimes anticipating them, he explained to me an allegorical sculpture, he recalled to me a forgotten fact, he related to me an anecdote little known, he recited to me some fine passage from the poet or the orator at whose name we paused. . . . As the great dead of Italy throng around the passage of Dante, so the most illustrious personages of English History and Literature came out of their tombs before me, at the voice of a representative full worthy of them."* From the stores of his prodigious memory Macaulay thus improvised the learning which he elaborated in his writings. This eloquent monologue—for who that knew the illustrious *cicerone* could doubt that his ordinary monologue would in such a position almost become an oration—this monologue was uttered some seven years before the publication of the first two volumes of "The History of England from the Accession of James II." The great purpose of that History had been long seething in the mind of him who, in his earliest writings, exhibited "his tendency to concentrate his thoughts upon a single subject,—the rescue of our native English liberties from the futile and wearisome tyranny of the Stuarts, and the consolidation of those liberties by the settlement of the Revolution." † If the subject had been in his mind from the time when, in 1824, he wrote in "Knight's Quarterly Magazine" his "Conversation between Mr. Abraham Cowley and Mr. John Milton touching the great Civil War," the mode of treating it was also in his mind when, in 1828, he wrote in "The Edinburgh Review" his article on "The Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII. to the death of George II. by Henry Hallam." He therein complains that we have good historical romances and good historical essays; that the imagination and the reason have made partition of that province of literature, and hold their respective portions in severalty, instead of holding the whole in common. "To make the past present," he says, "to bring the distant near, to place us in the society of a great man or on the eminence which overlooks the field of a mighty battle, to invest with the reality of human flesh and blood beings whom we are too much inclined to consider as personified qualities in an allegory, to call up our ancestors before us with all their peculiarities of language, manners, and garb, to show us over their houses, to seat us at their tables, to rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, to explain the uses of their ponderous furniture, these parts of the duty which properly belongs to the historian have been appropriated by the historical novelist. . . . Sir Walter Scott gives us a novel; Mr. Hallam a critical and argumentative history. Both are occupied with the same matter. But the former looks at it with the eye of a sculptor. His intention is to give an express and lively image of its external form. The latter is an anatomist. His task is to dissect the subject to its inmost recesses, and to lay before us all the springs of motion and all the causes of decay." ‡ It was for Macaulay, by a wonderful combination of the two great attributes of

* "Mémoires," tome v. p. 155.

† Lucas, "Secularia," p. 248.

‡ "Essays," vol. i. p. 113.

History and Romance, to build up a narrative that with the greatest power of charming the Fancy compelled, with very few exceptions, the submission of the Reason. Where he fails it is where he is carried away by the ardour of his political feelings and habits of thought, losing the historian in the partizan. But this total surrender to an overwhelming impulse in some degree ensured his triumph. It required no ordinary amount of energy to turn the young men and maidens who had been nurtured upon Hume, from a sickly sympathy with discrowned Stuarts and plotting Jacobites; to give them, in the place of that sugar-candy of History which sees nothing but the misfortunes of the great and forgets the wrongs and sufferings of the lowly, some more nourishing diet—some diet fitter for a great free people. His view of the Revolution and of the character of William of Orange was producing its effects when Prince Albert, with the moral courage and sagacity that were his by nature and education, said, in a large meeting of Churchmen on the 150th Anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "This society was first chartered by that great man William the Third—the greatest sovereign this country has to boast of." Some of the Churchmen winced, and thought of Sacheverell and right divine.

If Macaulay were not always impartial himself, he was fully sensible of the value of impartiality. He characterizes Mr. Hallam's "Constitutional History" as eminently judicial—summing up with a steady impartiality, turning neither to the right nor to the left, glossing over nothing, exaggerating nothing. But Hallam in his impartiality seldom, we may perhaps say never, compromises the great cause of freedom and toleration by an indiscreet acceptance of the creeds of despotism disguised under the sentimentalism of loyalty, and the creeds of bigotry anathematizing heresy and schism. Under his somewhat cold and dry expositions there is a solid foundation of liberal and generous sentiment; a profound reverence for truth; a deep respect for popular rights, measured, however, by a natural dread of extreme democratic opinions. In the work which preceded his Constitutional History—"Europe during the Middle Ages,"—there is more of colour filling up the clear outline; but he has a distinct perception of the task before him. Its limited extent, its character of dissertation rather than of narrative, "must necessarily preclude that circumstantial delineation of events and of characters upon which the beauty as well as usefulness of a regular history so mainly depends." *

Macaulay is well described as "having knocked out the brains of the Stuart superstition." † The third eminent historian of the Victorian era has done something more than aid in this salutary work of destruction—he has taught us how to appreciate one of the greatest of England's sons—warrior, statesman, patriot—and yet king-killer. Mr. Carlyle has cleared away the rubbish that two centuries had accumulated round the memory of Cromwell; and has raised for him a monument that will endure when some of the marble shall have perished amongst which his statue has no place. Partizan as Mr. Carlyle is, he is not the partizan of party. His reverence is for the indi-

* "Middle Ages"—Preface to First Edition, 1819.

† "Secularia," p. 270.

vidual. He bows before intellectual power of which it is the nature generally to obtain the mastery over fortune; and thus by some he is held in his hero-worship to be the idolator of success rather than of virtue. Unquestionably his contempt for the weak is somewhat too decided—for those who halt between two opinions—for those who compromise the right with the expedient. Shams and unveracities, that absolutism rides over, are the abominations of a balancing age which it is his business to underrate. With a style which is well suited to the original character of his mind in its forcible quaintness and occasional ruggedness, there is no writer of narrative who has a greater command of that descriptive power which combines the rush of the poet with the minuteness of the naturalist—the hawk's swoop with the hawk's vision. Amongst writers professedly aiming at word-pictures there can no passages be found more eminently picturesque than many which arrest the reader and hold him captive in the "French Revolution" and in the "Cromwell."

The "History of England" of Dr. Lingard comes down to the Revolution of 1688. The author, a Roman Catholic divine, could not be expected to deal with the great ecclesiastical reforms of three centuries without a leaning to the opinions of his own Church. But he is worthy of all respect for his abstinence from any attempts to proselytize, and for his general fairness in commenting upon the documents upon which he claims the merit of having founded his narrative. If his professed endeavour to separate himself as much as possible from every party be not always successful, we may accept his declaration that he is not conscious to himself of any feeling which should induce him to pervert the truth.* The "History of Scotland," of Patrick Fraser Tytler, is another of those valuable works which are based upon authentic materials. The narrative is brought down to the Union of the Crowns in 1603. Thus dealing with events that are not only obscure in the hands of the early narrators, but surrounded in all narratives, ancient or modern, with a haze of national prejudice, Mr. Tytler has succeeded in telling a great story in a just spirit—not in an unpatriotic spirit, but with a conviction that the historian's duty may be best performed by looking at the Past without surrendering his faith to legends and traditions which only represent the violence of semi-barbarous times. Over the Anglo-Saxon History new streams of light have been thrown by the learning of Sir Francis Palgrave and of John Mitchell Kemble. The "Historical Essays" of John Forster, particularly those on "The Grand Remonstrance of 1641," and "On the Civil Wars and Oliver Cromwell," form a valuable supplement to those "Lives of Eminent British Statesmen" which appeared at an earlier period of his distinguished literary career. Lord Mahon's "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to 1783," filled up a considerable gap in our historical narratives of particular eras which require to be treated with fullness of detail. This is a work which is safe from its conscientiousness; pleasing from its equable flow rather than from its occasional brilliancy; reflecting the mind of an amiable and accomplished writer, who ordinarily avoids the dogmatism of a political instructor, and seeks to inform rather than to convince. Lord Brougham's "Historical

* Preface—Fourth Edition, p. ix.

Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III." would be out of nature if they pretended to a similar calmness and reticence. Yet, strong as they occasionally are in their language and tone, and therefore the cause of much controversy, it is obvious that the great orator of half a century has, with all his personal and party antipathies, a deep sympathy with honesty of purpose, a profound admiration of true eloquence, a just appreciation of the difficulties that surrounded the course of the advisers of the Crown, when the functions of the Constitutional Sovereign were ill understood in the lingering superstitions of expiring feudalism. With the exception of Sir William Napier's grand "History of the War of the Peninsula," we prefer to leave, without any attempt to characterize them, the historical narratives of our own immediate times. The merits of Sir Archibald Alison and of Miss Martineau are abundantly recognized by readers who properly estimate the value of their information, without being disturbed by the opposite political tendencies of the one or the other.*

The field of historical writing is too wide for any extension of these imperfect notices beyond the historians of our own country. If our limits would allow we might devote a page to a contrast between the popular History of Greece (Mitford's) in the time of George III., and two great works thus described by an accomplished scholar:—"Within the last fifty years more has been done by both English and foreign scholars to elucidate the history of Greece than at any former period since the revival of learning; and the results of all these labours are two English works on the history of Greece, such as no other nation can boast of." The works thus alluded to by Dr. Leonbard Schmitz are those of Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote. The one was commenced in 1835, and was greatly improved in 1845; the other, commenced in 1846, was completed in 1856. Dr. Arnold's "History of Rome" was left unfinished in 1842, when England could ill afford to lose a man of the purest virtue and the highest ability, who so put his heart into what he did that, if he had been longer spared, he might by his honest zeal have reconciled some of the theological differences of his time, and have produced a nearer approach to reconciliation between democratic and aristocratic politics. He died when these contests appeared to threaten formidable convulsions in the Church and in the State.

Dr. Johnson, "speaking of the French novels, compared with Richardson's, said, they might be pretty baubles, but a wren was not an eagle."† The French novels were those which Gray had a lazy delight in dreaming over as he lay upon a sofa in his college rooms, and all around him was the dull monotony of his half monastic life. Another generation turned away from Richardson and knew nothing of Crebillon. Our own wrens of fiction were hopping about and chirruping their little notes on every side in the quarter of a century after Johnson. How were they petted in every parlour, aye, and in every kitchen, in another half century! From 1816 to 1851 there were a hundred new works of prose fiction published in every year.‡ From 1852 to

* For obvious reasons we would only point out "The Pictorial History of England" as a general history that supplied a great want at the beginning of the Queen's reign.

† Boswell, chap. xxiv. 1770.

‡ See Note at the end of this Chapter.

1861, it may fairly be conjectured that their annual number had doubled. To catalogue even the names of all the writers of our own day in this department would occupy many pages. There has been a never-failing succession of new candidates for possible profit—even for the honour alone of appearing in print. In most cases born and dying like the Mayfly, they were perhaps to be envied in their one day's existence. But those who have lived through many Springs have given manifest proof that their long lives have not been idle. Never were novelists so numerous; never were the works of the enduring ones so voluminous. Shall we offend sir Edward Bulwer Lytton if we record that he began writing novels in the seventh year of George the Fourth, and is still writing novels in the twenty-fifth year of Victoria,—that there is not a province of fiction into which he has not made a foray, and carried off the richest spoils? Mr. James was in 1825 aspiring to be the imitator, if not the rival, of Sir Walter Scott, and had scarcely given up his especial function of re-vivifying, in an apparently endless series,

“Great heaps of ruinous mortality,”

when his own mortal career was terminated in 1860. Captain Marryat did not begin to write till he was nearly forty, and he died when he was fifty-six; but in that period he produced a novel each year. Dickens was writing “Sketches by Boz” in 1836; he was writing “Great Expectations” in 1861. Of his voluminousness it may be sufficient to say that his eight larger serial stories, according to a typographical estimate, contain nearly double the quantity of the four great novels of Fielding and the five of Smollett. Ainsworth published “Rookwood” in 1834; he is still lingering around prisons and palaces and civic banqueting-halls. Thackeray was not a novelist proper till 1846; but what a large space has he filled in the world's eye during the sixteen years between “Vanity Fair” and the “Adventures of Philip.” The Idleness of Authors must be classed with the false beliefs of another age.

It would be as manifestly impossible, as it would be unnecessary, for us to follow the flights even of the eagles. Many there are who cannot be classed amongst “the little birds,” but whose names we can only indicate. Some have a moderate share of surviving reputation, such as the novelists of Irish life, John Banim, William Carleton, and Charles James Lever. Charlotte Brontë, who first awakened the world to an appreciation of her remarkable genius in 1817, has been too prematurely removed, before a wider experience might have mellowed her views of life without impairing their originality. A greater has succeeded to the elevated seat which she filled—the authoress of “Adam Bede.” Let us proceed to a few general observations upon the increased and increasing prevalence of prose-fiction, and upon its general tendencies in obedience to the character and influence of the era in which its writers are living.

Superficially considered, an age of novel-reading might be pronounced to be an idle and a frivolous age. Yet the living generation is far more hardy worked than the generation immediately preceding; its work is exhausting, its pace is killing, compared with the times before the French Revolution. Yet the age is not frivolous, as in other times and other countries, for it is a home-keeping age, and its pleasures are of a domestic character. And home pursuits and habits have made the Novel take the place of the Comedy. We

may repeat a few sentences we have written elsewhere: "It is remarkable how, within the last quarter of a century, the Novel has been the principal reflector of manners—how the players have, to a great extent, foregone their function of being 'the abstracts and brief chronicles of the time.' It was not so when Fielding and Smollett held 'the mirror up to nature' in the modern form of fiction, whilst Goldsmith and Sheridan took the more ancient dramatic method of dealing with humours and fashions. The stage has still its sparkling writers—England is perhaps richer in the laughing satire and fun of journalism than at any period. But the novel, especially in that cheap issue which finds its entrance to thousands of households, furnishes the chief material from which the future philosophical historian will learn what were our modes of thought and living—our vices and our follies—our pretensions, and our realities—in the middle of the nineteenth century."* The severe moralist of ten years ago might say, as he may now say, that the Theatre was a rare indulgence for the middle classes, and was scarcely accessible to the lower; but that the Circulating Library was sending its seductions into every household, and that the fictions of the Monthly Serial and the Weekly Sheet were interfering with the serious thoughts and duties of life amongst all classes; that, even if they did not corrupt, they were diverting from useful studies. There was something of justice in this harsh estimate. The so-called mischief, which before the age of Serials was confined to the Circulating Library, had reached the humblest ranks in the Penny Weekly Sheets. The popular tendency had forced upon every weekly periodical the necessity for introducing fiction in some form or other. The great masters of fiction did not shrink from publishing their creations in weekly or monthly fragments. The humblest hacks, utterly devoid of knowledge and abounding in bad taste could reproduce all the forgotten trash of the Minerva Press, in what has been called the Kitchen literature. Their labours were crowned with an enormous popularity in periodicals which founded their large circulation upon a meretricious cheapness. Hence, for the most part, a deluge of stories that, to mention the least evil of them, abounded with false representations of manners, drivelling sentimentalities, and impossible incidents. The apologist for the light reading of his time could not shut his eyes to the ever-present fact, that in proportion as the number of readers had increased, the desire of the mass of the population had been rather for passing amusement than solid instruction. But his true apology would be founded upon another ever-present fact. The labouring people of this country were labouring harder than any other people, not only from the absolute necessity of the competition around them, but through the energy of their race. The middle classes were carried along that stream of excitement which had grown from the tranquil course of Denham's "Thames," "though gentle, yet not dull," into the rush of the "swift and arrowy Rhone." The quickened Post, Railways, Telegraphs, had made all life go faster. The energies of all had become overtaken. It could not, therefore, in the nature of things be expected that much of the reading of all classes should have been other than for amusement. Further, when it was considered how comparatively recent had been the training for any reading amongst a large

* "Half Hours with the best Authors," vol. iv. p. 482, edit. 1848.

proportion of those who had become readers, we could scarcely look for a great amount of serious application in their short leisure after a hard working day. The entertainment which was presented to all whether in the shape of a shilling novel or a penny journal was not debasing; it might enfeeble the intellect, but it did not taint it. We had got beyond the scurrilous stage—the indecent stage—the profane stage—the seditious stage, of cheap Miscellanies.

Let us turn to another aspect of the prose fiction of our age, in regard to which it would be difficult for the most sturdy utilitarian to deny that it has accomplished higher ends than the supply of mere amusement.

About the beginning of the reign of William the Fourth there was a lady whose zeal as a political and social teacher has been unwearied, who came suddenly upon the world as a writer of an extensive series of tales, having a more distinct purpose than other works of imagination. Her purpose was to teach political economy through fiction:—

“ So we, if children young diseased we find,
Anoint with sweets the vessel's foremost parts,
To make them taste the potions sharp we give.” *

Miss Martineau had small encouragement in the onset of her adventure. Paternoster Row would willingly have bargained for the sugar on the edge of the cup without the physic within. Gray's Inn Square, wherein dwelt the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, believed that the sweets would impair the efficacy of the physic. At length a somewhat obscure sectarian publisher made a bidding; and a little volume was cast upon the world entitled “Illustrations of Political Economy. No. 1. Life in the Wilds: A Tale.” Without intermission for more than two years came out every month a new Tale, with a short “Summary of Principles” indicated therein. The success was complete. “I take my stand upon Science,” said the now popular authoress. “The sciences on which I touch bear no relation to party.” Without inferring that Miss Martineau did not strenuously labour to fulfil what she considered her mission as a teacher of political and social truths, we may venture to believe that her skilful development of an interesting story—her great power of assimilation, by which local images and scenes were reproduced as if they had been the result of actual observation—her skilful admixture of narrative and dialogue—her ability to conceive a character and to carry it through with a real dramatic power—that these qualities excited the admiration of thousands of readers, who rose from the perusal of her monthly volumes without the “Principles” having taken the slightest hold upon their minds. Her triumph as a novelist was the more remarkable as her purpose was a mistake in Art. It was the same mistake that Joanna Baillie made in her “Plays on the Passions.” As it was a mistake to make the conduct of a drama wholly rest upon the exhibition of one intense master passion, it was also a mistake to conduct a novel so as to lay aside most of the modifying social circumstances which would divert the progress of the action, and render a denouement according to scientific laws at least improbable. Nevertheless, we hold these remarkable little books to

* Tasso—Fairfax's translation—book i. canto 3.

have, in a considerable degree, led the way in the growing tendency of all novel-writing to extend the area of its search for materials upon which to build a story, and to keep in view the characteristic relations of rich and poor, of educated and uneducated, of virtuous and vicious, in our complicated state of society, so as to bring all classes and conditions nearer to each other in the exposition of a common humanity prescribing a common brotherhood. This was the great benefit to his age which Charles Dickens has accomplished, without having a ground of scientific "Principles" for his social pictures—indeed, sometimes too ostentatiously despising the doctrines of political economy in his search after a broader foundation for lessons to be implied by his readers rather than enforced upon them. Whatever be the political or theological opinions of the more prominent novelists of the Victorian era, no one, even twenty years ago, could get away from the fact that the one solemn and imperative duty of every man and woman in these days is to act upon the precept of "Blessed is he that considereth the poor,"—to act upon it, not in the spirit of alms-giving, but in the spirit of Christian brotherhood. To understand, wherever possible, what are the habitual thoughts and feelings of the great mass of the people; to go to the root of that isolation which separates the receiver of wages from the capitalist; to see where the scientific laws which regulate Labour and Capital press unequally, and how their inevitable tendency to a segregation of classes can be modified; to ascertain what is the true nature of the popular prejudice which requires to be enlightened on political questions; to cast away all undue suspicion of democratic opinions and of religious dissent, and to open as wide as prudence may prescribe the doors of the Senate and of the Church; lastly, to trace crime to its dens, and finding out how much it is identified with misery and with that barbarism which sits grim and dangerous by the side of civilization, to abate if possible the want, and to remove the ignorance before the dimness of the child becomes the total darkness of the adult;—such are the duties which it is the especial honour of many of the present race of our writers of prose fiction to have successfully inculcated. They have brought us to know our fellows in the great community to which we belong. It is a knowledge which promises safety to the great and to the rich; to the landowner and the merchant; to the lawyer and the divine; to all who serve the State in administrative functions; to the secular teacher, and even to the abstracted student who would "let the world slip:"—"Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble." All honour to those beguilers of life's dull hours who have laboured to bring us all to a knowledge of each other by repeated efforts, such as those of Charles Dickens; to the illustrious females, such as Elizabeth Gaskell, who have seen in this work an especial vocation; to a band of manly thinkers, of whom Charles Kingsley is the type. They have their reward, though not a complete one, in seeing the great change which marks the difference between 1831 and 1861. The author of "Alton Locke," who, from his recollections of twenty years ago, drew a painful picture of the hateful severance of classes, thus describes the great change which presents itself to his view in 1862: "Before the influence of religion, both Evangelical and Anglican; before the spread of those liberal principles, founded on common humanity and justice, the triumph of which we owe to

the courage and practical good sense of the Whig party; before the example of a Court, virtuous, humane, and beneficent; the attitude of the British upper classes has undergone a noble change. There is no aristocracy in the world, and there never has been one as far as I know, which has so honourably repented, and brought forth fruits meet for repentance; which has so cheerfully asked what its duty was, that it might do it. It is not merely enlightened statesmen, philanthropists, devotees, or the working clergy, hard and heartily as they are working, who have set themselves to do good as a duty specially required of them by creed or by station. In the generality of younger laymen, as far as I can see, a humanity (in the highest sense of the word) has been awakened, which bids fair, in another generation, to abolish the last remnants of class prejudices and class grudges.*

The novels of Mr. Thackeray are signal examples of a great change in the mode of conducting prose fiction. When Garrick played Macbeth in the court costume of the reign of Anne, the pit did not hiss the anachronism. When the bold baron of the Minerva Press talked to his ladye-love in the style of Sir Fopling Flutter, the scene of their passion might have equally fitted Alnwick Castle or Sion House. The trusting reader did not regard language, or costume, or local colouring, as in any way essential to the development of a story whether of the 15th or the 19th century. Mr. Thackeray saw the great vulgar and the little vulgar of the Club or the Drawing-Room, when he first looked around him for his materials for satire, and he laid them bare in his "Book of Snobs." He has painted the passion for notoriety, the childish ostentation, the sacrifice of comfort for show, the pride that goes before a fall, the money-worship of the scheming mothers, the flirtations of the ambitious daughters, the sycophancy, the hypocrisy, the selfishness of his own age. He has shown the same inner life in the days of "two pages and a chair," of buckles and periwigs. But he never confounds the characteristics of the Past and the Present. If there is often a family likeness in his portraits, he is careful to individualize them by peculiarities characteristic of the shifting fashions of a generation. "The Virginians" belong to the time when Decorum sat prim and solemn by the side of George and Charlotte at Kew; when if the high-born wanted an occasional frolic with Licentiousness they were perfectly indifferent to the effects of their example upon the swinish multitude who admiringly looked on. "Vanity Fair" is of the Regency,—its noise and its glitter,—the constable to keep order in the crowd, the profligacy going forward where justice stands hoodwinked outside the door.

If any attempt only to indicate those who have taken rank amongst the Novelists of the Victorian age be embarrassing from the length of the roll, what shall we say of the Poets, whose name is legion. The elder, such as Bowles and Robert Montgomery, will not be numbered by future critics as belonging to the same class as the ephemeral tribe of another age that Johnson's "Lives" have rescued from oblivion. Allan Cunningham and Bryan Waller Procter, who belong to the middle period, are worthy of long memory. A younger race to whom we, individually, were bound by ties of friendly intercourse—Winthrop Mackworth Praed, Sidney Walker, John Moultrie, Derwent Coleridge—may perhaps be more impartially estimated by others,

* "Alton Locke," Preface to edition of 1862, p. viii.

but by none with a more hearty esteem for those who are living, and with a deeper regret for those who were too prematurely taken away. Ebenezer Elliott will be remembered for more enduring qualities than are displayed in his "Corn Law Rhymes." John Clare is still amongst us in the flesh, but his true pictures of rural life and of the peculiar aspects of his own Midland scenery will never again delight by that truth and freshness which stand out amidst the imitative and conventional herd. Richard Monckton Milnes has accomplished the very difficult feat of taking a really distinguished position as a poet, without impairing his usefulness as a politician. Richard Barham was equally successful in producing the most humorous *Fabliaux* of the nineteenth century, without compromising his character as a clergyman by putting on the dress of a Troubadour.

Dramatic Poetry had nearly reached its culminating point when Victoria came to the throne. Sheridan Knowles, Bulwer Lytton, Leigh Hunt, Thomas Noon Talfourd, James White, had attained a well-merited popularity, before the time when the scene-painter and the property-man usurped the functions of the poet. We need not enlarge upon their merits, nor contrast them with a time which has produced no drama to be acted which is likely to be known after it has dragged through a brief and inglorious life. We have dramas not for the stage; of which those of Henry Taylor may be mentioned as noble poems, and those of Robert Browning, of whom we have presently to speak in his general poetical character, as vivid dialogues without the "business" which makes a play.

The two great poets who came early in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, to fill up the void when Byron, and Keats, and Shelley had passed away, were Alfred Tennyson and Robert Browning. Wordsworth, Rogers, Crabbe, Southey, Coleridge, Campbell, were still amongst us when Tennyson, an undergraduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, published, in 1830, "Poems, chiefly lyrical." Browning, educated at the University of London, in 1835 published "Paracelsus." Moving onward by different roads towards high excellence and permanent fame, each is, in his several way, a representative of our age. To Browning belongs its inquiring and sceptical spirit; to Tennyson its cultivation of the home affections, its sympathy with all natural emotions, whether belonging to the refined or the uneducated. To Browning it belongs to follow Paracelsus in his wanderings through continental Europe; to see Fippa pass in the Trevisan; to be in Sardinia with Victor Amadeus and Charles Emmanuel; to celebrate Colombe's Birthday at Cleves. In his greater Dramas and his Dramatic Lyrics nearly all his scenes are laid in foreign lands which had become accessible to Englishmen in the age of steam-boats and railroads. He leaves to others to walk in English lanes and amid English trees. This is the landscape amid which Tennyson moves. Where "The lady of Shalott" dwells,

"On either side the river lie
Long fields of barley and of rye."

"The Gardener's Daughter" grew amidst meadows

"Dewy fresh, browsed by deep-udder'd kine,"

and to the solitary garden comes

"The windy clanging of the minster clock."

When the poet leaves the familiar scenes of to-day he takes us into the same English landscape of the past. We look upon "King Arthur"

"Among the mountains by the winter sea ;"

Godiva, "clothed on with chastity," rides through old Coventry, but the poet thinks of her as he is "waiting for the train." However steadily regarding the Past and glancing at the Future, he has still the great nineteenth century flashing upon his mind :

" Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."*

Tennyson looked upon the transition time of 1832, when fear of change was perplexing the old, and hopes of a bright future were leading on the young, and he thought of his country, as

" A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

At once the poet of progress and of conservatism, he is essentially the representative of the opinions that have made our country secure, amidst the war of Opinion which has been raging all around us. What Shakspeare was to the age of Elizabeth as the suggestive poet of a just patriotism, Tennyson is to the age of Victoria.

We cannot close the mention of our Poets without adding the name of Elizabeth Barrett, who in wedded as true a poet as herself—one who could walk with her in all the fields of learning—over whose thoughts her genius would have a perceptible influence—gave a double immortality to the name of Browning. Nor must we forget one who long stood alone in the most remarkable combination of humour and pathos, which gave him an equal command over laughter and over tears. Thomas Hood was a poet of the rarest genius; and yet he was classed by many with the laborious manufacturers of jokes who had little care for any result of their witticisms other than the passing smile. Put Hood's "Whims and Oddities" by the side of Colman's "Broad Grins," and we at once see the almost immeasurable superiority to the merely grotesque of the "infinite jest" which belongs to the "most excellent fancy." There was in Hood's table-talk a gravity, almost amounting to melancholy, which surrounded his humour with a halo which added to its charm without impairing its power. It was the same with his writings. The depth of his sympathies with sorrow and suffering burst out in his latter years in those pathetic lyrics which abided in the memories of many who were then coming into the active labours of life, and made them thoughtful about more things than money-getting. The economist might say that "Songs of the Shirt" presented a one-sided picture of human affairs. Rigid moralists might affirm that the frail self-destroyer might better be left unwept. Nature triumphed. We believe that the true relations of Labour and Capital, and the just limitations of Christian sympathy with sin, were

* "Locksley Hall."

better understood by looking at the exceptional cases which the Poet drew in his day of sickness and poverty.

Hood occasionally illustrated his writings by his own sketches. When he died a remarkable publication was in its full vigour in which the Pen and the Pencil were united to present the ludicrous aspects of human life, and not seldom the serious aspects of that sorrow which seemed to spring from legislative indifference to social evils. "Punch" has been one of the most vital emanations of this mixed quality of the ludicrous and the reflective. In this school, Douglas Jerrold first took that hold of the public mind which his brilliant wit, his ready sarcasm, and his real benevolence, long commanded. In this school Thackeray first won his spurs. To look over the forty volumes of the twenty years' existence of "Punch," is to trace the political and social England of the Victorian era through a medium which, if the age of the Tudors or the Stuarts could have tolerated such a mirror, would have been worth a wilderness of State Papers, such as we are now rescuing out of the dust of oblivion.

We have thus hastily run through three principal classes of Literature which have been "both an effect and a cause" in relation to their age. For very obvious reasons we pass by the great mass of the Theology of this epoch, which the future historian will have to study as carefully as the High-Church and Nonconformist polemics must be studied to understand the character of the time which produced Jeremy Taylor and Baxter. In the Episcopal Church of England, and in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, there have been heresies and schisms, discords and separations, which have left little leisure for the calm pursuits of learned investigation, or the cultivation of an eloquence suited to all time. The Butlers and Barrows have had few rivals in logical profundity; the Lardners and Paleys have scarcely had adequate successors as historical or textual commentators. Those, we presume to say, who have most stood aloof from the controversies of their own day appear most certain of a durable place in the esteem of another generation. Such appreciation will, we believe, be awarded to the Ecclesiastical Historian, Dean Milman; to Frederick W. Robertson, the most fervent and yet the most tolerant of preachers; to those who have walked in the footsteps of Arnold, and have more enforced that Religion of Love which is all-comprehensive, than the Worship which rests upon ceremonial, and the Faith which assumes to be most Christian when it is most exclusive. But amidst the controversies between the two great sections of the English Church, one great fact stands out, to mark most distinctly that the spirit of the age has made its Religion more practically beneficent; and out of division has compelled union. When the Clergy, whether Anglican or Evangelical, discovered clearly that apathy and neglect amidst surrounding ignorance and vice were not only a reproach but a danger, Dissent saw that the area of proselytism was materially narrowed, and that its triumphs must henceforth be won in the generous and honest rivalry of all religionists in doing good—in Schools, in Hospitals, in Prisons—in the pestilent Alleys and the marsh-girt Hovels; by weaning the drunkard from his dram by inducing a desire for knowledge; by teaching the slattern and the scold that discomfort makes the husband brutal and the child undutiful. There is other teaching than that of homilies; and all Christian teachers have learnt that there is other work for them to do than that which Sunday brings.

The essential dependence of all social improvements upon accurate Statistics has been signally manifested in the period about which we are writing. The Political Economists, of whom without disparagement of others we may mention John Stuart Mill as the most original and influential, have more than ever built their Science upon Statistics. Macculloch and Porter were individually leading the way in supplying Theory with its only safe and durable materials. Graham and Farr directed official inquiries to more extensive uses than the correction of Tables of Mortality. They made the figures of the Registrar-General's Office subserve every amelioration of our social condition; rendering even the most careless observer sensible that health is dependent upon cleanliness and upon ventilation, and that the epidemics, which were once deemed the scourges of a wicked generation, are the visitations of a Gracious Ruler to teach Man to read in the great book of Nature how sharp and certain are the penalties of the social neglect of His laws.

The scientific writers, whether in Natural History, or Physiology, or Physics, or Mathematics, are so numerous, and their labours have produced such mighty results upon Arts and Industry, that to name the more eminent would in us be presumptuous. It is not for us to speak of the great Geologists—Buckland, Sedgwick, Lyell, De la Beche, Hugh Miller—of the interpreters of primeval ages who have trod in the footsteps of Cuvier—Owen, Murchison, Forbes—of those who have compelled that alliance of Science with Sacred Texts which can never impair the true value of Revealed Truth. But we may pronounce one word of respect for the teachers who, not stepping down from their lofty heights of pure science, have made its abstract wisdom lovely in the eyes of the uninitiated—of such as Brewster, as the younger Herschel, as Sabine, as Airy, as Babbage, as Arnott, as Whewell, as Faraday. Of the great Discoverers and Inventors—Wheatstone, of the Electric Telegraph—Talbot, who first showed how the sun could paint, and thus made Photography the delight of the age, multiplying all remembrances of the perishing ruin or the fresh landscape, and making the familiar faces of the parent or the sister of the English home its truest memorials in the Antipodes—of these, and especially of the Chemists, who have penetrated more deeply than any other philosophers into the hidden secrets of nature—of these the honours are inscribed on the imperishable column which records our Victories over Matter, compelling its unwilling obedience to the service of man.

The Critics and Essayists abound in an age when Reviews and Magazines abound more than ever. There are distinct works which stand out as self-contained achievements. The elder D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature;" Walter Savage Landor's "Imaginary Conversations;" Hallam's "Introduction to the Literature of Europe;" "Guesses at Truth," by Julius Hare and his brother; "Essays written in the Intervals of Business," by Arthur Helps; "The Statesman" of Henry Taylor—these are works of real vitality. In Art Criticism Mrs. Jameson exhibited her remarkable knowledge of the religious symbolism of the Middle Ages, whilst Mr. Ruskin was startling the orthodox critics by his eloquent originality on the characteristics of "Modern Painters." Let us add a word on the impulse which was given in the first ten years of the Queen's reign to Shakspearean criticism. It would

be arrogant in the author of this History to dwell upon his own labours as a commentator on Shakspeare; it would be affectation in him not to mention them in association with the names of Collier, Dyce, Halliwell, and Hunter. The spirit of inquiry applied to the illustration of Shakspeare and our early dramatists, was in some degree a continuation of the labours of the commentators of the previous century, but constructed upon those broader principles of criticism with which Coleridge had made us familiar. But it was a peculiar characteristic of this era that not only were the labours of eminent individuals, such as Palgrave and Kemble, directed towards a more searching investigation into all questions of our history and early literature, but that the deeper and more accurate spirit of antiquarian inquiry was followed up by the formation of Archæological Institutes and Associations, not merely in London but in every part of the country. The same spirit gave rise to the establishment of Publishing Societies, such as the Camden Society, for printing old manuscripts and reprinting scarce books. These and many other peculiarities in the literary tendencies of the Victorian era, afford satisfactory proof that the age of loose research and vague generalities was happily past, in whatever department of literature aspired to a permanent influence.

If we were to attempt a record of those whom an age of universal communication has sent forth to explore the uttermost ends of the earth—if we were to trace even such persevering and sagacious explorers amidst the dust of ages as Layard, and such interpreters of the great fruitful past as Wilkinson—we might add to the suggestive interest of our chapters, but should usurp the functions that belong to a more special history of our age. Of Travel in the time of Queen Victoria, there are no details more full of human interest than those which belong to African research, and to the Arctic expeditions, the last of which only developed how our countrymen would persevere and die in the discharge of the duty assigned to them, and how their followers in the same course would never rest till a difficult problem had been solved, whatever might be its intrinsic value.

We may conclude with a remark or two on the Commerce of Literature. When we look back at the various periods of English publication, and consider how amazingly the aggregate number of books published in any one period had increased, we must also regard the size and price of the works published, to form any adequate notion of the general diffusion of literature. Even with a general reduction of price during a quarter of a century, with the substitution of duodecimos for quartos, and with single volumes beyond all former precedent, there is little doubt that the annual returns of publishing in all its departments had been doubled in 1850, as compared with 1825. The book-trade was to be estimated, not by the number of the learned who once collected folios, and of the rich who rejoiced in exclusive quartos, but of the many to whom a small volume of a living author had become a necessity for instruction or for amusement, and who desired to read our established literature in editions well printed and carefully edited, though essentially cheap. This number of readers had been constantly increasing, and as constantly pressing for a reduction of price upon modern books of high reputation.

The altered tone and ability of newspapers was decidedly marked at this period. At the beginning of the present century the local newspapers

“had no editorial comments whatever,”* and scarcely an original paragraph. The conductors of our five hundred provincial journals at the end of the first half of the century were watching for every particle of news in their own districts; reporting public meetings; waiting for electric telegraphs; pondering upon grave questions of social economy; and, to the best of their judgment, fairly representing the course of events. Much of this intelligent and honourable spirit they owed to the progressive improvement of the London Newspaper Press.

* “Life of Edward Baines,” by his Son.

NOTE ON THE CLASSES OF BOOKS PUBLISHED, 1816 to 1851.

IN 1853 there was issued a "Classified Index to the London Catalogue of Books, 1816-1851," in which there are 34 Divisions of Classification. For a special object we took the pains to analyse this octavo volume of 300 pages, and were thus enabled to estimate in round numbers the sort of books which the public were buying, or reading, or neglecting, in these 36 years. We found that they were invited to purchase in the following proportion of classes :—

Works on divinity	10,300
History and geography	4,900
Fiction	3,500
Foreign languages and school-books	4,000
Drama and poetry	3,400
Juvenile books	2,900
Medical	2,500
Biography	1,850
Law	1,850
Science.—Zoology	550
" Botany	700
" Chemistry	170
" Geology	280
" Mathematics	350
" Astronomy	150
" Natural philosophy	300
	2,500
Arts, &c.—Antiquities	350
" Architecture	500
" Fine arts	450
" Games and sports	300
" Illustrated works	500
" Music	220
" Genealogy and heraldry	140
	2,460
Industry.—Mechanics, &c.	500
" Agriculture	250
" Trade and commerce	600
" Political economy, statistics	700
" Military	300
	2,350
Moral Sciences.—Philology, &c.	350
" Education	300
" Moral philosophy	300
" Morals	450
" Domestic economy	200
	1,600
Miscellaneous (so classed)	1,400
	45,510

Upon calculations based upon the London Catalogues of Books from 1828, we learn that after the lapse of a quarter of a century there were three times as many books published as in 1828; that the comparative increase in the number of volumes was not so great, showing that of the new books more single volumes were published; that the average price of each new work had been reduced nearly one-half; and that the average price per volume had fallen about five shillings below the price of 1828.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF BRITISH WRITERS,

In continuation of the Table in this Volume, p. 133.

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
W. H. Ainsworth, born 1805. Rookwood, 1834.	Sir A. Alison, b. 1792. History of Europe, 1839.	G. B. Airy, b. 1801. Gravitation, 1838.
W. E. Aytoun, b. 1813. Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers, 1849.		Neil Arnott, b. 1788. Elements of Physics, 1827.
P. J. Bailey, b. 1816. Festus, 1839.	Charles Babbage, b. 1792. Economy of Manufactures and Machinery, 1832.	Joseph Bosworth, b. 1788. Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar, 1823.
John S. Blackie, b. 1809. Lays and Legends of Greece.	Edward Baines, b. 1800. History of Cotton Manufactures, 1835.	W. T. Brande, b. 1780. Outline of Geology, 1817. Manual of Chemistry, 1819.
Sir John Bowring, b. 1792. Specimens of the Russian Poets, 1821.	Robert Bell, b. 1800. Lives of the English Poets.	Sir B. C. Brodie, b. 1783. Physiological Researches on the influence of the Brain on the Action of the Heart, 1811.
C. Shirley Brooks, b. 1815. Plays, 1850.	George Borrow, b. 1803. The Bible in Spain; The Zincahi, 1841.	
The Silver Cord, 1861.	Sir David Brewster, b. 1781. On some Principles of Light, 1813.	
Frances Browne, b. 1818. Poems.	Henry Lord Brougham, b. 1779. Enquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers, 1803. Historical Memoirs. Political Philosophy.	
Robert Browning, b. 1812. Paracelsus, a poem, 1835.	Henry T. Buckle, b. 1822. History of Civilization in England. (Died in 1862.)	
	John Hill Burton, b. 1809. Benthamiana, 1843. History of Scotland, 1853.	
William Carleton, b. 1798. Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.	Thomas Carlyle, b. 1795. Life of Schiller, 1824. French Revolution, 1837.	W. B. Carpenter, b. 1813. Principles of Physiology, 1839.
John Clare, b. 1793. Poems of Rural Life, 1820.	William Chambers, b. 1800. Book of Scotland.	Arthur Cayley, b. 1821. Mathematical Terminology.
W. Wilkie Collins, b. 1825. Antonina, 1850.	Robert Chambers, b. 1802. Traditions of Edinburgh.	Edwin Chadwick, b. 1801. Education; Sanitary Improvement.
The Woman in White, 1860.	F. R. Chesney, b. 1789. Survey of the Euphrates and the Tigris, 1850.	John Cumming, b. 1810. Prophetical Interpretations.
Eliza Cook, b. 1817. Poems.	Mrs. Cowden Clarke, b. 1809. Concordance to Shakspeare, 1845.	
	J. Payne Collier, b. 1789. Works of Shakspeare. 1844.	
	G. Lillie Craik, b. 1795. Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties, 1831.	

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
Charles Dickens, b. 1812. Sketches by Boz, 1836. B. Disraeli, b. 1805. Vivian Grey, 1828.	Sir E. S. Creasy, b. 1812. The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World. Peter Cunningham, b. 1816. Hand Book of London, 1849. Wm. Hepworth Dixon, b. 1821. John Howard, a Memoir, 1849. Alexander Dyce, b. 1798. Editions of Greene, Peele, Marlowe, Webster, Shake- speare. Sir Henry Ellis, b. 1777. Introduction to Domesday Book, 1833. William Farr, b. 1807. On Vital Statistics, 1837. J. D. Forbes, b. 1809. Norway and its Glaciers, 1853. John Forster, b. 1812. Life of Oliver Goldsmith, 1848. J. A. Froude, b. 1818. History of England, 1856.	Charles Darwin, b. 1816. Voyage of a Naturalist, 1838. Origin of Species, 1859. A. De Morgan, b. 1806. Elements of Arithmetic, 1830. Sir Charles Eastlake, P.R.A., b. 1793. Contributions to the Litera- ture of the Fine Arts. William Ellis, b. 1800. Social Economy for Schools. Michael Faraday, b. 1794. On Chemical Manipulation, 1817. James Fergusson, b. 1808. Principles of Beauty in Art, 1849. Handbook of Architecture. J. F. Ferrier, b. 1808. Institutes of Metaphysics, 1854. Albany W. Fonblanque, b. 1797. England under Seven Admi- nistrations, 1837.
Elizabeth C. Gaskell, b. 1822. Mary Barton, 1848. T. C. Grattan, b. 1797. Highways and Byways, 1838.	George Gilfillan, b. 1813. Bards of the Bible, 1850. Gallery of Literary Portraits. G. R. Gleig, b. 1795. Military History of Great Britain. George Grote, b. 1794. History of Greece, 1846.	W. E. Gladstone, b. 1809. The State considered in its Relations with the Church, 1840. George Godwin, b. 1815. The Builder. John Gould, b. 1804. A Century of Birds from the Himalaya Mountains, 1830. Thomas Graham, b. 1805. Elements of Chemistry, 1842 Robert Grant, b. 1800. History of Physical Astro- nomy, 1852. Thomas Guthrie, b. 1800. The Gospel in Ezekiel. Pleas for Ragged Schools.
Anna Maria Hall, b. 1802. Sketches of Irish Character. Mary Howitt, b. 1804. Forest Minstrel, and other Poems, 1823.	Samuel Carter Hall, b. 1801. Ireland, its Scenery and Cha- racter; Art Journal, 1839. J. O. Halliwell, b. 1821. Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, 1846. Life of Shakspeare, 1848. William Hanna, b. 1808. Memoir of Dr. Chalmers.	J. Renn Hampden, b. 1792. Bampton Lectures, 1832. Sir W. Snow Harris, b. 1791. Rudimentary Laws of Elec- tricity, 1834. Sir J. F. W. Herschel, b. 1790. Examples of the Application of the Calculus to Finite Differences, 1820. Outlines of Astronomy, 1849.

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
<p>John Keble, b. 1790. Christian Year, 1827. Lyra Innocentium. Charles Kingsley, b. 1819. Alton Locke, 1846. James Sheridan Knowles, b. 1784. Leo, or the Gipsy, 1809.</p>	<p>Arthur Helps, b. 1818. Essays written in the Inter- vals of Business, 1841. The Spanish Conquest in America, 1855. Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., b. 1798. Ecclesiastical Biography, 1845—52. Church Dictionary, 1854. William Howitt, b. 1795. Book of the Seasons, 1831. History of Priestcraft, 1833.</p>	<p>M. D. Hill, b. 1792. Jurisprudence. Reformatory Legislation. J. R. Hind, b. 1823. Account of Recent Comets, 1845. J. D. Hooker, b. 1817. Flora Antarctica. Flora Indica.</p>
<p>Walter Savage Landor, b. 1775. Poems, 1795. Imaginary Conversations, 1824—29. Mark Lemon, b. 1809. The Drama; Editor of Punch. Samuel Lover, b. 1797. Rory O'More, 1831. Legends and Stories of Ire- land. Sir E. L. Bulwer Lytton, b. 1805. Falkland, 1827. The Caxtons, 1849.</p>	<p>Charles Knight, b. 1791. Results of Machinery, 1830. Pictorial Shakspeare, 1842.</p>	<p>T. H. Key, b. 1799. Latin Grammar, 1846.</p>
<p>Charles Mackay, b. 1813. Poems; Life and Liberty in America. Gerald Massey, b. 1828. Poems. H. H. Milman, b. 1791. Fazio, a Tragedy, 1815. History of Christianity, 1840. R. Monckton Milnes, b. 1809. Poems; Life of John Keats, 1848. Dinah Maria Mulock, b. 1826. John Halifax, Gentleman, 1856.</p>	<p>Austen Henry Layard, b. 1817. Nineveh and its Remains, 1849. George H. Lewes, b. 1817. Biographical History of Phi- losophy, 1845. David Livingstone, b. 1817. Missionary Travels and Re- searches in South Africa, 1857. George Long, b. 1800. Civil Wars of Rome, 1844-48. Editor of Penny Cyclopædia.</p>	<p>Edwin Lankester, b. 1814. Natural History. R. G. Latham, b. 1812. Varieties of Mankind, 1850. Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, b. 1806. Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, 1849. John Lindley, b. 1799. Monographia Rosarium, 1820. Alexander William Crawford, Lord Lindsay, b. 1812. History of Christian Art, 1847. Lives of the Lindsays, 1849. Sir Charles Lyell, b. 1797. Principles of Geology, 1833. F. D. Maurice, b. 1805. The Kingdom of Christ, 1841. Religions of the World. Theological Essays, 1853. Henry Melvill. Sermons, 1833. Edward Miall, b. 1809. Voluntary Education. Ethics of Nonconformity. John Stuart Mill, b. 1806. System of Logic, 1843. Principles of Political Eco- nomy, 1848.</p>
	<p>J. R. Macculloch, b. 1790. Principles of Political Eco- nomy, 1825. Sir Frederick Madden, b. 1801. Layamon's Brut, 1847. Wycliffe's Bible, 1850. Samuel Roffey Maitland, b. 1792. The Dark Ages, 1844. Essays on the Reformation in England. Harriet Martineau, b. 1802. Illustrations of Political Eco- nomy, 1834. History of the Thirty Years' Peace, 1850. David Masson, b. 1822. Life of Milton, 1859. Henry Mayhew, b. 1812. London Labour and the Lon- don Poor.</p>	<p>William Allen Miller, b. 1817. Elements of Chemistry, 1857 Sir R. I. Murchison, b. 1792. Silurian System, 1839.</p>

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
<p>Hon. Mrs. Norton, b. 1808. The Undying One, and other Poems, 1830.</p>		<p>Francis W. Newman, b. 1805. Phases of Faith, 1850. History of the Hebrew Mon- archy, 1847. John Henry Newman, b. 1801. Tracts for the Times, 1833— 36. Religious Development. Catholicism in England. Richard Owen, b. 1804. Directions for preparing Ani- mals and Parts of Animals for Anatomical Purposes, 1835.</p>
<p>Bryan Waller Procter, b. 1790. (Barry Cornwall.) Dramatic Scenes, and other Poems, 1819.</p>	<p>James Robinson Plazché, b. 1796. History of British Costume, 1834. Dramas.</p>	<p>John Philipps, b. 1800. Treatise on Geology, 1827— 39. Rivers of Yorkshire, 1853. E. B. Pusey, b. 1800. Tracts for the Times, 1833-36.</p>
<p>Leitch Ritchie, b. 1800. Novels and Tales.</p>	<p>W. Howard Russell, b. 1821. War in the Crimea, 1855.</p>	<p>Sir H. C. Rawlinson, b. 1810. Philology. Charles Richardson, b. 1775. Dictionary of the English Language, 1837. Henry Rogers, b. 1806. Life of John Howe, 1836. Contributions to Edinburgh Review. Peter Mark Roget, b. 1780. Animal and Vegetable Physi- ology, 1834. J. Forbes Royle. Flora of the Himalayan Moun- tains, 1839. John Ruskin, b. 1819. Modern Painters, 1843.</p>
<p>Catherine Sinclair, b. 1800. Beatrice; or, the Unknown Relatives, 1852.</p>	<p>Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon), b. 1805. History of the War of Suc- cession in Spain, 1832. History of England, 1836. Sir James Stephen, b. 1790. Ecclesiastical Biography. William Stirling, b. 1815. Annals of the Artists of Spain, 1843. Agnes Strickland, b. 1805. Lives of the Queens of England, 1840—51. Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, 1842.</p>	<p>Edward Sabine, b. 1790. Terrestrial Magnetism. Adam Sedgwick, b. 1786. Geology. Samuel Smiles. Self Help, 1859. William Smith, b. 1814. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 1842. Mary Somerville, b. 1790. Mechanism of the Heavens, 1832. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. Sinai and Palestine in con- nection with their History, 1856. John Bird Sumner, b. 1780. Records of Creation, 1816.</p>
<p>Henry Taylor. Isaac Comnenus, a Play, 1827. Alfred Tennyson, b. 1810. Poems, 1830.</p>	<p>Sir James Emerson Tennent, b. 1804. History of Modern Greece, 1830. Ceylon, an Account of the Island, 1859.</p>	<p>Isaac Taylor, b. 1787. Elements of Thought, 1824. Alfred Swaine Taylor, b. 1808. On Poisons in Relation to Medical Jurisprudence and Medicine, 1848.</p>

IMAGINATION.	FACT.	SPECULATIVE AND SCIENTIFIC.
<p>W. M. Thackeray, b. 1811. Paris Sketch Book, by Michael Angelo Titmarsh, 1840. Frances Trollope, b. 1790. The Abbess, 1832. Martin Farquhar Tupper, b. 1810. Proverbial Philosophy, 1839.</p>	<p>Connop Thirlwall, b. 1797. History of Greece, 1845-52. William J. Thoms, b. 1803. Early Prose Romances, 1828. Editor of Notes and Queries. James Thorne, b. 1815. Rambles by Rivers, 1844. John Timbs, b. 1801. Laconics, 1825-26 ; Year Book of Facts, 1839. Robert Vaughan, b. 1800. Life of Wycliffe, 1828. Sir J. G. Wilkinson, b. 1798. Materia Hieroglyphica, 1828. Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, 1836. Christopher Wordsworth, b. 1803. Athens and Attica, 1836. Greece: Pictorial, Descrip- tive, and Historical. Thomas Wright, b. 1810. Queen Elizabeth and her Times, 1838. The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, 1853. Matthew Digby Wyatt, b. 1820. Specimens of the Geometrical Mosaics of the Middle Ages, 1848.</p>	<p>Tom Taylor, b. 1817. Life of Haydon, 1852. R. C. Trench, b. 1807. Notes on the Miracles, 1846. Philology. Archbishop Whately, b. 1787. Bampton Lectures, 1822. Elements of Logic, 1826. Charles Wheatstone, b. 1802. Binocular Vision ; Electric Telegraph. William Whewell, b. 1795. Bridgewater Treatise on As- tronomy, 1833. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, b. 1805. Life of William Wilberforce, 1838. Sermons. Robert Willis, b. 1800. Architecture of the Middle Ages, 1835. Principles of Mechanics, 1841. Forbes Winslow, b. 1811. Application of the Principles of Phrenology to the Elu- cidation and Cure of In- sanity, 1831. Nicholas Wiseman, b. 1802. Lectures on the Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, 1836. Ralph Nicholson Wornum, b. 1812. History of Painting, 1847. Analysis of Ornament, 1856.</p>

CHAPTER XXVII.

Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister—Commercial Distress—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Agitation against the Corn-Laws—Sir Robert Peel's Bill for a Sliding Scale—Lord John Russell's proposal of a Fixed Duty—Income Tax renewed—Reduction of the Tariff—Petition for the People's Charter—Assaults on the Queen—Parliament prorogued—Relations with France—Treaty of Washington settling the Boundary Question—Disturbances in the Manufacturing Districts—Opening of Parliament, 1843—Debate on the depression of Manufactures—Mr. Cobden and Sir Robert Peel—Corn-Law Debate—Mr. Charles Buller's speech on Systematic Colonization—Monster Meetings for Repeal of the Union—Arrest of O'Connell—The Scotch Church—Secession of Ministers to constitute the Free Church—New District Churches in England—The Rebecca Riots—Suppression of the Disturbances in Wales.

THE ministerial arrangements of sir Robert Peel were completed; the members of the House of Commons who had accepted office were all re-elected. On the 16th of September, 1841, the Prime Minister made a declaration of his policy in the most explicit terms, which policy amounted to this, that not a word would he utter of what he intended to do. He asked for the confidence of the House, whilst he considered the mode in which the great financial evil of the previous seven years could be removed. Being pressed upon the subject of the Corn-Laws, he said, in a subsequent debate, he should have thought it reasonable that on returning to power after a lapse of ten years, he should have not been called upon within a month to propose an alteration of the law in respect to the trade in corn. If he were to be responsible for not instantly proposing a measure on the Corn-Laws, what must be thought of that government that had held office for five years, and never until the month of May, 1841, had intimated an united opinion on that subject? During the remainder of the Session, from all the manufacturing districts came the most afflicting statements of the depression of trade and of the sufferings of the operative classes. Again and again it was said that the Corn-Laws were the principal cause of this commercial distress; and sir Robert Peel was urged not to let parliament separate without making some disclosure of the measures which he contemplated for the settlement of this question. The prorogation took place on the 7th of October. During these three weeks of continued debate not a syllable could be extracted in either house of parliament from any member of the government, as to the course to be pursued, by which hope might be afforded to those who suffered, and discontent might be deprived of some of its power of stirring up a

starving population into madness. The Royal Speech, delivered by Commission, was as vague and mysterious as the individual declarations of members of the Cabinet. The difficulties of sir Robert Peel arose, as we have already seen, not only from the distrust of his political opponents, but from the almost impossibility of reconciling some members of his own administration to any large change of financial and commercial policy opposed to their own class interests, and to the principles which had so long held them together as a great party.

On Tuesday the 9th of November the "London Gazette Extraordinary" announced the birth that morning of a Prince. By letters patent of the 8th of December the Queen created "our most dear son, the Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (Duke of Saxony, Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland), Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester." On the following 25th of January the baptism of the Prince of Wales was performed in the royal chapel of St. George at Windsor, the King of Prussia, who had visited England for this especial occasion, being one of the sponsors.

After four months of anxious speculation on the part of the public as to the course that the ministry would pursue upon the two great questions of finance and trade, the Queen opened the Session of Parliament on the 3rd of February, 1842. The King of Prussia accompanied the Queen to witness this ceremonial. A great personal interest was given to the speech by its opening sentence: "I cannot meet you in parliament assembled without making a public acknowledgment of my gratitude to Almighty God on account of the birth of the Prince, my son; an event which has completed the measure of my domestic happiness." The state of the finances and of the expenditure of the country was recommended to the immediate attention of parliament; and so also was recommended "the state of the laws which affect the importation of corn and of other articles the produce of foreign countries." There was no amendment to the Address. It was announced on the 3rd by sir Robert Peel that on the 9th he should move for a Committee of the whole House for the purpose of considering the laws which affected the import of foreign corn. When the day arrived great was the excitement in and around the House of Commons. Six hundred Anti-Corn-Law delegates had gone in procession to Palace Yard and had there taken their station, crying out from time to time as members passed them, "Total Repeal," "Fixed Duty," "No Sliding Scale." The plan which sir Robert Peel developed in his speech was in no degree calculated to allay the commercial discontent with regard to the trade in corn. He maintained the existing principle of the sliding scale of duties on the importation of foreign corn, but he lowered the protection afforded, and introduced a more liberal method of fixing the averages. To no party was the minister's scheme satisfactory. The Whigs, by lord John Russell, proposed, instead of the sliding scale, a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter. Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden insisted upon that total repeal of all duties on corn which they had long so strenuously and consistently advocated. The ultra-Protectionists demanded that a higher rate of duties should be adopted at every move in the sliding scale. The debates upon each and all of these various principles were

carried on without intermission till the bill introduced by sir Robert Peel passed the House of Commons on the 7th of April. For four nights lord John Russell's proposition of a fixed duty was debated; and it was rejected by a majority of a hundred and twenty-three. During five nights the motion of Mr. Villiers for the abolition of all duties on corn was discussed, and it was rejected by a majority of three hundred and ninety-three. The higher Protectionist scale proposed by Mr. Christopher was rejected by a majority of three hundred and six. In defending his proposal sir Robert Peel maintained that it was of the utmost importance to the interests of the country that we should be as far as possible independent of foreign supply; that the main sources of the supply of corn should be derived from domestic agriculture; but that all foreign supplies should be for the purpose of making up deficiencies, rather than as the chief sources of subsistence. There was a tone, however, in the speech of sir Robert Peel which indicated to some of the Protectionists that the minister was not the man to carry out their extreme views. "I should not consider myself," he said, "a friend to the agriculturist if I asked for a protection with a view of propping up rents, or for the purpose of defending his interest or the interest of any particular class." Lord Palmerston, in a speech at the close of the Session, in which he reviewed the measures of the late and present ministers, congratulated the government upon having come into office fully imbued with those sound principles, "the enunciation of which has excited so much admiration on this side of the House, and has created so much surprise and alarm on the other."* Sir Robert Peel retorted—in allusion to lord Palmerston's support of the Reform Bill after his opposition to all Reform in the time of Mr. Canning—that harsh and intolerant criticisms on the versatile opinions of others proceeded with a very bad grace from the noble lord. It was insinuated that he had deluded his supporters by the extent and importance of the alterations he had made in the Corn-Laws. There might have been shades of difference—there might have been occasional dissatisfaction and complaint—but he had the firm belief that the conduct of himself and his colleagues in office had not abated one jot of that confidence on the part of their friends which cheered and encouraged them in the blank regions of Opposition. Subsequent revelations have shown how materially sir Robert Peel was hampered by the suspicions of his party. In his own Memoirs, published by the Trustees of his papers, he says, "During the discussions in parliament on the Corn-Law of 1842 I was more than once pressed to give a guarantee (so far as a minister could give it) that the amount of protection established by that law should be permanently adhered to; but although I did not then contemplate the necessity for further change, I uniformly refused to fetter the discretion of the government by any such assurances as those that were required from me." †

The measure propounded by sir Robert Peel upon the Corn-Laws was that halting between two opinions which it was evident he himself could not regard as a final settlement of the question: "I did not *then* contemplate the necessity for further change." This measure, like most compromises, required

* Hansard, vol. lxx. col. 1237.

† "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," vol. ii. p. 101.

something like a tone of apology both to his friends and his opponents. But the minister was on far safer ground when he came forward with his great financial measure. When he proposed the renewal of the property-tax for the purpose of sweeping away a host of vexatious and embarrassing duties upon foreign commerce, he had not to defy the opposition of a great class-interest such as that of the landed proprietors and the agriculturists. He would make many of the tax-payers indignant, especially those who saw in direct taxation according to their means, the closing of that door of escape from the general burden of the community of which many of the rich could avail themselves by parsimony or absenteeism. The ministerial proposition was a tax upon all incomes above 150*l.* a year, not to exceed sevenpence in the pound, for the limited period of three years. The tax, he said, would not only supply the deficit occasioned by the excess of expenditure over revenue, but would justify such a large reduction of commercial taxation as would, in regard to the expenditure of most individuals, indirectly make up the difference that was taken from them by direct taxation. Out of a tariff of twelve hundred articles sir Robert proposed to reduce the duty on seven hundred and fifty. "We have sought," he declared, "to remove all absolute prohibitions upon the import of foreign articles, and we have endeavoured to reduce duties which are so high as to be prohibitory, to such a scale as may admit of fair competition with domestic produce. In cases where that principle has been departed from, and prohibitory duties maintained, we justify our departure from the rule by the special circumstances of the case. With respect to raw materials, which constitute the elements of our manufactures, our object, speaking generally, has been to reduce the duties on them to almost a nominal amount. In half-manufactured articles, which enter almost as much as the raw material into our domestic manufacture, we have reduced the duty to a moderate amount. And with regard to completely manufactured articles, our design has been to remove prohibition, and to reduce prohibitory duties, so that the manufactures of foreign countries may enter into a fair competition with our own." That part of the financial measure which revived the obnoxious war tax upon income, with all its original inquisitorial character, and its unequal operation upon permanent and upon uncertain revenues, was strenuously opposed in both Houses. But the necessity for some bold measure for putting the finances of the country upon a solid foundation, bore down all opposition whether in or out of parliament. The commercial and manufacturing interests could not regard the new tariff with any feeling but that of satisfaction. The actual amount of the seven hundred and fifty reductions would not much exceed a quarter of a million sterling, but an immense number of vexatious custom-house restrictions were at once swept away, and an example was held up to foreign nations which sir Robert Peel believed would ultimately prevail. The agriculturists were in a fearful state of alarm. Salted and fresh meat, oxen, sheep, and cows, were to be admitted at reduced rates of duty. There was a wide-spread panic, raised upon prophecies that it would be impossible to compete with the foreign grazier; that meat would be reduced to threepence per pound; and that all who had stock had better sell it as fast as possible. This senseless alarm, which we can laugh at in 1862, was only a foretaste of the terror which would prevail when a bolder

approach should be made to those principles of free trade which, during the twenty years before sir Robert Peel's opening administration, had been slowly advancing, and which in the succeeding twenty years have changed the whole character of English industry, giving an impulse to every employment of capital and labour beyond what the most sanguine of economists could have contemplated as so immediate and so permanent a result of legislation. After many debates in both Houses, the financial propositions of sir Robert Peel were carried with little alteration. The government had done something in its advance towards a sound commercial policy; it had done nothing, as some had expected, to go back to antiquated principles, or to halt altogether on the road of improvement.

Whilst the House of Commons was in committee on the Income Tax Bill, its attention was diverted from the minute details involved in its numerous clauses by the presentation of a very remarkable petition. On the 2nd of May a long procession of working men, escorting sixteen of their number bearing a heavy burden, entered the lobby of the House of Commons. The load which required for its support this aggregate amount of human strength was a petition, signed, it was alleged, by three millions of people. The document was too large to pass through the folding doors of the House of Commons, and it was necessary to unroll it to carry it into the House. When unrolled it spread over a great part of the floor, and rose above the level of the Table. The petition set forth many evils of which the petitioners complained, and they demanded that the House of Commons "do immediately without alteration, deduction, or addition, pass into a law the document entitled 'The People's Charter.'" Mr. Thomas Duncombe presented the petition, and the next day he moved that the petitioners should be heard at the bar of the House in support of their allegations. The debate on this occasion was interesting. Probably its greatest interest was a speech of Mr. Macaulay. Of the six points of the Charter, he said, there was one for which he had voted—the ballot—and he saw no reason to change his opinion on that subject. There was another point of which he decidedly approved—the abolition of the pecuniary qualification for members of that House. He differed from the Chartists in their demand for annual parliaments, as he differed also as to the expediency of paying representatives of the people, and of dividing the country into electoral districts. He did not consider these matters as vital. They were subordinate questions when compared with that one question which still remained to be considered. "The essence of the Charter is Universal Suffrage. If you withhold that, it matters not very much what else you grant. If you grant that, it matters not at all what else you withhold. If you grant that the country is lost. . . . My firm conviction is, that in our country universal suffrage is incompatible, not with this or that form of government, but with all forms of government, and with everything for the sake of which forms of government exist; that it is incompatible with property, and that it is consequently incompatible with civilization."* The motion of Mr. Duncombe was rejected by two hundred and eighty-seven votes to forty-nine.

It was in this Session that, after considerable debate in both Houses, lord

* "Macaulay's Speeches," p. 256.

Ashley's bill for restraining the employment of women and children in mines and collieries was passed.* In this Session important alterations were made in the constitution of Courts of Bankruptcy. The Court of Review was formed of one judge instead of three judges; and District Courts of Bankruptcy were established. This amendment of the Bankruptcy Law was introduced by the Chancellor, lord Lyndhurst. Whilst parliament was sitting, two infamous assaults were made upon the person of the Sovereign. On the 30th of May John Francis, a young man under twenty years of age, fired a pistol at the Queen as she was returning to Buckingham Palace down Constitution Hill, in a barouche and four, accompanied by Prince Albert. Some rumour of the intended attempt upon the Queen's life had previously reached the Palace. Her Majesty, thinking of others rather than of herself, desired that none of the ladies in waiting should accompany her in her ride, which she would not forego for ambiguous threats that had reached the ears of the police. Francis, who had been immediately seized, was found guilty of high treason, and received the usual capital sentence, which on the 2nd of July was commuted into transportation for life. On the 3rd of July a deformed youth, named John William Bean, presented a pistol at her Majesty, but being seized by a bystander was prevented firing it. The mode in which the legislature dealt with offences of this nature was completely successful in putting an end to attempts which were odious and contemptible, having their origin in no feelings of public or private grievance, but were the results most probably, in each of the three cases which had shocked the public feeling, of a distempered imagination producing a morbid desire for notoriety. On the 12th of July sir Robert Peel brought in a bill for the better protection of the Queen's person. He proposed that any party not actually designing to take away the Queen's life, but intending to hurt her or alarm her, should be subject to transportation for a term not exceeding seven years; but that there should also be another punishment, more suitable to the offence and more calculated to repress it—a discretionary power of imprisonment with authority to inflict personal chastisement. What we have to guard against, said sir Robert Peel, is not any traitorous attempt against the peace of the nation by conspiring to take away the life of the Sovereign, but it is the folly or malignity of wretches who are guilty of acts prompted by motives which are scarcely assignable. The bill was rapidly passed through all its stages in both Houses.

On the 12th of August her Majesty prorogued parliament in person. The Queen's Speech necessarily adverted to the great financial and commercial measures of the Session, and expressed a trust that there were indications of a recovery from that depression which had affected many branches of manufacturing industry.

In the debate at the conclusion of the Session—a debate which was truly a passage-at-arms between lord Palmerston and sir Robert Peel—the Prime Minister said, that the non-ratification of treaties by France, and her delay in admitting our just claims, had been the consequences of that alienation, that irritable feeling, which either through the fault or the misfortune of the noble lord (Palmerston) had been the result of his foreign policy. "This

* See *Ante*, p. 395.

country," said sir Robert Peel, "has no feeling of hostility towards France. It was but the other day that we heard of the lamentable death of the duke of Orleans, the heir to the throne of France, with deep and universal regret and sympathy."* The duke of Orleans was thrown from his carriage and killed on the 13th of July. Twenty years ago, so different was the mode of transmitting intelligence from one country to the other, that the news of this event reached London by pigeon-carriers on the morning of the 14th.† The foreign policy of the British government was chiefly intrusted by sir Robert Peel to lord Aberdeen. M. Guizot has said of this able and honest member of the Cabinet:—"Like Peel, he desired that peace and justice should prevail in the mutual relations of States:—better than any one else, he knew how to discern and accept their conditions, and to employ only those means and that language which were calculated to secure their predominance, and by inspiring the men with whom he treated with confidence in his moderation and equity, he disposed them to deal with him in the same spirit."‡ In the debate of the 14th of August, sir Robert Peel said, "We have no hostile, no irritable feeling towards France, neither have we any fear; we are too proud, too conscious of our own strength, to regard the power of France with apprehension; but we deprecate, for the interests of humanity, the interruption of friendly relations with that country."§ The Count de Jarnac, who succeeded M. Guizot in his embassy to England, had an interview with sir Robert Peel at this period, at which "in spite of his habitual reserve and laconicism," the Prime Minister strongly expressed his opinion upon the temper of the French government: "The recent policy of France has entirely alienated from you the party which sustains me. No one more often than myself has testified from its origin my respect and confidence for the actual government of France. I have supported it from the beginning with all my power against the convictions and antipathies of a great number of my partizans. I have never endeavoured to impede its march or augment its difficulties. But never have I foreseen that our relations would be placed in such a situation as I find them in to-day." Who, says Count Jarnac, shall fathom the depth of popular credulity? At this epoch Louis Philippe and his government were seriously accused of excessive condescension towards England, and sir Robert Peel and lord Aberdeen escaped not the reproach of extreme complaisance towards France.||

It was in this year that lord Ashburton, having proceeded to the United States as a Special Commissioner, concluded a treaty which settled the question as to the boundary between Canada and the state of Maine. Sir Robert Peel, at the commencement of the Session of 1843, declared that the treaty which lord Ashburton had concluded at Washington in August 1842, established such a division of the disputed district as secured our British possessions in North America, and at the same time preserved our military communication intact. Subsequent circumstances have manifested that these

* Hansard, vol. lxx. col. 1281.

† See Raikes's "Memoirs," vol. iv. p. 208.

‡ "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 145.

§ Hansard, vol. lxx. col. 1281.

|| "Revue des Deux Mondes," 15 July, 1861, p. 443.

results were not altogether obtained by what lord Palmerston called "the Ashburton Capitulation." *

On the day after the prorogation of Parliament a proclamation by the Queen was issued, setting forth that in divers parts of Great Britain multitudes of lawless and disorderly persons had assembled and with force and violence had entered into mines, mills, and manufactories, and by threats and intimidation had prevented those employed from following their usual occupation. The distress in the manufacturing districts had been most severe for a considerable time. Many employers had failed; mills were shut up; the poor-rates were enormously increased; and Government was called upon to supply that aid for the relief of the distress which was beyond the management of local administrators of the Poor-Law. The working people upon the whole bore their privations with patience and fortitude; but in many places the Chartists were busy stirring them up to demand higher wages than the capitalists could afford out of their reduced means, although the workmen perfectly well knew that their employers were fast sinking into ruin. Strikes were unavailing; and then came riots. Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, encountered the crisis with decision and firmness. The system of railroads had enabled him to send troops rapidly to any scene of outrage, and their appearance was sufficient in any case to effect the restoration of tranquillity without a repetition of such sanguinary collisions as those of Manchester and Bristol at a past time. Some of the more dangerous Chartists, amongst whom was Feargus O'Connor, were held to bail, and during the first fortnight of October Special Commissions sat at Stafford, at Chester, and at Liverpool, for the trial of persons accused of riots and political offences, a great number of whom were convicted and sentenced either to transportation or to various terms of imprisonment.

When parliament met on the 2nd of February, 1843, the government had few subjects for exultation, which were not more than counter-balanced by circumstances calculated to weaken the confidence of the country, if not to inspire distrust and alarm. The treaty with the United States, the conclusion of the war with China, the final success of military operations in Afghanistan, were the favourable topics of the royal speech delivered by Commission. The diminished receipt from some of the ordinary sources of revenue, which it was acknowledged must be attributed to reduced consumption caused by depression of the manufacturing industry of the country, was a most significant index of the continuance of that depression which a few months before had produced serious violations of the public peace. There was no Amendment proposed to the Address. But very little time was suffered to elapse before the one great cause assigned for the stagnation of commerce, for the languor of manufacturing industry, for men working at half-time or wholly unemployed, was rung into the ears of the minister in parliament. That cause had been most effectually proclaimed throughout the country by a body of agitators more powerful in their wealth, their social position, their talents, and their perseverance, than had ever before been banded together to force upon an unwilling legislature a great measure of Reform.

* The boundary as finally agreed upon by the Treaty of 1842, is fully stated in the "English Cyclopædia," art. Canada, col. 276.

Against this dreaded Reform was arrayed a no less powerful combination of the noble and the exclusive classes, hounded on by orators and writers who took their stand upon the wisdom of their forefathers, and despised all opinions founded upon increasing knowledge. On the 13th of February Lord Howick moved for a Committee to consider so much of her Majesty's Speech as referred to that depression of the manufacturing interest of the country which had so long prevailed. The debate was continued for five nights. It was on the fifth night that Mr. Cobden uttered one of those harangues which, making no pretensions to be eloquent, extorted conviction from a few, and respect from many, by their strong common sense, their logical array of facts, and their utter contempt for the conventionalities of party. It is time, he said, to give up bandying the terms Whig and Tory about from one side of the House to the other, and engage in a serious inquiry into the condition of the country. . . . "I tell the right honourable baronet that I, for one, care nothing for Whigs or Tories; I have said that I never will help to bring back the Whigs; but I tell him that the whole responsibility of the lamentable and dangerous state of the country rests with him." At the close of Mr. Cobden's speech sir Robert Peel rose with manifest emotion, and said, "the honourable gentleman has stated here very emphatically, what he has more than once stated at the Conferences of the Anti-Corn-Law League, that he holds me individually—individually responsible for the distress and suffering of the country; that he holds me personally responsible; but be the consequences of those insinuations what they may, never will I be influenced by menaces either in this House or out of this House, to adopt a course which I consider—" The minister was unable to complete his sentence. Mr. Cobden denied that he had said that he held sir Robert Peel personally responsible. "You did!" was the cry from the ministerial benches; "You did!" said sir Robert Peel. It was some time before the orator, usually so calm and unimpassioned, could shake off this sensitiveness, to which the term extraordinary might be applied, if it had not been associated with a lamentable event that had occurred on the previous 21st of January. On that day Mr. Drummond, private Secretary of the Minister, was shot by a Scotchman of the name of Mac Naughten, who had come to London brooding over some supposed official injury, and had mistaken Mr. Drummond for sir Robert Peel. There was no political motive in this act; the man upon his subsequent trial was shown to be a maniac. But it produced a deep impression on the mind of sir Robert Peel; and when Mr. Cobden held him individually responsible for the state of the country, he considered that the words were an incentive to assassination. This extraordinary scene was concluded by Mr. Cobden disclaiming, amidst repeated interruptions, the meaning which had been ascribed to his words. He declared that in what he stated he intended to throw the responsibility of his measures upon the right honourable baronet as the head of the government, and in using the word individually he used it as the minister himself used the first pronoun when he said "I passed the tariff, and you supported me." The construction which Mr. Cobden had put upon the language he employed was accepted by sir Robert Peel. But, says his biographer, "he accepted the explanation coldly, and still maintained an air of reserved distrust." M. Guizot adds, "Who can tell how much fatal poison may be

contained in words uttered without any evil design?" He repeats a sentiment which was expressed in a speech by Mr. Roebuck: "I ask the honourable member if he did not see the danger of such language? Passion does sometimes destroy people's judgment." The motion of lord Howick was finally rejected by a majority of a hundred and fifteen.

If the Corn-Laws were not on the point of being repealed, it was not for the want of perseverance in their parliamentary opposers. The general subject was directly and indirectly brought forward again and again; but on each occasion a large majority asserted the principle of protection. At the close of one debate, which had lasted five nights upon a motion by Mr. Villiers, Mr. Cobden declared that whatever might be the fate of the motion it would not have the slightest effect upon the progress of public opinion on this subject. The League would go on as it had hitherto done, and if there were any force in truth and justice, it would go on to an ultimate and not distant triumph. The landed and agricultural interests were so much alarmed by what they considered the coquettings of the government with free-trade, that when lord Stanley, as Secretary for the Colonies, proposed to impose a duty only of three shillings per quarter upon wheat imported from Canada, the more sensitive of the party shrieked out their horror of the Canadian Corn-bill as a free-trade measure. They were not soothed when they were told by Mr. T. Duncombe that "between their pledges to their constituents, their attachment to the government, and their antipathy to the Whigs, they were in a most unpleasant predicament. They smelt a rat; it was in the Canadian Corn-bill."* Skirmishes such as these occupied much of the time of the House during this Session. The Canadian Corn-bill passed—the one practical move towards a great change of policy, although its supporters did not clearly see where their steps were tending.

Important as was the question of the repeal of the Corn-Laws with reference to the condition of the great bulk of the people, there were legislators who could take a wider view of the circumstances of the country than was implied in the one prevailing cry of Cheap Bread. On the 6th of April Mr. Charles Buller moved an Address to the Queen on the subject of Systematic Colonization. His speech was a most able and comprehensive exposition of his belief that there was a permanent cause of the depression of industry, and the suffering of the people, in the constant accumulation of capital and the constant increase of population within the same restricted field of employment. He proposed Colonization as a means of remedying the competition both of Capital and Labour in this restricted field. He stated that Emigration had promised to be of little service until Mr. Wakefield propounded the theory of Colonization that goes by his name. The great principles of that theory were, the sale of colonial land, and the expenditure of the proceeds in carrying out labourers. The government opposed Mr. Buller's motion, upon the plea that it would raise false hopes in the public mind. Mr. Buller withdrew his proposal, but it was clear that, with or without an official inquiry, new principles of colonization would gradually take root and finally produce, in concurrence with the rapid development of the resources of a vast colonial empire, that refuge for a surplus population which has been attended

* Hansard, vol. lxi. col. 945.

with such beneficial results upon our domestic condition in the present generation.

At the beginning of May the agitation in Ireland for the Repeal of the Union had become sufficiently formidable to make a declaration of the intentions of the government a matter of imperative necessity. In the House of Lords the duke of Wellington, and in the House of Commons sir Robert Peel, expressed a determination to abide by the principle of the joint Address of both Houses in 1834—"to maintain unimpaired and undisturbed the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland." Sir Robert Peel said that the executive government would rely as long as possible on the ordinary powers which the law and constitution gave them; but that if the necessity for increased authority should arise, they would not hesitate for a moment to appeal to Parliament for additional powers. He added, "I am also prepared to make, in my place here, the declaration which was made, and nobly made, by lord Althorp, that deprecating as I do all war, but above all civil war, yet there is no alternative which I do not think preferable to the dismemberment of this empire."* It was certainly time that the government should speak out. In January, at the weekly meeting of the Repeal Association, Mr. O'Connell announced that "1843 is and shall be the great Repeal year." He abstained from attendance in Parliament to devote himself to that system of political agitation which continued to arrest the removal of social evils till their overwhelming magnitude was fully manifested in the great collapse of the existing relations of landlord and tenant. The abuse of the right of property in land had long rendered the condition of the Irish peasantry inferior to that of any other peasantry in Europe. The organization for Repeal which Mr. O'Connell had accomplished was to be supported and extended by the means of a universal subscription. The members of the Repeal Association were to subscribe twenty shillings a year, but throughout the country there were to be associate subscribers of a shilling each, with a machinery of inspectors, wardens, and collectors. This great sinew of war thus compelled from a starving population was known as the "Rent." With most Englishmen there was not an utter forgetfulness of some benefits for his countrymen which O'Connell had worked out by his eloquence and his perseverance. But much of their respect had passed into a profound contempt for the unscrupulous agitator, which those who could pretty accurately read the public sentiment embodied in such graphic representations as that of "The Irish Ogre fattening on the finest pisantry."† Vast assemblies of the people were exultingly called by the great demagogue, "Monster Meetings." He addressed thirty thousand people at Trim on the 16th of March, and referred to the physical force by which he was surrounded as something much more effectual than idle petitioning of Parliament. Through the summer meetings of this nature were held in various parts of Ireland, where the same inflammatory language was repeated by laymen and priests with increasing vehemence. Father Mathew had been working a vast change in the habits of many of the Irish by the great Temperance movement, of which he was an honest and zealous leader. But O'Connell adroitly adopted the Teetotalers as the Repealers upon whom rested the hope of sweeping away

* Hansard, vol. lxi. col. 25.

† "Punch," vol. v. p. 15.

Saxon domination. On the 15th of August there was an assembly of which the lowest estimate of the number was half a million of people. During the previous night, and from the break of day, the people had been marching from all points to the Hill of Tara, where the ancient kings of Ireland had been elected. A sort of crown was prepared which the Liberator was there to put on, and to declare to his people that the day was come when they should no longer be slaves,—when the land should overflow with plenty, and every one should hold his half-acre with fixity of tenure, and out of its produce maintain his portion of a constantly increasing population. When the Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of August, the Queen in her Speech noticed these persevering efforts to stir up discontent and disaffection; and expressed her earnest desire to administer the government of Ireland in a spirit of strict justice and impartiality, and to effect such amendments in the existing laws as might improve the social condition and develop the resources of that country. But she also expressed her firm determination to maintain the legislative union. Relying on the good sense and patriotism of the people, the Queen called upon those who had influence and authority in Ireland to discourage a system of pernicious agitation. This moderate declaration of the government was pronounced by O'Connell to be "an excess of impudence and stupidity combined." His dangerous career was coming to an end. A meeting had been announced for the 8th of October at Clontarf, near Dublin. On the 7th a proclamation was agreed to by the Privy Council at Dublin, which, referring to the seditious language used at the monster meetings, declared the proposed assembly to be illegal. The demagogue was at once tamed. He called the Repeal Association together; and it was agreed that no meeting at Clontarf should take place. On the 14th Mr. O'Connell and his principal associates were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. The accused were admitted to bail; and after various pretexts for legal delays of which they availed themselves, it was finally determined that their trial should take place on the 15th of January, 1844.

At the prorogation of Parliament the Speaker addressed these words to her Majesty, upon a subject of great and permanent interest: "We have witnessed, with deep concern, the unhappy divisions which have occurred in the Church of Scotland, and which have led to the secession of many of her most valued ministers. We have endeavoured, we trust successfully, to heal those divisions, and to restore peace to an establishment which is fraught with such inestimable blessings to the inhabitants of that part of the United Kingdom." The "unhappy divisions" of the Scotch Church had been maturing for nine years, till, in 1843, the event occurred which is known as "The Disruption." In 1834 the differences which had existed for more than a century between the supporters of lay patronage, long known as the "Moderates," and the opposers of lay patronage, then recently termed "Non-Intrusionists," assumed a more important character than that of a war of pamphlets, by the Anti-patronage party obtaining a majority in the General Assembly, and passing a measure known as the Veto Act. The object of this Act was to make it a law of the Church that no presentee to a benefice was to be held fit to be ordained as minister of a parish unless he were acceptable to a majority of the parishioners. The mode of collecting the

opinions of a congregation was this: The Presbytery, when a presentee laid his presentation before them, appointed him to preach twice in the church, and they also appointed a day for "moderating in a call," or, in other words, for receiving dissents. If a majority of the male heads of families in communion with the church dissented, the presentee was rejected as an unfit person. In 1839 the question of a presentation to the parish of Auchterarder, in Perthshire, which had been agitated in the ecclesiastical courts, where the decision of the Presbytery against the presentation was confirmed, was finally decided on appeal in the House of Lords against the Presbytery. There was another case, that of Strathbogie, in which this important question was agitated under somewhat different circumstances, but in which the decisions of the ecclesiastical and civil courts were also at variance. The formal disruption of the Scotch Church took place at the meeting of the General Assembly on the 18th of May, 1843; when, before the roll of members was made up, Dr. Welsh, who had been Moderator of the preceding Assembly, read a protest against the constitution of the Assembly signed by 120 ministers and 73 lay elders. Those who had signed the protest and their adherents then left the Assembly in a body, and constituted in another place "The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland." Of this Assembly Dr. Chalmers was chosen as Moderator. On the 23rd of May the disruption was completed, by the seceders and many other clergymen who were members of the Assembly signing "An Act of Separation and Deed of Demission," which completely cut them off from the benefits as well as burdens of the Establishment. "Whatever previous differences of opinion existed, and whatever objections there were to a body such as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, entitled to legislate and adjudicate for its own interest and according to its own feelings, being exempt from the control of the courts of law, the sacrifice of emolument and station thus made elicited general respect and sympathy, and was creditable to the sincerity of those who made it."* The intervention of the legislature by passing "An Act to remove doubts respecting the admission of Ministers to benefices" presents one of many examples of the difficulty of legislating for unity in ecclesiastical establishments when conscientious scruples lead to separation. The Free Church pursued its course perfectly indifferent to the operation of a measure which was expected "to restore religious peace in Scotland." That peace was best promoted by leaving a people keenly alive to all questions of religious liberty to follow the impulses of their own feelings, in making an adequate provision throughout the land for a zealous and able body of ministers chosen and supported upon the voluntary principle. It may be mentioned that there was a secession from the Church of Scotland a century before the great difference which resulted in the Veto of 1834. This seceding body was called the "United Secession Church." There was a smaller body of seceders in the middle of the last century who formed the "Relief Church." In 1847 these two bodies coalesced and became the "United Presbyterian Church." They now constitute a most extensive organization, comprising nearly a fourth of the congregations of Scotland.

An important statute affecting the Church of England was passed in the

* English Cyclopædia : article, "Free Church of Scotland."

session of 1843. It was an Act for increasing the means of spiritual instruction in populous parishes, by making a portion of the revenues of the Church available for the endowment of additional ministers. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England were empowered to borrow 600,000*l.* from the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty for the purpose of forming districts for spiritual purposes in populous parishes with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, each such district to be permanently endowed and to become a new parish upon a new church being consecrated. The patronage of such new districts or parishes might be conferred, either in perpetuity or for one or more nominations, on any person or persons contributing to the permanent endowment of the minister or toward providing a church or chapel for the use of the inhabitants. The vast extension of church-building in this country, beyond the precedent of any former time, may to a considerable extent be attributed to this brief but important enactment.

The Annalist of 1843 says that his narrative of public events would be very imperfect if he did not include some particular notice of three popular movements in three different quarters of the United Kingdom. In one chapter of the "Annual Register" we find, therefore, the history of the Repeal agitation in Ireland, of the Secession from the Church of Scotland, and of the Rebecca riots in South Wales. There is no parity of interest in the abortive efforts to destroy the legislative union of two nations; in the great schism in an established church; and in what is dignified by the name of an insurrection for the removal of turnpike-gates. Yet if the historian were to consult only his own fancy in recording what is picturesque, the riots in Wales would furnish a much more spirit-stirring record than the most elaborate description of the popular ceremonials of the Hill of Tara, or of the procession of seceding ministers from St. Andrew's Church through the streets of Edinburgh to Canonmills Hall, four abreast. We must tell the story of Rebecca and her daughters as briefly as we can under the temptation it affords for graphic details. It is recorded that when the first turnpike upon "the ancient highway and post-road leading from London to York and so into Scotland" was established in 1663, the toll was so unpopular that "the mob" broke the toll-gates. "The mob" is rather a loose term to apply to the drovers, swineherds, pack-horse carriers, and waggoners, of the days of Charles II., who would rather have floundered through roads described in the first Turnpike Act as "almost impassable and very dangerous to his majesty's liege people," than pay the somewhat heavy toll which the Act prescribed. But even in those very insecure times, when the parish constable was the chief instrument for preserving the peace of the realm, we hear of no general insurrection in Middlesex, or Hertford, or Cambridge, or Huntingdon, to pull down the toll-gates and injure the toll-keepers. At the beginning of 1843, in the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen, there suddenly appeared at nightfall a body of horsemen under the command of a leader who wore a female dress, and who was generally surrounded with a body-guard in similar costume. These were Rebecca and her daughters, and their commission was derived from the following verse in the twenty-fourth chapter of Genesis: "And they blessed Rebecca, and said unto her, Thou art our sister, be thou the mother of thousands of millions, and let thy seed possess the *gate* of those which hate them." Rebecca wa

ubiquitous; for wherever there was a gathering for the purpose of a nocturnal assemblage, there was a Rebecca. Amidst the blowing of horns and the firing of guns such a body of men would arrive at a turnpike gate, and immediately proceed to break the gate into fragments, saw off the posts close to the ground, and pull down the toll-house. This remarkable combination soon extended to all the South Welsh counties, with the exception of Brecknockshire. The disturbances were not confined to any peculiarly obnoxious locality. There was one indiscriminate onslaught upon the turnpike system, and so successful were these operations during the spring and summer that nearly all the roads in the autumn were practically toll free. When bodies of ignorant and lawless men feel their physical strength, they are easily induced to believe that this power is sufficient to bid defiance to the law, for the removal of every supposed grievance. The local magistrates were unable to contend with Rebecca; and Rebecca was very soon set up as an authority to provide summary redress against Poor Laws, and Tithes, and heavy rents, and all other evils which small occupiers of land, little elevated above the condition of common labourers, believed themselves peculiarly subjected to. On the 10th of June a large body marched into Caermarthen, consisting of some thousands on foot and three hundred on horseback. Their purpose was to pull down the workhouse. Their excesses were stopped in the middle of their career of destruction by the arrival of a troop of cavalry who had ridden thirty miles without drawing bit. The whole province was gradually falling into the condition of the worst parts of Ireland. Intimidation by threatening letters had become general; landowners, clergymen, and magistrates were kept in terror of the vengeance of Rebecca; the law was so utterly suspended that when an old woman who kept a turnpike gate was deliberately shot by one of the rioters, and the fact of her murder was distinctly made out to a coroner's jury, they returned a verdict that she died from suffusion of blood which produced suffocation. The government at last sent down a large body of troops into Wales, and, what was equally serviceable, they also sent a detachment of that active and intelligent body, the London Police, who were everywhere engaged in tracing the secret agencies by which this extraordinary conspiracy had been conducted. A Special Commission was appointed for the trial of the offenders, and three of the leaders were sentenced to transportation. The Turnpike Acts in force in Wales were in many instances oppressive and unequal. A government Commission of Inquiry was appointed to examine into the operation of these laws, and into the other causes of disturbance. Ignorance and poverty were at the root of the matter; but the especial object of the Rebecca organization ceased to be a cause of complaint and agitation, after the passing of an Act in the next Session of Parliament for the Consolidation and Amendment of the Laws relating to Turnpike Trusts in South Wales.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

General Sir Charles Napier—War in Scinde—Destruction of Emaun-Ghur—Battle of Meanee—Annexation of Scinde—Napier the beneficent Administrator—Gwalior—Recall of Lord Ellenborough—Trial of O'Connell—Debates on Corn Laws in the Session of 1844—Position of Sir Robert Peel—Renewal of the Bank Charter—Regulation of Labour in Factories—Lord Ashley's ten-hours' Clause rejected—Debates on Sugar-Duties—Opening Letters by the Secretary of State—Reports of Committees—Lady Hewlet's bequest—O'Connell's Sentence reversed by the House of Lords—Difference with France on the treatment of the British Consul at Tahiti—Visit of King Louis Philippe to the Queen—Prince de Joinville's Pamphlet on the Naval Forces of France.

IN Trafalgar Square, under the shadow of the Nelson Column, is a statue of "Charles James Napier, General." The inscription bears that it was "erected by Public Subscription, the most numerous Contributors being Private Soldiers." This renowned warrior is ordinarily termed "Conqueror of Scinde." By the side of this figure was erected, also by public subscription, a statue of one of the scientific benefactors of the human race, Edward Jenner. That statue has been removed to Kensington Gardens. An objection was raised that one whose science had so materially conduced to the prolongation of life, and to the consequent increase of the population of the world, was somewhat out of place in his close proximity to a great soldier—especially great in the estimation of the "Private Soldiers" whom he had led to triumph—whose vocation was, according to the belief of an ancient poet, "to ease the earth of her too numerous sons." But the "Conqueror of Scinde," taking a broad and just view of his career, was a promoter of civilization, by which alone the earth is adequately peopled; and thus he had also a claim to be recorded as a benefactor of mankind in his successful endeavour to make his conquest a source of good to the conquered people. He was the just and beneficent Administrator of Scinde. His "victories of Peace" are "not less renowned than those of War." He was the warlike instrument of injustice; but the aggression, which resulted in triumphs as brilliant and as decisive as any other of the wonderful events of the career of the British in India, may be received as a remarkable addition to the many instances of dangers and difficulties overcome, as if for some special working out of the decrees of a superintending Providence, which does not permit the supremacy of a dominant nation for the gratification of its own ambition, but through that agency carries forward the great law of Progress.

Scinde, a country capable of an almost boundless increase of agricultural and commercial wealth, having the river which bears its name (as well as that of Indus) flowing through its whole extent, was, in 1842, under the rule of a body of despotic nobles, the Ameers, who about seventy years before had dispossessed the legitimate sovereigns. The original inhabitants, who groaned beneath the yoke of these conquerors, cultivated the fields less for themselves than for their tyrannous masters, to whom the land was little better than a hunting ground, whilst their idea of government was simply that of exacting tribute by their fierce military retainers, the Beloochees. Whatever were the relations of these rulers to the people whom they misgoverned, the British authorities in India had repeatedly entered into treaties with them, and in the treaty of 1820 these words were used: "The two contracting parties mutually bind themselves from generation to generation never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." But the passage of troops through Scinde was necessary for carrying on the war with Afghanistan. The Ameers remonstrated, but were compelled to yield. Something more was required by a subsequent treaty. Kurrachee and Tatta were ceded to the British, with power to station troops there; and the free navigation of the Indus was stipulated as another condition of our friendship. At an earlier period some of the Ameers had expressed their fears that Scinde was gone—"the English have seen the river." After we had withdrawn from Ghuznee, and when the terror of the British name was no longer sufficient to command a compliance with enforced engagements, the Ameers began to manifest hostile designs. Sir Charles Napier, having learned that they had assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, resolved upon a direct and immediate act of hostility, instead of allowing them to gain time by delays and negotiations. He "had permission," he has said, "from the Governor-General to assemble an immense force to impose his final treaty;" he told the Governor-General it could be done with the troops he, Napier, already commanded. Boldness and promptitude in this short war effected more than unlimited reinforcements. Emaun-Ghur, in the desert of Beloochistan, was a stronghold where the mercenaries of the Ameers could gather together, safe from pursuit. Napier resolved to attack this fortress, whither upon his approach a large body of troops were marching. But having ascertained that the Beloochees had mutinied and turned back upon reaching the wilderness where there was no water, he saw that a march of eight days from the Indus was impossible for a numerous army. On the night of the 5th of January, 1843, he commenced a perilous adventure. With three hundred and sixty of the 22nd Queen's regiment on camels, with two hundred of the irregular cavalry, with ten camels laden with provisions and with eighty carrying water, he set forth to traverse the arid waste, defying the armed bands on every side. After a few days the camels which drew the howitzers were unable to drag them over the sand-hills, and the unshrinking Irish soldiers took their place. When the fortress, which no European eye had before seen, was reached, it was found deserted. The governor had fled with his treasure, but he had left immense stores of ammunition behind. Napier resolved to destroy Emaun-Ghur; and having mined it in twenty-four places, by a simultaneous explosion all the mighty walls of the square tower, which stood as it were the monarch of the vast solitude, crumbled into atoms, and the wild bands

who went forth to plunder and harass the populous Scinde, had to retire still further into the desert. Napier and his hardy companions, after undergoing great privations on their march back by a different route, rejoined the main army on the 23rd near Hyderabad. In the House of Lords in 1844, upon a motion for the thanks of Parliament to Sir Charles Napier and his army, the duke of Wellington said that the march to Emaun-Ghur was one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed, or had ever perused an account of.

The British Resident at Hyderabad was Major Outram. On the 12th of February, the Ameers with one exception, the Ameer of Khyrpore, signed the treaty which in the previous December had been tendered to them, and which, as was to have been expected from its hard conditions, they had evaded signing. This was Lord Ellenborough's "final treaty," which Napier was to have imposed upon them by an immense force. The day after the signature Major Outram was attacked in the Residency by eight thousand Beloochees. He had only a hundred foot-soldiers with him. In the river, however, there were two war steamers. To these he effected his retreat, by presenting a bold front to his assailants, whilst the guns of the steamers swept the flanks of the pursuers. With the loss only of three men killed and two wounded the gallant officer joined the main army. The force which Napier commanded could scarcely however be termed an army, if that name is to be applied only to a large body of soldiers. It consisted of four hundred British of the 22nd, and two thousand two hundred sepoy and other native troops. The 22nd were under the command of Colonel Pennefather, a name of renown in the Crimean war. The artillery consisted of twelve guns. With this force the battle of Meanee was fought on the 17th of February. On this day Napier wrote in his journal, "It is my first battle as a commander: it may be my last. At sixty, that makes little difference; but my feelings are, it shall be *do or die*." Whatever deeds have been done by heroic Englishmen under the inspiration of duty, never was there a greater deed of warfare than the victory of Meanee, which was won by two thousand six hundred men against twenty-two thousand. The Beloochees were posted on a slope behind the bed of the river Fulailee, which was for the most part dry. The half-mile between the two armies was rapidly passed; the bed of the river was crossed; up the slope ran the intrepid 22nd, and from the ridge looked down upon the Beloochees "thick as standing corn." The Beloochees covering their heads with their large dark shields, and waving their bright swords in the sun, rushed with frantic gestures upon the front of the 22nd. The Irish soldiers, with shouts as loud and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, met them with the bayonet, and "sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood."* The native infantry came up; the artillery took a commanding position, and mowed down the Beloochees with round-shot and canister. Upon the slope went on the deadly conflict for three hours, the assailants rushing upwards against an enemy who resolutely held his ground, the gaps in his ranks being closed up as fast as they were made. The result was at one time uncertain. The greater number of the European officers were killed or wounded. Napier was in the thick of the fight, and though surrounded by enemies was

* Sir W. Napier.

unharméd. Had he fallen, there would have been a tale to be told of rashness courting destruction. Like Nelson, his daring was his safety; but then it was under the direction of his genius. He saw, what the eye only of a great commander can see, the opportunity for closing a doubtful struggle by one decisive blow. He ordered a charge of cavalry. Defying the guns on the top of the ridge, the chosen band of horsemen charged right into the enemy's camp. Those who had so long stood firm on the hill fell into confusion. The 22nd and the sepoy's gained the ridge, and drove the Beloochees over. The mighty host of the Ameers was thus beaten by a handful of troops led on to victory by one who had gained his experience in the great battles of the Peninsula; by one who knew that large masses of men, however brave and strong, are comparatively weak unless their movements are directed by some master-mind, bold in the conception of his plans, cool in their execution, and having all the resources of strategy at his command at the instant when all would be lost by ignorance or incertitude.

Sir Charles Napier followed up his victory the next day by a message sent into Hyderabad that he would storm the city unless it surrendered. Six of the Ameers came out, and laid their swords at his feet. He returned their jewelled weapons to the humbled chiefs. He refused to intrude upon their privacy by occupying their splendid palaces, heroically abiding in his humble tent. There was another enemy yet unsubdued—Shere Mahomed of Meerpoor. On the 24th of March Napier, who had been reinforced and had now five thousand troops, attacked this chief who had come with twenty thousand Beloochees before the walls of Hyderabad to recover the city. It was a hard-earned victory, which was followed up by the British occupation of Meerpoor. The spirit of the Beloochees was so broken that after two slight actions in June, when Shere Mahomed was routed and fled into the desert, the war was at an end. Scinde was annexed to the British possessions, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed its Governor. He ruled the country for four years. He saw the great natural resources of Scinde, and he led the way in rendering them available for commercial purposes by costly public works. The great branch of the Indus was opened to restore the fertility of Cutch. A gigantic pier was constructed at Kurrachee, by which a secure harbour was formed; and now the port is connected with the Indus by a railway. He made the revenue of the province sufficient to support the expenditure for its civil and political administration. But above all, he made the native population prosperous and contented under the British rule. The state of the people under his wise government is thus described by the historian of the Scinde war: "The labourer cultivates in security his land; the handicraftsman, no longer dreading mutilation of his nose or ears for demanding remuneration for his work, is returning from the countries to which he had fled, allured back by good wages and employment. Young girls are no longer torn from their families to fill the zenanas of the great, or sold into distant slavery. The Hindoo merchant and Parsee trafficker pursue their vocation with safety and confidence; and even the proud Beloochee warrior, not incapable of noble sentiments, though harsh and savage, remains content with a government which has not meddled with his right of subsistence, but only changed his feudal ties into a peaceful and warlike dependence. He has, moreover, become personally attached to a conqueror whose prowess he has felt in battle, and

whose justice and generosity he has experienced in peace."* The best proof that this high praise is not exaggerated is furnished by the fact that during the great period of danger through which we have passed, when so many enemies of the British power raised their heads in revolt, Scinde was faithful.

The close of the year 1843 was marked by another great military success in India. The state of Gwalior was in 1804 placed under the protection of the British government. The successor of the Rajah who died in 1843 was a minor, and a Regent was appointed, with the approbation of the Governor-General. The Regent was expelled by the Mahrattas, and the British Resident was insulted. Lord Ellenborough, to whom war appeared a noble pastime in which an amateur might laudably indulge, immediately sent Sir Hugh Gough from Agra with fourteen thousand troops; and on the 29th of December he fought the battle of Maharajpooor, when the Mahrattas were defeated with great loss. On the same day, Major-General Grey also defeated the Mahrattas at Punniar. The usurping government immediately submitted, and the strong fortress of Gwalior was occupied by a British governor. These warlike proceedings, however brilliant and successful, were not acceptable to the majority in the direction of the East India Company. In Parliament, on the 21st of April, 1844, Sir Robert Peel, in answer to a question put to him by Mr. Macaulay, said, "I beg to state that on Wednesday last Her Majesty's Government received a communication from the Court of Directors, that they had exercised the power which the law gives them to recall at their will and pleasure the Governor-General of India." There were loud cheers from the Opposition benches. Mr. Macaulay then stated that he should not now bring forward a motion of which he had given notice respecting the occupation of Gwalior. In the House of Lords the duke of Wellington declared that the Government had not concurred in the measure adopted. There was a prevailing opinion in Parliament and in the country that the recall of a Governor-General upon their sole authority was a dangerous power to be entrusted to the Court of Directors; nevertheless there was a feeling that India would be safer under Sir Henry Hardinge, who had seen too much of war to be inflated by its "pride, pomp, and circumstance."

When the Session of Parliament was opened by the Queen on the 1st of February, 1844, there was a State trial proceeding in Ireland, which excited more attention throughout the country even than the royal speech. This speech could not avoid an indirect reference to the circumstances which had placed Daniel O'Connell and seven others at the bar of their country. It was the fifteenth day of this trial in the Court of Queen's Bench, in Dublin. At this remarkable juncture her Majesty said to the Lords and Commons—and she uttered these words with a marked emphasis—"At the close of the last Session of Parliament, I declared to you my firm determination to maintain inviolate the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. I expressed at the same time my earnest desire to co-operate with Parliament in the adoption of all such measures as might tend to improve the social condition of Ireland, and to develop the natural resources of that part of the United Kingdom. I am resolved to act in strict conformity with that declaration." It was the 12th

* Sir W. Napier.

of February, the twenty-fourth day of the trial, when O'Connell and the other traversers were, under various counts of the indictment, found guilty of conspiracy. As the Queen's speech could not offer "observations on events in Ireland, in respect to which proceedings are pending before the proper legal tribunal," so the attack upon the policy of the government, which was inevitable, could not be opened with propriety whilst the great legal issue was in suspense. But on the 13th of February the question was raised in both Houses. The marquis of Normanby moved a resolution pledging the House of Lords to examine into the causes of the discontent prevalent in Ireland, and to carry into effect the true principles of Union by securing to that country equal rights. After two nights' debate the Resolution was rejected by 175 votes against 78. In the House of Commons, lord John Russell moved for a Committee of the whole House on the state of Ireland. The debate was continued for nine nights, Mr. O'Connell himself taking a part in it. It would be wearisome to attempt to follow its course, even in the barest outline. Perhaps the most impressive as well as the most truthful sentiment uttered was contained in the conclusion of sir Robert Peel's speech: "I do earnestly trust that the influence of public opinion, as well as that of the laws, may control this agitation—may convince those who are concerned in it, that they are prejudicing the best interests of Ireland—impeding its improvement, preventing the application of capital, and hindering the redress of those grievances which can, I think, be better redressed by the application of individual enterprise than by almost any legislative interference. I have the firmest conviction that, if there were calmness and tranquillity in Ireland, there is no part of the British dominions which would make such rapid progress as that country; for I know that there are facilities for improvement, opportunities for improvement, which would make that advance more rapid than that of any other part of our empire. I do hope—and I will conclude by expressing that earnest hope,—that this agitation and all its evil consequences may be permitted to cease."* On the division on the 23rd February the numbers for lord John Russell's motion were, 225,—against it 324. The sentence against Mr. O'Connell was not pronounced till the 30th of May, when he was adjudged to be imprisoned for twelve months; to be fined 2000*l.*; and to be bound in his own recognizances, and by two sureties, to keep the peace for seven years. The other persons convicted, with the exception of one not brought up for judgment, were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, and to a fine of 50*l.*, with smaller sums for their own recognizances, with sureties, to keep the peace for the like terms of seven years.

When sir Robert Peel met the House of Commons in the Session of 1844, he was enabled with justice to take a favourable view of the condition of the country as the best justification of his financial policy of 1842. There had been a disposition, he said, to draw too hasty a conclusion as to the operation of the great change in the Customs' Duties. The Government had asked for time properly to judge what would be the effect of that alteration. It was now admitted that there was a material improvement in some branches of manufacture. With regard to Revenue, he was enabled to state that the

* Hansard, vol. lxxiii. col. 254.

course of deficiency had been suspended, and that the revenue of the current year would be amply sufficient to meet the existing charges. He explicitly declared that he had not contemplated, and did not contemplate, an alteration in the present Corn-Laws. Neither on account of the price of corn, nor on account of variations in that price, was he led to form a more unfavourable opinion with respect to the operations of the existing law, than he entertained at the time when he proposed it.

The improvement in the condition of the people was attributed by members of the Opposition less to the measures of the Government than to the effects of a plentiful harvest. To this cause may be ascribed the diminished agitation for the repeal of the Corn-Laws. But the League held firmly together, and continued its salutary course of endeavouring to enlighten the public upon the permanent results of those laws. During the Session there were two formal discussions on the subject of Protection to Agriculture. Mr. Cobden, on the 12th of March, moved for a Committee to inquire into the effects of protective duties on agricultural tenants and labourers. The motion was negatived by a majority of 91. On the 25th of June, Mr. Villiers proposed Resolutions which contemplated the total repeal of the Corn-Law. These Resolutions, after a debate of two nights, were rejected by a majority of 204. In this debate, as at the beginning of the Session, sir Robert Peel maintained his determination to stand by the existing law. He avowed himself an advocate for protection to agriculture, not for the sake of the landlords, but from a conviction of the evils which the sudden removal of protection would inflict upon general interests, domestic and colonial. He looked to those general interests; he looked especially to Ireland, of which agriculture was the great staple.

The principles avowed and the measures proposed by sir Robert Peel in his legislative career must be viewed under two aspects. He is the minister of expediency, holding a party together by deference to the opinions of the majority that placed him in power, and in this capacity we may always trace in his speeches some evasion of the logical points of a controversy—some inclination to skirmish on the outside of the field of debate instead of encountering the risks of a general conflict of principles. Thus he always deals with the question of Protection, and especially of Protection to Agriculture. His adversaries tell him again and again that he is speaking against his own convictions. Mr. Villiers closed the debate of the 25th of June, by saying that sir Robert Peel had just made a speech with which the agriculturists were well pleased; but he had made the same sort of speech for them in 1839, and had thrown them overboard afterwards, because the state of the season and the distress of the people had made it indispensable to give some relief to the country: the same thing would happen again. Mr. Milner Gibson averred that sir Robert Peel would not say that he meant to make Protection permanent, but his will must give law to his party, for they could not make a Ministry without him. As a party-leader we must therefore regard the First Lord of the Treasury when he deals with questions upon which the majority appeared to be irrevocably committed. Now and then, indeed, there was a slight indication that the powerful minister, under some pressure of circumstances, might think for himself, and risk the consequences of an independent judgment. The extreme Protectionists were occasionally rest-

less and suspicious under his reserved and cautious demeanour. There were men amongst them quite ready to become their leaders in the character of advocates; but the doubt always arose—could they govern as statesmen? The nation forbade the experiment in its support of the temperate Conservatism of sir Robert Peel. Those who suspected more than ever that he was losing the “undoubting mind” of a party-leader, could not affirm that he was acting against a secret conscientious belief that should have urged him forward with or without his following. For him, the abandonment of Protection was not a purely scientific question. Representative Government imposed upon him, for a time at least, the inevitable distinction between speculation and action. Essentially different was the course of the minister when some great policy could be safely treated without reference to the chances of a Division. When such an occasion arose, the timid partizan threw off his trammels and became the confident legislator.

The question of the renewal of the Bank Charter furnished such an opportunity, which real statesmanship knew how to seize. He was now consistently acting upon principles which he had tardily adopted upon conviction a quarter of a century before. Considering, he said, the part which he took in 1819 in terminating the system of inconvertible paper-currency, and in re-establishing the ancient standard of value, it would be to him a source of great personal satisfaction, if he should obtain the assent of Parliament to proposals, which were in fact the complement of these measures,—which were calculated to guarantee their permanence and to facilitate their practical operation. He chiefly looked forward as the result of these proposals to the mitigation or termination of evils such as had at various times afflicted the country, in consequence of rapid fluctuation in the amount and value of the medium of exchange. The leading proposals which he submitted to the House of Commons on the 6th of May, were, briefly, as follows:—To continue for a limited time, under certain conditions, the privileges of the Bank of England; to provide by law that the Bank should be divided into two departments, one confined to the issue and circulation of notes, the other to the conduct of banking business; to limit the amount of securities upon which it should be lawful for the Bank to issue Promissory Notes payable upon demand; to provide that a weekly publication should be made by the Bank of the state both of the circulation and the banking departments. With regard to other banks, the issue of promissory notes payable to bearer on demand was prohibited to any bank not then issuing such notes, or to any bank hereafter to be established; and the banks of issue that were to continue were to be subject to limitations of the extent of issue, and to various regulations, including the weekly publication of the amount of notes issued. The Bill founded on sir Robert Peel's Resolutions was carried, with very slight opposition, through both Houses. M. Guizot says, “he keenly enjoyed that success; and delighted to speak of his Bank Act as one of the most important achievements of his public life. Perhaps because it was one of those in which he most fully succeeded in obtaining the object which was ever present to his mind—the union of scientific truth with practical efficiency.”* Eighteen years have gone by since the passing

* “Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel,” p. 191.

of this measure; and unquestionably its "practical efficiency" has often been tested in times of improvident speculation. On the other hand, whilst the advocates for unlimited paper currency maintained that the "scientific truth" shackled all the operations of industry, which would have flourished with less risk under a perfectly free system of banking, more sober economists could not suppress their belief that, in a season of commercial collapse, the Bank Act increased the difficulties of the crisis, and made a season of pressure become a season of ruin to a far wider class than that of rash speculators.

In the Session of 1843 the Ministry had brought forward a measure for the Regulation of Labour in Factories, which embraced a comprehensive plan for the education of the children employed in the large and increasing establishments where the cotton, flax, wool, and silk manufactures were carried on. These education clauses produced an outcry throughout the kingdom, equally strong from Churchmen and from Dissenters; so that the Government was compelled by the hostility of sects and parties to make no provision at all for the proper training of a class of children who, with a very few exceptions in the case of some enlightened millowners, were left in their ignorance and evil habits to grow up into brutalized and dangerous men and women. Sir James Graham, who had assiduously laboured in the construction of an efficient plan of factory education, was thus compelled, after his measure had been four months under discussion in Parliament, to announce that he would not in that Session press the education clauses in the Factories Bill. He had made alterations, he said, which had not abated the hostility of the Dissenters; the Church had not given him any very cordial support; and without general concord and co-operation the Bill would be inoperative, and would engender religious strife and animosity. Early in the Session of 1844 sir James Graham again introduced a Bill for the Regulation of Labour in Factories; but the education clauses of the former Bill were now dropped; and, without any provision whatever for education, the sole object aimed at was a proper limitation of the hours of employment for women and children. The House was in Committee on this Bill on the 15th of March, when upon the discussion of the interpretation clause which defined the word "Night," and the word "Meal-time," lord Ashley proposed an amendment, "that the word 'night' shall be taken to mean from six o'clock in the evening to six o'clock in the following morning; and that the word 'meal-time' shall be taken to mean an interval of cessation from work, for the purpose of rest and refreshment, at the rate of two hours a day; with a view to effect a limitation of the hours of labour to ten in the day." Sir James Graham opposed this amendment, which he asserted would seriously affect the commercial prosperity of the country, reducing the returns on capital, and involving a diminution of wages to the amount of twenty-five per cent. The government Bill proposed to retain the existing term of twelve hours of factory labour, extending protection to females and young persons. Sir Robert Peel maintained that the opposite suggestion for the limitation of labour to ten hours for females and young persons, would produce a limitation to ten hours for male adults also. The most urgent argument that sir Robert Peel used was founded upon statistical facts. The exports of the cotton, linen, silk, and woollen manufactures of the country amounted to

thirty-five millions sterling out of forty-four millions of all British manufactures exported; so that five-sixths of the exported manufactures of this country would be subjected to a new law, which was to provide that it would not be legal to labour at them for more than fifty-nine hours instead of sixty-nine hours a week; the Saturday being proposed by lord Ashley to remain without alteration. There would thus be two hundred and fifty days in a year, of which the working hours being reduced from twelve to ten, there would be five hundred hours less labour during fifty-two weeks, which would be equivalent to a loss of seven weeks' working time. Singular were some of the arguments by which lord Ashley's proposal was supported. Lord John Russell, for example, would vote for it in the hope that a limitation in the hours of labour would compel us to resort to additional supplies of foreign corn to counteract the effect of falling wages. The government were defeated, lord Ashley carrying his amendment by one hundred and seventy-nine votes against one hundred and seventy. Sir James Graham said that the proposed alteration, when the eighth clause came to be discussed, could be considered in a more substantive form. The next night lord Ashley stated that he should so word his clause, that for two years the limitation should be for eleven hours, and that after that period the ten hours' restriction should take effect. On the 22nd, when the government strongly opposed the amendment of their Bill in this modified shape, the debate was terminated by two divisions, one of which was contradictory of the other. Upon the proposal to fill up the blank in the clause with the word "twelve," one hundred and eighty-three voted in favour of the motion, and one hundred and eighty-six against it. The House again dividing on the motion that the blank be filled up with the word "ten," for the motion there were one hundred and eighty-one votes, against it one hundred and eighty-eight. In various and complicated shapes this question continued to be discussed for two months, till on the 13th of May, sir Robert Peel, having declared that, estimating that a ten hours' Bill would strike off thirty-six thousand pounds a week from the wages of those employed, and believing it was the duty of the government to take a comprehensive view of all the great interests, commercial, political, social, and moral, of all classes, he would resist the wishes of the factory operatives in order to promote their welfare. "I protest," he said, "against the doctrine, that we are to concede because it is the popular will. If we are satisfied that it is not for the popular interests, then it is our painful but necessary duty to resist. If this House be of a different opinion—if you are satisfied that you must make this great experiment on labour—or if you think concession is inevitable, and that you must give way to the wishes and feelings of the people—be it so! But if you take that course, and if you resolve (as you cannot but do in consistency) to pursue it, you must—I say it with all respect—you must do so under other auspices, and under guides who can trace a clearer and a better way than can the present administration." This very plain intimation, which the biographer of sir Robert Peel describes as "using his right with a somewhat ungentle haughtiness," produced its natural effect. The House rejected the ten hours' clause by a majority of one hundred and thirty-eight, and the government Bill was passed.

The question of the Sugar Duties, which was formerly debated less on

financial grounds than on moral and religious, has now lost, in the equalization of duties between colonial and foreign sugar, the interest which once attached to the strong repugnance of a great party to admit slave-grown sugar. Upon commercial grounds there were also two parties, whose interests and principles were strongly opposed. The West India interest resisted that enlargement of the area of supply which would result from the admission of any other than colonial sugar. With them went the formidable Anti-slavery party. The Free-Traders, constantly protesting against the preference of colonial over foreign sugar, had against them the great band of enthusiasts who regarded slave-grown sugar as the abomination which every good housewife ought to resist, by supporting that monopoly of the West India proprietors which was quite insufficient to supply the demand in this country, and therefore kept all sugar dear. The government in 1844 still held to the principle of a differential duty; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 3rd of June, proposed an abatement of the duty on foreign sugar provided it was the produce of free labour. Upon a proposition of Mr. Miles, a conservative member, for reducing the duty upon British plantation sugar to 20s. per cwt. instead of 24s., and foreign free-grown sugar to 30s., the government were defeated by a majority of two hundred and forty-one against two hundred and twenty-one. This division was a great crisis for the ministry. The division took place on a Saturday morning. On the Sunday a Cabinet Council was held, and on the Monday sir Robert Peel, amidst intense excitement, called upon the House to reconsider its decision, of which important consequences might be the result. This was to declare, in words that could not be mistaken, that if he were to continue in office he must have the full and untrammelled support of the party he represented. The House did reconsider, reversing its decision by a majority of two hundred and fifty-five against two hundred and thirty-three. It was on the occasion of this debate that Mr. Disraeli, with a more marked hostility towards sir Robert Peel than he had before displayed, adverted to the former opinions of the Prime Minister, when he said that he had never entered into the Anti-slavery cry, and would never enter into the cry of "Cheap Sugar." "Now the right honourable gentleman had adopted certain opinions of a very decided character with respect to slavery; and he told the House cheap sugar was of such importance that the existence of his ministry depended upon it, and that the character of his supporters must be sacrificed to secure his ministry. Twenty-four months had only elapsed, and the right honourable gentleman came forward with a detestation of slavery in every place—except in the benches behind him. If the Anti-slavery repugnance were only a little more prevalent—if the right honourable gentleman did not expect upon every division, and at every crisis, that his gang should appear, and the whip should sound with that alacrity which he understood was now prevalent—it would be a little more consistent with the tone which he assumed with respect to the slave-trade, and with that which was now the principal subject of discussion."

The great questions, financial and social, whose decision was to have a permanent influence upon the progress of improvement, produced little excitement beyond the walls of parliament compared with one ministerial act, which startled the nation for awhile and then quickly passed into oblivion. The

British people are, as they ought to be, excessively jealous of any secret and apparently despotic exercise of power by the executive government. The power of issuing a warrant from the Secretary of State for the opening of letters at the Post Office had been exercised, under the sanction of the law, from the very first formation of that institution. It was the express condition in the preamble to the early Acts of Parliament relating to the Post that the government should have this power. In subsequent statutes the power had been confirmed, with certain modifications, even as recently as at the accession of Queen Victoria. There could be no question about the law of the case, and the power had been exercised by Secretaries of State of all parties, without any apprehension that in a discreet use of this right they had violated the great principles of English liberty; from Mr. Fox to lord John Russell they believed that such a power was necessary to the safety of the State. On the 14th of June Mr. Thomas Duncombe presented a petition to the House of Commons from Serafino Calderara, Joseph Mazzini, W. J. Linton, and Wm. Lovett, complaining that their letters had been opened at the Post Office. Sir James Graham stated that, under the power of the act of 1837, which consolidated previous laws, he had given a warrant, no longer in existence, to open the letters of one of the petitioners, whom he did not wish to name. On the 24th of June Mr. Duncombe moved for a Committee of Inquiry, which was refused by a majority of forty-four. For some weeks the country became agitated with a prevailing belief that no letters were safe; that there was an extensive spy-system conducted within an inner chamber of the Post Office. There were few who did not to some extent adopt the declaration of the four petitioners, "that they considered such a practice, introducing as it did the spy-system of foreign states, as repugnant to every principle of the British constitution, and subversive of the public confidence which was so essential to a commercial country." This was indeed a fertile theme for journalists and caricaturists. Continental nations looked on with astonishment at the ebullition of popular rage at an act which appeared to them the simplest and most natural course of a government to pursue. They were accustomed to much stronger displays of bureaucratic power. Sir James Graham, it soon became understood, had thus endeavoured to trace the intrigues of one distinguished foreign enthusiast, whose designs he was powerless to repress in a country where aliens were subjected to no stringent supervision. Wisely did the ministers resolve at last, that the disclosures of all the facts in a full inquiry was the best mode of setting themselves right in public opinion. On the 2nd of July sir James Graham expressed his anxiety for inquiry; and when Mr. Duncombe moved again for a Committee, the suspected Secretary of State, whilst proposing that the Committee should be secret, moved that it should consist of nine persons, none of whom should be connected with office, and five of whom should be selected from the Opposition. This fairness went far to disarm the public hostility. In August the Committee made their Report. It is a most interesting and elaborate review of the history of the practice, from the time of the statute of Anne in 1711, to that of its exercise in 1844. The Committee reported that the general average of the warrants during the present century did not much exceed eight a year. A similar Committee was formed in the House of Lords. Their Report showed that since 1822, one hundred and eighty-two warrants had

been issued, averaging about eight per annum; two-thirds of which had been for the purpose of tracing persons accused of offences, or of tracing property embezzled by suspected offenders. The warrants for detention of letters, at periods when the circumstances of the country seemed to threaten public tranquillity, had scarcely, upon an average of twenty-one years, exceeded two warrants annually in Great Britain. After the publication of these Reports the people were effectually tranquillized; the advertisers of secure envelopes and anti-Graham wafers ceased to find customers; the law remained unaltered. There was a generous motive for the indignation expressed at the opening of the letters of Señor Mazzini, for it was understood that he was the one petitioner to whom the warrant of sir James Graham applied. It was said that this warrant was issued at the instance of the Sardinian minister. The duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, declared that he was enabled to state that there was no foundation whatever for such a rumour. The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons related that the warrant to open and detain letters addressed to Mazzini was issued on the 1st of March and was cancelled on the 3rd of June; that representations had been made to the government that plots, of which he was the centre, were carrying on upon British territory to excite an insurrection in Italy; that the information, calculated to frustrate this attempt, which was deduced from the letters so opened, was communicated to a foreign power; but the information so communicated was not of a nature to compromise, and did not compromise, the safety of any individual within the reach of that foreign power, nor was it made known to that power by what means, or from what source, such information had been obtained.

An Act of this Session for the "Regulation of Suits relating to Meeting-Houses and other Property held for Religious Purposes by Persons dissenting from the United Church of England and Ireland," was a measure of justice promoted and carried through by the Government. In the time of Charles the Second there was a bequest of certain manors in York in trust to support "godly preachers of Christ's holy gospel." The lady Hewlet, who made this bequest, was a dissenter, and the terms "godly preachers" was sufficient to indicate that the bequest was not intended for the benefit of the Church of England; neither could the sect of Unitarians which afterwards arose have been held as "godly preachers" in the seventeenth century. But after the lapse of many years the Trinitarian sectaries to which lady Hewlet belonged, gradually became Unitarians. Other dissenters, however, held that those in possession had no legal right to the benefit of the bequest, having forfeited it when they abandoned the doctrine which she considered that of "Christ's holy gospel." After a suit of fourteen years, and an appeal to the House of Lords, the judgment of the Court of Chancery was confirmed, that the Unitarians were excluded from the bequest, and that the Trinitarian Protestant dissenters ought to be the possessors of the property. To put an end to the recurrence of similar disputes, lord Lyndhurst brought in a bill, which, however, was strenuously opposed in and out of parliament. The principal object of the Bill was to confirm in the full possession of their establishments any society of Protestant dissenters which had been in possession of them for twenty years. The bishop of London opposed the Bill, on the ground that it legalized the use of chapels for purposes

entirely contrary to that for which they were founded. But there was another object in the Bill which provoked a wider opposition. Previous to a statute of 1813, the exceptions to the Act of Toleration which exclusively affected Unitarians had continued in force; in repealing these exceptions the Legislature had not made the Act retrospective. It was the intention of the present Bill to give Unitarians as firm a possession of their ancient property as of that which they had acquired since the statute of 1813. This measure generally was denounced by certain portions of what is called the Religious World as being solely for the benefit of a sect; which other sects, suspending their own differences to unite against a community, rich and intelligent indeed, but a mere fraction as to its numbers,—denounced as standing outside the pale of Christianity. Nevertheless in both Houses the Bill, with an alteration of the term of occupancy from twenty to twenty-five years, was passed by large majorities.

The actual prorogation of parliament was deferred for a month later than was required by the exigencies of public business. On the 9th of August lord John Russell took a survey of the general condition of the country, his speech being remarkable for the absence of party spirit. Sir Robert Peel recapitulated the measures of the Session, which he said was distinguished for important and efficient legislation. The House of Commons then adjourned to the 5th of September. The House of Lords was engaged in one of the most important functions of that body, that of being a Court of Law in the last resort. Mr. O'Connell and the other prisoners had appealed for a reversal of their sentence upon a Writ of Error. The judges of the English courts were referred to by the Lords for their opinions. Six of the eleven counts were decided by all of nine judges to be bad or informal; seven of the judges held that the judgment must stand, as the Irish judges alone could know upon how much of the verdict they had grounded their sentence. The peers were now to decide. The people both of Ireland and England were waiting their decision with intense interest; the Irish Repealers anticipating that the servile and despotic peers of England would eagerly embrace the opportunity of condemning their great agitator to a prolonged incarceration, and the people of England for the most part being afraid that, through the high sense of honour and the impartial justice of these peers, he would be set loose for further mischief. It was a question of legal construction which could only be properly settled by the Law Lords. On the 5th of September, when the judgment was to be delivered, some lay peers contended that they had a right to vote. The ministry, speaking with a voice of moderation by lord Wharncliffe, one of their supporters, left the decision of the question with the four Law Lords, although it was pretty well known what their decision would be. It was voted by lord Denman, lord Cottenham, and lord Campbell, that the judgment of the Court below should be reversed; lord Brougham voted that it should be maintained. O'Connell on the 6th of September left his prison in a triumphal car, wearing the green and gold repeal cap; and escorted by thousands of people paraded the streets of Dublin for four hours. He then addressed the multitude from his own house in Merrion-square. He told them that on the next Monday, at Conciliation Hall, he would put forth his plans for the future. His triumph was celebrated throughout Ireland by the most enthusiastic demonstrations.

But his power was gone. His "plans for the future" were altogether abortive. He again had his Monster Meetings, but they ceased to furnish a subject of apprehension to the government. From his balcony on the 6th of September he had told the people, "this is the great day for Ireland—a day of justice." By the justice he was extinguished.

During the month of August the governments of Great Britain and France had been nearly on the point of a serious rupture. In September, 1843, the queen of Tahiti (Otaheite), named Pomaré, who was a follower of the English missionaries, and had professed her desire that her subjects should be converted to Christianity, was induced—probably under the threats of the admiral of a French squadron off her shores—to place herself under the protectorate of France. The natives were angry at this, and showed marked hostility to the French among them. In November admiral Dupetit Thouars landed troops on the island; set up the French flag, removing queen Pomaré's ensign; and issued a proclamation that Tahiti belonged to France. The French government disavowed this act; but, says M. Guizot, "The French flag had just been planted in the islands of Polynesia, and we could not consent that, at the very moment of its appearance, it should be withdrawn."* French honour would be wounded, said a party in the Chambers, if the national flag which the admiral had set up should be removed. The office of British consul at Tahiti was filled by a missionary named Pritchard. When queen Pomaré was deposed he hauled down his flag, declaring his functions as consul were at an end, as he was not accredited by the English government to a French colony in that capacity. Four months afterwards the French authorities, believing that he had instigated the hostility of the natives to their rule, seized him, and required as a condition of his release from imprisonment that he should immediately leave the Pacific. Mr. Pritchard arrived in England on the 26th of July, and there was immediately an outburst of national indignation which the government did not attempt to repress. On the contrary, sir Robert Peel said in parliament on the 31st of July, "We have received accounts from Tahiti, and presuming on the accuracy of these accounts, which I have no reason whatever to call in question, I do not hesitate to say, that a gross outrage, accompanied with gross indignity, has been committed upon the British consul in that island." M. Guizot, in his account of this affair, says the words which sir Robert Peel had used were "unseasonable and inaccurate;" but he adds, that sir Robert Peel, in his communication with the French government, stated that he did not admit the correctness of the newspaper versions of his speech. Nevertheless the parliamentary language of lord Aberdeen might have been equally termed "unseasonable;" for on the 1st of August he said, "the late outrage of the French at Tahiti was of so flagrant a character as to be almost incredible." M. Guizot says in his *Memoirs of sir R. Peel*, that he could not with propriety relate the delicate negotiations to which this affair gave rise between lord Aberdeen and himself, which, "ended in results, just in themselves, honourable to the two cabinets, and salutary to the two countries."† The French government, whilst maintaining that it had good reason for sending Mr. Pritchard away from the island, acknowledged that useless and vexatious proceedings had been taken

* "Memoirs of Sir R. Peel," p. 168.

† Page 178.

respecting him, of which they disapproved, and offered to award him compensation for his losses and sufferings.

Upon the prorogation of parliament it was stated in the Queen's Speech that the danger of an interruption to the good understanding and friendly relations between this country and France had been happily averted by the spirit of justice and moderation which had animated the two governments. The *entente cordiale* was to be confirmed by a visit of the King of the French to her Majesty. On the 7th of October he arrived at Windsor Castle, where he remained for a week, being installed a Knight of the Garter, and entertained with sumptuous banquets. It will perhaps be for the historian at some future day to relate whether Louis Philippe, during this friendly visit, forebore altogether to approach the delicate subject of matrimonial alliances of his own family with Spain. His far-reaching projects presented, a year or two later, a question of far greater danger to the good understanding and friendly relations between the two countries, than the arbitrary acts perpetrated upon a poor missionary at Tahiti.

It was in this year that the Prince de Joinville published his celebrated "Note on the State of the Naval Forces of France." With the general public a document like this passes into oblivion, after the lapse of eighteen or twenty years, unless it be revived for the purpose of maintaining some exclusive opinions either of a war-party or a peace-party. We have alluded to this production in the first chapter of this volume;* and there we should have left the subject, had not a politician of no ordinary mark recently called attention to it as a point of history,—of course with his own gloss. "The principal contribution to the first panic," says Mr. Cobden, "previous to the publication of the duke of Wellington's letter, was the pamphlet of Prince Joinville. It is difficult now, after a calm perusal of this tract, to understand how it could have been pressed into the service of the alarmists. It is filled throughout with complaints of the inferiority of the French navy, and offers not a few probably unmerited compliments to the superior management of England." Mr. Cobden then quotes the concluding passage of the pamphlet: "I have been obliged to expose the secret of our weakness compared to the greatness of British power; but I should think myself happy if, by the sincere avowal of those sorrowful truths, I were able to dissipate the illusion, in which are so many clever persons, as to the real condition of the navy of France, and to decide them to ask with me those salutary reforms which alone can give our navy a new era of power and glory." †

The Prince de Joinville quotes a passage from a speech in the House of Commons on the 29th of February, 1844, in which it was said that if steam-vessels had been employed as at present, Napoleon might easily have landed even fifteen or twenty thousand men on our shores; and that although such a debarkation would not have had much success, the effect would have been "to destroy that confidence which our insular situation now inspires." The speaker, says the royal pamphleteer, adjured the legislature to take into consideration the great use that might be made of steam navigation in the event of a new war. ‡ This is the text which the Prince takes for his

* *Ante*—Note, p. 14.

† "The Three Panics," p. 7.

‡ The speaker was Mr. Spring Rice, on the subject of Harbours of Refuge. See Hansard, vol. lxxiii. col. 400.

exhortation. Let us build steam vessels of war as quickly as possible, to maintain some approach to equality with the hundred and twenty-five steam vessels of war of Great Britain, of which number seventy-seven are armed. No suggestion could have been more proper. But what are the definite objects he proposes for a large addition to the French steam navy, beyond the defence of the ports and arsenals of France, in the event of a war? "Our successes would not be brilliant, because we should take care at first to avoid compromising all our resources in decisive encounters. But we should carry on war with certainty, because we should attack two things equally vulnerable—the confidence of the English people in the insular position of their country, and its maritime commerce. Who can doubt that, with a steam navy strongly organized, we should have the means of inflicting upon the enemy's coasts losses and sufferings unknown to a nation which has never felt all the miseries which war brings in its train? As the complement of these sufferings would come the evil, equally new for that nation,—that of confidence lost. The wealth accumulated on its coasts and in its ports would cease to remain in security."

We have given "a calm perusal to this tract," and we do *not* find it "difficult to understand how it could have been pressed into the service of the alarmists." Mr. Cobden quotes a remonstrance by sir William Molesworth to the "Spectator" in January, 1848, in which the philosophical statesman asks "the editor of that staid and philosophical print" whether he considered the French to be ruffians, Pindarees, freebooters, so that "you believe it necessary to keep constant watch and ward against them, as our Saxon forefathers did against the Danes and the Nordmen, lest they should burn our towns, plunder our coasts, and put our queen to ransom." The year 1847—when Louis Philippe and his ministers were full of ambitious projects not very different from those which Louis the Fourteenth had cherished—was not so far removed from 1844, that the people of England had forgotten that a son of the king of the French had published a pamphlet which, to use Mr. Cobden's words "had sounded like a tocsin in our ears;" that a prince of the blood royal had proposed to "burn our towns and plunder our coasts;" had, to repeat the honest language of our great soldier which we have before quoted, issued "an invitation and provocative to war, to be carried on in a manner such as had been disclaimed by the civilized portions of mankind." *

* The pamphlet of the Prince de Joinville, with its accompanying tables, is given in full in "Annuaire Historique," 1844, Appendice, p. 372.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Parliament opened—Improved state of the kingdom—Sir Robert Peel's New Tariff—Opposition of the Country-Party—Mr. Cobden's motion for inquiring into Agricultural Distress—Grant to Maynooth College—Queen's Colleges in Ireland—Jews admitted to Municipal Offices—Prorogation—Apprehended failure of the Potato Crop in Ireland—Proposal of sir Robert Peel to the Cabinet—Lord John Russell's Letter to the Electors of London—Dissensions in the Cabinet—Sir R. Peel resigns—Failure of lord John Russell to form a Ministry—Sir R. Peel resumes power—Parliament opened by the Queen—Sir R. Peel asserts his determination to be unshackled as Minister—The New Tariff and the Corn-Law Bills introduced by sir R. Peel—Debate of Twelve Nights in the Commons—The Bills passed in both Houses—Bill for the Protection of Life in Ireland, rejected by a majority against the Government—Resignation of sir R. Peel—The Russell Administration—The Oregon Question settled—British Columbia—India—War with the Sikhs—Battle of Moodkee—Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough—Battle of Ferozeshah—Battles of Alliwali and Sobraon—Treaty of Peace—List of the Russell Ministry.

WHEN Parliament was opened by the Queen on the 4th of February, 1845, "the improved condition of the country" was a fertile subject of her Majesty's congratulation. "Increased activity pervades almost every branch of manufacture; trade and commerce have been extended at home and abroad." At this period the Income Tax was about to expire. Why then, with a certainty of improved revenue from imports, which had risen from sixty-five millions in 1842 to eighty-five millions in 1845, was it necessary for her Majesty to say, with reference to the Income Tax, that it might be expedient to continue its operation for a further period? The reason alleged for this recommendation was, "thus to obtain the means of adequately providing for the public service, and at the same time making a reduction in other taxation." Simple as were these words they were full of significance. The one object in 1842 of imposing an Income Tax was to repair the financial disorder of the country. That object had been accomplished. On the 5th of January, 1845, there had been an excess of income over expenditure of nearly three millions and a half. The Income Tax had produced something above five millions. It was in many respects an objectionable tax, and if not to be wholly abolished there was ample room to reduce the amount of the impost by one-half. But the minister had a great policy to carry into effect. His partial experiment on Free Trade had prepared him to make a bolder experiment, upon the doctrine that the surest way to improve the condition of the great body of the people was to remove those taxes upon large branches of industry which not only interfered with their extension, but placed many of the comforts and conveniences of life beyond the reach of the humbler classes. M. Guizot has truly as well as eloquently said—"the greatest happiness of the greatest

number of human beings as the supreme object of society and of government, was the superior power of which sir Robert Peel had made himself the minister, and which swayed all his opponents; some of them governed like himself, others intimidated or paralyzed by this great idea, which was clearly or dimly present to their minds, either as an incontestable right, or as an irresistible fact."*

The financial statement of sir Robert Peel was made on the 14th of February. Continuing the Income Tax, he estimated there would be a surplus of 3,400,000*l.* He said—laying down general principles which ought ever to be kept in mind by a British financial minister—"In the first place you have to consider the claims which may be urged in favour of a reduction of taxation on account of the heaviness with which certain imposts press on articles of general consumption. You are bound also to consider what taxes press on the raw materials which constitute the staple of the manufactures of the country. You are also bound to consider what taxes cause a great increase in the establishments necessary for their collection, and what are those taxes the remission of which will enable us to diminish those establishments, so as to reduce the expense of collection. You are bound also to consider what are those taxes the removal of which will give more scope to commercial enterprise, and occasion an increased demand for labour."† Broadly to state the minister's plans for obtaining such results as these, he proposed to abolish all duties on exports, including the duty on coal; he would abolish the import duties on four hundred and thirty raw materials used in manufactures, which, although yielding to the Treasury only 320,000*l.*, would still be a real and efficient relief; he would altogether remove the duties on cotton-wool, which yielded 680,000*l.*; the reduction to be effected on the sugar-duties would amount to 1,300,000*l.* More important, perhaps, than any of the imposts to be abolished or reduced was the repeal of the duty upon glass. That duty, upon the value of the manufactured article, was not less than from 200 to 300 per cent.; there was no duty which required such a system of perpetual and vexatious interference with the manufacturer. In France, in Belgium, and in Bohemia, there was no excise duty on glass. In Bohemia, in particular, the manufacture had been brought to a state of admirable perfection. We had peculiar facilities for obtaining the same results, and yet we could not compete with foreigners in the manufacture of glass. "If you permit," said sir Robert, "this article to be free of duty, it is difficult to foresee, in the first place, to what perfection this beautiful fabric may not be brought, and secondly, it is impossible to say to what new purposes glass, manufactured by our own skill and capital, may not be applied." Seven years only had elapsed after the sagacious minister had made this confident anticipation, when we saw a wondrous fabric arise constructed almost wholly of glass, in which the British manufacturer was not ashamed to exhibit his glass wares by the side of his foreign rivals, not perhaps reaching the perfection of some glass fabrics but very nearly approaching their beauty of form and colour. Eleven more years elapsed, and then, in the more extended competition of a second International Exhibition, the British manufacture of glass

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 232.

† Hansard, vol. lxxvii. col. 473.

for domestic use stood at the head of every European production. But, more than all this, it is only necessary to look with a rapid glance at the architecture of our public buildings, of our shops, of our mansions and villas, and even of our humblest cottages, to see how, in conjunction with the subsequent repeal of the window tax, the removal of the duty on glass had enabled every building to be erected with a regard to convenience and comfort, to health and cleanliness, which the existence of those imposts to a great extent prevented. It was the merit of sir Robert Peel rarely to forget the effect of taxation upon the condition of the poor. He had in view the quarry of the cottage window, rarely mended when broken, but patched with paper or stuffed with rag, when he said—"If the House sanction the removal of the duty upon glass, you will thereby confer on the poorer classes a most extensive benefit." It is unnecessary now to follow the discussion upon sir Robert Peel's financial measures, beyond noticing a few points in which the jealousy of free-trade principles occasionally broke out in objections almost ludicrous. One member complained of the removal of the duty on grease, as he judged it would lead to a great importation of foreign butter; another moved the omission of lard from the list of articles to be admitted free of duty. Mr. Cobden, upon such objections, besought the landed interest not to make a pitiable exhibition of themselves; lord John Russell advised them either to surrender the principle of protection to native industry altogether, or resolutely to stand by it in and out of Parliament. Bolder than the parliamentary free-traders was Mr. W. J. Fox, who, at one of the meetings of the League in Covent Garden Theatre, said of those who were horrified at the notion of repealing the duties on butter, bacon, and cheese, "they keep a great chandler's shop, and they look to every minute article in their store, how they can pervert the power of legislation to make the community pay more for the benefit of the aristocracy. There was a time when trading at all was thought inconsistent with the possession of that dignity. Your feudal baron did not mind robbing by the strong hand, but he turned away with contempt from robbing by the short weight of a protective duty." The time was approaching when as strong things would be said in and out of Parliament against the minister who had sufficiently manifested his indisposition to support the chandler's shop. The course which sir Robert Peel was pursuing, of asserting the principles of free-trade cautiously and yet successfully, by enlisting the Opposition, for their support against the imperfectly concealed hostility or indifference of his own supporters, was gradually preparing for him an amount of rebellion and insubordination of which he was too experienced a party leader not accurately to contemplate the final result—his own deposition.

Upon the opening of parliament lord John Russell endeavoured to produce some ministerial declaration on the subject of the Corn-Laws, by affirming that Protection was the bane of agriculture. He obtained no contradiction from sir Robert Peel; but he was asked by Mr. Miles, one of the most sturdy of the Protectionists, whether he had found it convenient to make a compact alliance with the Corn Law League? Protectionists and Free-traders equally sought support for their arguments at this time in the distress which was said to exist amongst the agriculturists. On the 13th of March Mr. Cobden moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the causes and

extent of this alleged agricultural distress, and into "the effects of legislative protection upon the interests of land-owners, tenant-farmers, and farm labourers." His motion was rejected by a majority of ninety-two. But his speech produced a great impression upon the country; and it has been said that upon the prime minister himself it had a marked influence. On this occasion Mr. Cobden came forth with a spirit-stirring and impassioned eloquence which few had considered within the range of his oratorical powers. To the Country party he said—"You live in a mercantile age, when the whole wealth of the world is poured into your lap. You cannot have the advantages of commercial rents and feudal privileges, but you may be what you always have been, if you will identify yourselves with the spirit of the age. The English people look to the gentry and the aristocracy of this country as their leaders. I, who am not one of you, have no hesitation in telling you, that there is a deep-rooted, an hereditary prejudice, if I may so call it, in your favour in this country. But you never got it, and you will not keep it, by obstructing the spirit of the age. If you are indifferent to enlightened means of finding employment for your own peasantry; if you are found obstructing that advance which is calculated to knit nations more together in the bonds of peace, by means of commercial intercourse; if you are found fighting against the discoveries which have almost given breath and life to material nature, and setting up yourselves as obstructives of that which destiny has decreed shall go on—why, then, you will be the gentry of England no longer, and others will be found to take your place."

The speech of Mr. Cobden on his motion for a Committee was replied to by Mr. Sidney Herbert; but that reply was more damaging to the cause of agricultural protection than the arguments of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, or the agitation of the League. It was the incaution of a young man of remarkable candour, and somewhat inexperienced in parliamentary tactics, when he said, as the representative of an agricultural constituency, that it would be distasteful to the agriculturists to come whining to parliament at every period of temporary distress. Parliament had awarded to the agriculturists a certain amount of protection; with that they were content; and in adverse circumstances, such as failure of crop, they would meet them manfully and put their shoulders to the wheel.* Agriculturists were indignant at being represented as content with the protection they enjoyed;—the assumption (which was meant for advice) that they would put their shoulders to the wheel, instead of crying out for help to Hercules, was something different from the zealous friendship upon which they had calculated so long and reposed so confidently. The rejection of Mr. Cobden's motion did not calm their anger. On the 17th of March, Mr. W. Miles moved, that in the reduction of taxation "due regard should be had to the necessity of affording relief to the agricultural interest." It was then that Mr. Disraeli pronounced unmistakeably that sentence of open war against sir Robert Peel, which, whether in its skirmishes or pitched battles, for a year or two was admired by many as the daring of a noble courage in its insults to the first statesman of his time. Sir Robert Peel sometimes winced at these attacks, but in most cases he shook off the reck-

* Hansard vol. lxxviii. col. 818.

less words, "like dew-drops from the lion's mane." "I remember," said Mr. Disraeli, "to have heard the right honourable baronet at the head of the government say, he would sooner be the leader of the gentlemen of England than possess the confidence of sovereigns. . . . They were the right honourable baronet's first love, and though he may not kneel to them now as in the hour of passion, still they can recall the past. He does what he can to keep them quiet; sometimes he takes refuge in arrogant silence, and sometimes he treats them with haughty frigidity; and if they knew anything of human nature, they would take the hint and shut their mouths. But they won't. And what then happens? The right honourable baronet, being compelled to interfere, sends down his valet, who says in the genteelest manner, We can have no whining here." Describing sir Robert Peel as one who, by skilful parliamentary manœuvres, had tampered with the generous confidence of a great people, he addressed these words to the Treasury bench—"Dissolve, if you please, the parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people who I believe mistrust you; for me there remains this at least—the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief, that a Conservative government is an Organized Hypocrisy."

In this speech of Mr. Disraeli there was a skilful allusion to that former desertion of the principle of ultra-Toryism which many yet remembered with the bitterness of intolerance: "Protection appears to be in about the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. The country will draw its moral." Protestantism was now to have a new cause of offence. On the 3rd of April sir Robert Peel brought forward the plans of the government respecting the improvement of the College of Maynooth, proposing a grant of 30,000*l.* a year, to be secured by act of parliament. On the 11th, when the Bill was to be read a second time, the table of the House was covered with petitions. There had been meetings throughout the country, in which Churchmen and Dissenters had been equally conspicuous in denouncing the measure as a renunciation of the Protestantism under which the empire had flourished. An annual vote had been taken for many years for the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. It was the object of the government, to use the words of sir Robert Peel, "to adopt in a friendly and generous spirit the institution provided for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood—to extend the parliamentary provision for that purpose, and to attempt, not by interference with the doctrine or discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, but by a more liberal provision, to improve the system of education, and to elevate the tone and character of that institution." During six nights of debate in the Commons there was not a shaft in the quiver of bigotry, still replenished however scantily, which was not then discharged against the government, and especially against sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert Inglis, the most moderate and rational of his theological opponents, declared that although shattered and torn the flag of Protestantism still remained at the mast-head, and he would fight for it as unflinchingly as when in better days it waved untorn and unbent over our empire. Mr. Plumptre would not say that the religion of Rome was exclusively that of Antichrist, but he believed that it was so, completely and prominently; and he was further of opinion that it would be a fearful and national sin to endow such a religion. Mr. Ferrand solemnly believed that if the government

could induce her Majesty to attach her signature to this bill she would sign away her title to the British crown. Colonel Sibthorp was the loudest in the chorus, "Really, if I had not seen the First Lord of the Treasury take the oaths at the table of this House, I should have doubted whether he were a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, or a Mahometan; nor should I be surprised if the time should yet come when we shall see him sitting cross-legged as a Mahometan, or embracing a Pope. I must say that I have lost all confidence in that man." Leaving the question of Maynooth untouched, Mr. Disraeli embraced the occasion for another personal assault upon the Prime Minister: "There is now no longer any constitutional opposition, because there is no government formed on definite principles. Something has risen up in this country as fatal in the political world as it has been in the landed world in Ireland; we have a great parliamentary middleman. It is well known what a middleman is: he is a man who bamboozles one party and plunders the other, till, having obtained a position to which he is not entitled, he cries out, 'Let us have no party questions, but fixity of tenure.'" In spite of the unmitigated opposition in both Houses the Maynooth Bill was carried by considerable majorities. So also was the ministerial measure introduced by sir James Graham for establishing three purely secular colleges in Ireland, wholly independent of religious tests or creeds, for the education of the middle classes. On the first debate on the measure sir Robert Inglis termed it a great scheme "of godless education." The measure was carried by a large majority in the Commons upon the third reading, and was passed without a division in the Lords. But the faint cry of "godless education" raised by sir Robert Inglis was echoed with far greater vehemence by the Roman Catholic clergy, whose prelates declared, through Mr. O'Connell, in the House of Commons, that this was a bad scheme of education, and the Bill a penal and revolting measure. The "godless colleges" of Cork, Galway, and Belfast, nevertheless have flourished, unharmed under the constant attempts of a bigoted priesthood to oppose in this case, as well as in the National Schools of Ireland, that system of instruction without religious teaching which the soundest statesmen have constantly regarded as one of the best means of softening the religious animosities and abating the injurious jealousies between Catholic and Protestant. There was another measure carried this session in the spirit of religious liberality—that of the admission of Jews to municipal offices.

The Session of Parliament was terminated by the prorogation by the Queen on the 9th of August. In the usual Address to her Majesty the Speaker, in addition to his notice of the great financial measures of the session; the endowment of Maynooth; and the provision of the means of academical instruction in Ireland; adverted to two other labours in which the Commons had been engaged. The Session had been rendered unusually laborious by the rapid development of private enterprise in extending the railway communications of the kingdom; anticipating the most beneficial results from the facilities thus afforded to the internal trade of the country, they had devoted much time and labour to the legislation requisite for the construction and regulation of those important works. The condition of the destitute poor of Scotland was the other subject of general legislation which the Speaker recapitulated: "Assisted by the information which your Majesty has directed to

be laid before us, we have made such amendments in the law as will provide for the more effectual relief of the poor, and for a better system of parochial management, under the control of a general Board of Supervision."

Parliamentary warfare was for a season at an end. The Queen and Prince Albert, on the day of prorogation, embarked at Woolwich on a visit to Germany. The prime minister gladly sought the retreat of Drayton-Manor, where the murmurs of his once devoted partizans could scarcely reach him. An observer of London fashionable life at this time has written—"The language of the Tory party is more bitter and violent against him [sir R. Peel] than ever I heard in society of the olden time from disappointed Whigs against Mr. Pitt. But I do not imagine this to be traced to a no-popery cry. If sir Robert had left the Corn-Laws untouched, he would have carried the Maynooth question by a triumphant majority without a schism. His inattention to what the landed interest call their agricultural distress, their apprehensions that he will ultimately repeal those laws, and also his notorious neglect of those who, in good report and ill report, had stuck to his skirts till they had brought him through the battle, and then found that his patronage was lavished on their opponents—all these things have so embittered their minds that they have seized with readiness the first opportunity to stick their teeth in his flanks, and have rallied all the sectarian interests to take part in the *curée*."*

On the 31st of October, the Cabinet having been called together by sir Robert Peel, a meeting took place at his house, and on the following day the Cabinet again assembled. The "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," which were published by his executors in 1857, enable us now to trace with a distinctness which could not previously be derived from other sources, the beginning of that train of events which led to the repeal of the Corn-Laws. The documents which these Memoirs contain, relate to the information received by sir Robert Peel on the probable failure of the potato crop, and exhibit his correspondence on the subject with other members of the government. With something like an apology for giving these documents at length, he describes them as "the materials from which the future historian will extract that which is worthy of permanent record, and from which, with the aid of other contemporary evidence, he will pronounce his judgment on the motives and conduct of public men."†

There were three members of the government who, from their official station, were chiefly responsible at this time for instituting inquiries into the probability of a sudden and extensive defalcation in the ordinary supply of food, with a view to the adoption of measures calculated to mitigate the evil consequences of such a defalcation. These ministers were, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The correspondence between sir Robert Peel and sir James Graham goes on from the 12th of August to the 15th of October amidst alternations of hope and alarm. On the 15th, the official reports having assumed a very serious aspect, sir Robert writes—"My letter on the awful state of the potato crop in Ireland crossed yours to me. . . . In.

* Raikes's "Diary," vol. iv. pp. 423-424.

† "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," p. 107.

terference with the due course of the laws respecting the supply of food is so momentous and so lasting in its consequences, that we must not act without the most accurate information. I fear the worst." To obtain the most accurate information the prime minister dispatched to Ireland two men eminent in their respective departments of science—Professor Lindley and Dr. Lyon Playfair. The reports of the Botanist and the Chemist were not calculated to mitigate the apprehensions of official and other observers in Ireland. The secretary of the Irish Agricultural Improvement Society had obtained proofs that the entire potato crop was more or less affected in every part of the country; and he says that a panic had seized all parties to a greater extent than he ever remembered since the cholera. The alarm in Scotland was also great and rapidly increasing. Sir James Graham clearly sees what is at hand. "The Anti-Corn-Law pressure is about to commence, and it will be the most formidable movement in modern times."

Such was the information which sir Robert Peel had to lay before the Cabinet on the 31st of October. He told his colleagues in a Cabinet memorandum that "inaction—the letting things take their own course—seems to me impossible. . . . Inaction and indifference might involve the country in serious danger, and the government in the heaviest responsibility." It is unnecessary here to go through the various suggestions of the memorandum. The prime minister found few inclined to deal boldly with the danger: "It became evident that very serious differences of opinion existed, as to the necessity of adopting any extraordinary measures, and as to the character of the measures which it might be advisable to adopt."* The Cabinet separated, fixing another meeting for the 6th of November. The accounts received in the interim were not of a nature to allay the apprehensions of the week before. At that Cabinet sir Robert Peel proposed to issue immediately an Order in Council, remitting the duty on grain in bond to one shilling; opening the ports to the temporary admission of all grain at a smaller rate of duty. He further proposed to call parliament together on the 27th to ask for indemnity, and to declare an intention of submitting immediately after the recess a modification of the existing Corn-Laws. Three only of his colleagues gave their support to the First Lord of the Treasury—the earl of Aberdeen, sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. On the 2nd of November lord Stanley wrote to sir Robert Peel to express the regret with which he saw how widely he differed in opinion with sir James Graham and himself, as to the necessity of proposing to parliament a repeal of the Corn-Laws. Sir Robert Peel replied that he had not proposed to the Cabinet that they should recommend to Parliament a repeal of the Corn-Laws; still less that they should offer their advice to the Queen that the Corn-Laws ought to be abandoned.

On the 22nd of November lord John Russell addressed a public letter to the electors of the city of London, which began with stating precisely the same truth which sir Robert Peel had endeavoured to impress upon his Cabinet. "The present state of the country in regard to its supply of food cannot be viewed without apprehension. Forethought and bold precautions may avert any serious evils—indecision and procrastination may produce a state of

* "Memoirs," p. 143

suffering which it is frightful to contemplate." He complains that the queen's ministers had met and separated without affording any promise of seasonable relief. He points out that the duties on the importations of corn were so contrived, that "the corn barometer points to fair while the ship is bending under a storm." Then comes a declaration from the leader of the Whig party which forbids all further advocacy of "fixed duty" in opposition to "sliding scale." "I confess that on the general subject my views have in the course of twenty years undergone a great alteration. I used to be of opinion that corn was an exception to the general rules of political economy; but observation and experience have convinced me that we ought to abstain from all interference with the supply of food. Neither a Government nor a Legislature can ever regulate the corn market with the beneficial effects which the entire freedom of sale and purchase are sure of themselves to produce." It was no longer worth while, he said, to contend for a fixed duty; the imposition at present of any duty, without a provision for its speedy extinction, would only prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. "Let us then unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people." Sir Robert Peel prints this letter in his *Memoirs* with this observation:—"It was asserted by many who were careless about the foundation of their assertions, that I had been influenced in the advice which I offered to the Cabinet by the appearance of this letter. A simple reference to dates will prove that this could not have been the case."*

On the 25th and 26th of November the Cabinet was occupied in the discussion of instructions to be given to the Commission which had been appointed, for the consideration and adoption of such measures as might tend to mitigate the evil consequences of the apprehended scarcity. These instructions were unanimously approved of by the Cabinet. Sir Robert Peel felt that the danger to be apprehended was so fully admitted and was set forth in such strong terms in the letter of the Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant, that it was "difficult to reconcile the issue of this letter with passiveness and inaction in respect to the means of increasing the supply of food." Before the instructions, therefore, contained in the letter were finally assented to by the Cabinet, he read to them a memorandum, of which the opening sentence was quite sufficient to indicate the final tendency of his opinions: "I cannot consent to the issue of these instructions, and undertake at the same time to maintain the existing Corn-Laws." On the 29th of November he put in circulation amongst his colleagues a memorandum, addressed in the first instance to the duke of Wellington, in which "are contained the reasons which induce me to advise the suspension of the existing Corn-Laws for a limited period." The answer of the duke of Wellington is very characteristic. He was of opinion that the government should avoid to break down the Corn-Laws till that measure should appear to be absolutely necessary. "But of this I do not entertain a doubt—if it is necessary to suspend the Corn-Laws to avoid real evils resulting from scarcity of food, we

* "Memoirs," p. 179.

ought not to hesitate." The duke then comes to the Party View of the question which sir Robert Peel had not discussed—could he carry on a government for the Queen, supposing that the support of the lauded interest were withdrawn from him? The duke was afraid that sir Robert Peel must reckon upon its being withdrawn from him, unless he should be able to show clearly the necessity of the measure in question. "In respect to my own course, my only object in public life is to support sir Robert Peel's administration of the government for the Queen." The duke, if sir Robert Peel thought that his position in parliament and in the public view required that the course should be taken which he recommended, had no hesitation in saying, "I earnestly recommend that the Cabinet should support him, and I for one declare that I will do so." Others of the Cabinet took a very different view. Mr. Goulburn writes to sir Robert Peel,—“an abandonment of your former opinions now would, I think, prejudice your and our characters as public men, and would be fraught with fatal results to the country's best interests. . . . In my opinion the Party of which you are the head is the only barrier which remains against the revolutionary effects of the Reform Bill.” Lord Wharnccliffe was of opinion “that the Queen's speech, if it should ultimately be decided to recommend any modification or a temporary suspension of the Corn-Law, should do so in terms which would show our decided intention to uphold the principle of protection in some way or other.”

The discussions in the Cabinet continued till the 2nd of December, when sir Robert Peel brought before his colleagues a specific measure for the proposal of a new law which would be “founded upon the principle of the present law, while it continues in operation, but will in the course of that operation ensure the ultimate and not remote extinction of protective duties.” He believed that some such measure as he had suggested might receive the assent of all his colleagues. Lord Stanley and the duke of Buccleugh, however, each signified his inability to support a measure involving the ultimate repeal of the Corn-Laws. Sir Robert Peel, thinking that the public interest would be very injuriously affected by the failure of an attempt made by a government to adjust the question of Corn-Laws, repaired to Osborne on the 5th of December, and humbly solicited the Queen to relieve him from duties which he could no longer discharge with advantage to her Majesty's service. The Queen then informed sir Robert Peel that it was her intention to propose to lord John Russell to undertake the formation of a government. In a letter to the Queen, written after the audience, sir Robert Peel stated that if the opinions of his colleagues had been in concurrence with his own, he had been fully prepared to take the responsibility of suspending the Corn-Laws, and of entering upon a comprehensive review of restrictions on the import of foreign grain and other articles of food, with a view to their gradual diminution and ultimate removal. With reference to the proposed new administration he adds—“Sir Robert Peel is prepared to support, in a private capacity, measures which may be in general conformity with those which he advised as a minister.”

Lord John Russell was at Edinburgh when a summons reached him to attend the Queen. He went to her Majesty with the conviction that he could not accept the great trust now offered to him. He felt that his party

being in a large minority in the Commons, he could not properly undertake the formation of a government. But the offer of sir Robert Peel, to give his assistance in a private capacity towards the settlement of the Corn-Law question, determined lord John Russell to depart from this resolution. There was a week of negotiation as to the specific nature of this limited offer. Sir Robert Peel was "convinced that previous concert, or a previous pledge on his part, to support a particular measure of adjustment would be distasteful to the House of Commons, and embarrassing to all parties." With this view lord John Russell expressed his concurrence; but required at the same time that sir Robert Peel should give assurances, that would have amounted substantially to a pledge, that he would support the immediate and total repeal of the Corn-Laws. The ex-minister did not feel it to be consistent with his duty to enter upon the consideration of this important question in Parliament, being fettered by a previous engagement of the nature of that required from him. Nevertheless lord John Russell, in the afternoon of the 18th of December, stated to her Majesty at Windsor Castle that he was ready to undertake the formation of a government. In consequence sir Robert Peel was invited by her Majesty to a parting interview on his relinquishment of office. On entering the room at Windsor, on the 20th of December, her Majesty said to him very graciously, "So far from taking leave of you, sir Robert, I must require you to withdraw your resignation, and to remain in my service." Lord John Russell had written to the Queen on the morning of that day that he had found it impossible to form an administration. He had informed the Queen that he had had solely in view the settlement of the question of Corn-Laws; he admitted that sir Robert Peel had been willing, from the commencement to the end, to diminish the difficulties of a new government in attempting that settlement, although sir Robert Peel could not of course rely upon the support of his political friends. It was therefore necessary, he wrote, that all those who were prominent in the political party to which lord John Russell was attached, should give their zealous aid, and act in concert in the new administration. "Lord John Russell had in one instance been unable to obtain this concert, and he must now consider that task as hopeless which has been from the beginning hazardous." The one instance was that of lord Grey; he had objected to one proposed appointment, and lord John Russell had been unwilling to admit the force of the objection. We can easily understand how the self-asserting inheritor of a great name should have failed in substantiating his objection to a statesman with the reputation of lord Palmerston. Lord John Russell having absolutely relinquished the formation of a government, sir Robert Peel at once decided, if such were her Majesty's pleasure, on the resumption of his office. He wished, he said, to be able to announce to his late colleagues that he had not hesitated to re-accept the appointment of First Minister. The Cabinet met at Downing-street in the evening of the 20th, and he told them that, whether supported or not, he was firmly resolved to meet parliament as her Majesty's minister, and to propose such measures as the public exigencies required. Lord Stanley declared that he must persevere in resigning. He thought the Corn-Laws ought to be adhered to, and might have been maintained. The duke of Buccleugh would not at once decide upon resigning. The other members of the Cabinet declared their determination to support sir Robert

Peel in the course he had announced to them. The duke of Wellington was the man to admire courage whether civil or military. He told the House of Lords, on the ministerial explanations, "I applauded the conduct of my right honourable friend; I was delighted with it. It was exactly the course which I should have followed myself under similar circumstances, and I therefore determined to stand by him." The new Cabinet enlisted an able coadjutor in lord Dalhousie; and Mr. Gladstone, who had retired from office some time previous, succeeded lord Stanley as Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. Lord Wharnccliffe, the President of the Council, had died, during this great crisis, on the 19th of December.

The biographer of sir Robert Peel has described his hesitation, in the session of 1845, to apply the strict principles of commercial freedom to the trade in corn, as the "touching perplexity of a sincere and conscientious mind, carried forward in the direction of its own inclination by a great flood of public opinion and passion, and struggling painfully against its adversaries, its friends, and itself."* The "perplexity" was now over. The struggle of the "sincere and conscientious mind" against itself was passed. Six days after sir Robert Peel had declared to the Cabinet that he was again her Majesty's minister, he wrote to the princess Lieven at Paris a short note, in which he casts off the reserve of the statesman to give unrestrained expression to his natural feelings: "However unexpected is the turn which affairs have taken, it is for the best. I resume power with greater means of rendering public service than I should have had if I had not relinquished it. But it is a strange dream." †

It was the 22nd of January, 1846, when the Queen opened the Parliament in person. The Royal Speech necessarily alluded to the failure of the potato crops in Ireland, and to the means that had been adopted for alleviating the sufferings caused by this calamity. Her Majesty had had great satisfaction in giving her consent to the measures for the repeal of prohibitory, and the relaxation of protective, duties. The prosperous state of the revenue, the increased demand for labour, and the general improvement which had taken place in the internal condition of the country, were strong testimonies in favour of the course that had been pursued. "I recommend you," said the Queen, "to take into your early consideration, whether the principles on which you have acted may not with advantage be yet more extensively applied, and whether it may not be in your power, after a careful review of the existing duties upon many articles, the produce or manufacture of other countries, to make such further reductions and remissions as may tend to insure the continuance of the great benefits to which I have adverted." There might have been some doubt as to the interpretation of the words "further reductions and remissions;" but the ministerial explanations of sir Robert Peel and of lord John Russell, in which the details of the negotiations for the formation of a government were fully stated, left no doubt whatever that a free trade in corn, however gradually to be accomplished, was now the great object of sir Robert Peel's administration. After the mover and seconder of the Addresses in the House of Commons had delivered

* Guizot—"Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel," p. 250.

† "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," p. 251.

their speeches, sir Robert Peel immediately rose. Having gone through the explanatory details expected from the head of the government after a ministerial crisis, he did not wait for the attacks of those adversaries who were once his submissive friends. He boldly proclaimed his determination to stand free from the trammels of party. "Sir, believe me, to conduct the government of this country is a most arduous duty; I may say it without irreverence, that these ancient institutions, like our physical frames, are 'fearfully and wonderfully made.' It is no easy task to ensure the united action of an ancient monarchy, a proud aristocracy, and a reformed constituency. I have done everything I could do,—and have thought it consistent with true conservative policy,—to reconcile these three branches of the state. I have thought it consistent with true conservative policy to promote so much of happiness among the people that the voice of disaffection should be no longer heard, and that thoughts of the dissolution of our institutions should be forgotten in the midst of physical enjoyment. These were my attempts, and I thought them not inconsistent with true and enlarged conservative policy. These were my objects in accepting office—it is a burden too great for my physical, and far beyond my intellectual, structure; and to be relieved from it with perfect honour would be the greatest favour that could be conferred on me. But as a feeling of honour and a strong sense of duty require me to undertake those responsible functions, I declare, sir, that I am ready to incur these risks, to bear these burdens, and to front all these honourable dangers. But, sir, I will not take the step with mutilated power and shackled authority. I will not stand at the helm during such tempestuous nights as I have seen, if the vessel be not allowed fairly to pursue the course which I think she ought to take. I will not, sir, undertake to direct the course of the vessel by the observations taken in 1842. I will reserve to myself the marking out of that course; and I must, for the public interest, claim for myself the unfettered power of judging of those measures which I conceive will be better for the country to propose. Sir, I do not wish to be the minister of England; but while I have the high honour of holding that office, I am determined to hold it by no servile tenure. I will only hold that office upon the condition of being unshackled by any other obligations than those of consulting the public interests, and of providing for the public safety."*

This speech was of course accepted as a declaration of war by all those who interpreted Conservative Policy as one almost exclusively directed to the upholding of class interests and class prejudices. Mr. Disraeli, in declaring his intention of adhering to the principles of protection which had sent him into that House, did not attempt to defend those principles, but confined himself, as he did for the greater part of the Session, to the bitterest attacks on the minister who was about to give them their final and irrevocable blow. Sir Robert Peel's conduct, he said, was that of the captain, who having received the command of a fleet from the sultan to attack Mehemet Ali, steered that fleet at once into the enemy's port. Sir Robert Peel, a great statesman, who was always marching after the events of his age! He was just as much a great statesman as he who got up behind a

* Hansard, vol. lxxxiii. col. 94.

carriage was a great whip. There could be no mistake as to the intentions of the so-called Conservative Party, whether they spoke in the "wild and hurling words" of the brilliant orator, or in the bucolic accents of the lords of many acres. By the mouth of Mr. Miles they gave notice that the "strongest constitutional opposition would be given to the minister's plan, and that every impediment would be made use of to prevent its passing into law." The plan was not yet developed, but its scope and objects were pretty correctly anticipated.

On the 27th of January the avenues of the House of Commons were filled with eager crowds: the seats below the bar were thronged with listeners, amongst whom were prince Albert and the duke of Cambridge; the strangers' gallery was crammed to excess, whilst hundreds who had obtained tickets were unable to get admission. His whole plan of financial and commercial policy was developed by sir Robert Peel in a speech of four hours. He said, in the onset, that he was not about to apply the principle of relaxation of protective duties to any one particular class: "I am not about to select that great interest connected with the agriculture of the country, and call upon the landowners to relinquish protection, unprepared at the same time to call upon other protected classes to relinquish protection also. In the confidence that the principle for which I contend is a just and a wise one, I ask all protected interests to make the sacrifice, if it be a sacrifice, which the application of that principle will render necessary."* The duties on tallow and timber were to be extensively reduced; these were the only raw materials still subject to duty. The duties on foreign manufactured goods were to be abolished or reduced. As the silk manufacture had increased in the ratio of the removal of duties, there was now to be a further reduction. On cotton and woollen fabrics duties were to be removed or lessened by one-half. Articles of food were relieved from taxation either wholly or partially. The differential duties on free-labour sugar were abated about fifty per cent. Animal food and vegetables were admitted duty free. One-half of the existing duties on butter, cheese, hops, and cured fish were removed. Live animals were no longer to be subject to any import duty. Here was a tariff which a few years before would have shaken the isle from its propriety; but what a clamour would have gone through the land, echoed at every county meeting and every market table, if a minister had proposed, as sir Robert Peel now proposed, to admit buck-wheat and Indian corn duty free; to submit colonial grain to a merely nominal duty; and altogether to remove protection from every other species of grain at the end of three years. In the interval the duties on grain were to be as follows. When wheat was under 48s. per quarter the duty was to be 10s.; at every rise of a shilling per quarter in the market price the duty was to be a shilling lower; till wheat should be at 54s. and the duty at 4s.; after which the duty should not further change. The existing price of wheat being 54s. the duty would be at once reduced from 16s. to 4s. Some relief of the burthens upon agriculture, involved in an alteration of the law of settlement, a consolidation of highway boards, the removal of the cost of prisoners from the county rates—these and other minor concessions, which were real benefits, were received only with ridicule, in the

* Hansard, vol. lxxxiii. col. 241.

face of the startling fact that the staff of protection, which had so long been leant upon, would be utterly broken and cast away. The philosophical reasoners knew well that the hale man would then be able to walk without his crutch; but the country party were not greatly addicted to philosophical politics. Sir Robert Peel concluded the speech, in which he offered, on the part of the government, these proposals "for the ultimate adjustment of this question by affirming that there had been a great change in the opinion of the great mass of the community with respect to the Corn-Laws." He recommended his plan as a whole to their calm and dispassionate consideration, with no other feeling or interest in its ultimate issue than that it might, to use the words of her Majesty's speech, conduce to promote "friendly feelings between different classes of my subjects, to provide additional security for the continuance of peace, and to maintain contentment and happiness at home, by increasing the comfort and bettering the condition of the great body of my people."

On the 9th of February a debate was begun, which continued twelve nights, on the motion that the Speaker should leave the chair to go into Committee on the Customs and Corn Importation Act. Mr. Miles had proposed as an amendment, "that this House will, upon this day six months, resolve itself into the said Committee." On the fifth night of the discussion, the 16th of February, sir Robert Peel, with even more than his ordinary debating ability, reviewed every species of objection, whether from agriculturists, or shipowners, or manufacturers, that had been raised to the various details of his measure. Towards the conclusion of his speech he warmed into an eloquence such as had been rarely equalled since the days of the great orators of former generations.

"This night is to decide between the policy of continued relaxation of restriction, or the return to restraint and prohibition. This night you will select the motto which is to indicate the commercial policy of England. Shall it be 'advance' or 'recede'? Which is the fitter motto for this great empire? Survey our position; consider the advantage which God and nature have given us, and the destiny for which we are intended. We stand on the confines of Western Europe, the chief connecting link between the old world and the new. The discoveries of science, the improvement of navigation, have brought us within ten days of St. Petersburg, and will soon bring us within ten days of New York. We have an extent of coast greater in proportion to our population and the area of our land than any other great nation, securing to us maritime strength and superiority. Iron and coal, the sinews of manufacture, give us advantages over every rival in the great competition of industry. Our capital far exceeds that which they can command. In ingenuity—in skill—in energy—we are inferior to none. Our national character, the free institutions under which we live, the liberty of thought and action, an unshackled press, spreading the knowledge of every discovery and of every advance in science—combine with our natural and physical advantages to place us at the head of those nations which profit by the free interchange of their products. And is this the country to shrink from competition? Is this the country to adopt a retrograde policy? Is this the country which can only flourish in the sickly artificial atmosphere of prohibi-

tion? Is this the country to stand shivering on the brink of exposure to the healthful breezes of competition?" *

Turning then from commercial freedom in manufactures to commercial freedom in agriculture, he asked if in some future season, when "the years of plenteousness shall have ended," and "the years of dearth may have come," would it be no satisfaction to you to reflect, that by your own act you have been relieved from the grievous responsibility of regulating the supply of food? "When you are again exhorting a suffering people to fortitude under their privations; when you are telling them, 'these are the chastenings of an all-wise and merciful Providence, sent for some inscrutable but just and beneficent purpose—it may be, to humble our pride, or to punish our unfaithfulness, or to impress us with a sense of our nothingness and dependence on His mercy;' when you are thus addressing your suffering fellow subjects, and encouraging them to bear without repining the dispensations of Providence, may God grant that by your decision of this night, you may have laid in store for yourselves the consolation of reflecting that such calamities are, in truth, the dispensations of Providence—that they have not been caused, they have not been aggravated, by the laws of man, restricting in the hour of scarcity the supply of food!" †

On the 27th of February the debate on Mr. Miles's amendment on the motion for going into Committee on the Customs and Corn Importation Act, was brought to a conclusion. During the twelve nights of debate, forty-eight members spoke in favour of Free Trade and fifty-five on the side of Protection. To attempt the briefest analysis of the general arguments for the removal of Protection, and of the anticipations of commercial and agricultural ruin if Protection were abolished—arguments now so perfectly understood, and fears now so thoroughly exploded—would be as wearisome as useless. Upon a division the numbers were, for Mr. Miles's amendment, 240; against it, 337, being a majority for the government of 97. The House of Commons went into Committee on the 2nd of March. The various clauses of the proposed Bill were debated with the same earnestness for four nights; when the second reading was carried by a majority of 88. On the third reading there was a debate of three nights. On the 15th of May, at four in the morning, 327 members voted for the third reading; and for an amendment of the marquis of Granby, that the Bill be read that day six months, 229 voted, giving a majority for the third reading of 98. In the House of Lords the Bill was passed with less difficulty than might have been anticipated. The duke of Wellington on the 18th moved the first reading of the Corn Importation Bill, and on the 19th the duke of Buccleugh moved the first reading of the Customs Duties Bill. It is as unnecessary to follow the course of debate in the Lords as in the Commons. The second reading of the Corn Bill was carried by a majority of 47; 211 being for the second reading, against it 164. The second reading of the Customs Duties Bill was carried without a division. The various clauses of the Corn Bill having been debated in Committee, the Bill on the 19th of June was reported without amendments. On the 25th of June both Bills were read a third time and passed; to which on the 26th the

* Hansard, vol. lxxxiii. col. 1041.

† Hansard, vol. lxxxiii. col. 1044.

royal assent was given by commission. By the Corn Importation Act, that scale of duties, as proposed by the government on the 27th January, was to continue until the 1st of February, 1849; after which day a duty upon grain of one shilling per quarter, and of fourpence-halfpenny per cwt. upon flour and meal, was to be levied, for purely statistical purposes. A revolution, scarcely second in importance to the Reform Bill, was thus accomplished. England entered on a new course of commercial policy; of whose beneficial results the experience of the succeeding sixteen years has left too strong an evidence to allow any but a few devotees of an obsolete creed to abide in "their temples dim."

During the progress through the House of Commons of the measures of commercial freedom, a Bill entitled, "For the Protection of Life in Ireland," which had passed in the House of Lords, was brought under discussion in the House of Commons. It was opposed with the utmost vehemence by the Protectionists, who in the rejection of the measure hailed the prospect of being revenged on sir Robert Peel; and by the majority of the Whigs, who, consistently adhering to their often declared principles upon coercion bills in Ireland, nevertheless saw in the defeat of the government the door opened for their return to power after it had been closed against them for five years. On the 21st of June sir Robert Peel accurately calculated upon the double event—the passing of the Corn-Law Repeal Bill unamutilated in the House of Lords, and the rejection of the Bill for the Protection of Life in Ireland by the House of Commons. He took a decision at once dignified and patriotic. He addressed a memorandum on the position of the government to the Cabinet, in which he suggested to the deliberate and dispassionate consideration of his colleagues, "to determine whether, after the passing of the Corn and Customs Bills, it would be for the interest of the Crown, of the country, and for the honour and character of the government, that they should remain in office." He said, with an honesty worthy of all imitation, "a government ought to have a *natural* support; a conservative government should be supported by a conservative party; support from the compassion of its enemies, or even from the personally friendly feelings of those who *ought* on public principle to oppose a government, is a hollow and not a creditable support. Depend upon it that we shall not pass the Irish Bill into a law." He was decidedly, he told them, of opinion "that we should not fall into the errors of the last Whig government—retain office after we have lost power, or advise a Dissolution with little prospect of securing a majority of members, honestly and cordially concurring with us on great political principles."* The memorandum being communicated to the other members of the government, there was not the slightest difference of opinion as to the course to be pursued.

There were six nights of debate upon the Irish Bill. On the 25th of June lord George Bentinck, who had for some time filled the office of the aristocratic leader of the Protectionists, expressed himself with a violence towards the Prime Minister that more than rivalled the attacks of his untitled coadjutor. Mr. Cobden answered lord George Bentinck: "I have to say, in contradiction to the noble lord, that if the right honourable baronet chooses to retire from office in consequence of this vote, he carries with him the

* "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," pp. 288, 297.

esteem and gratitude of a larger number of the population of this empire than ever followed any minister that was ever hurled from power." After Mr. Cobden had spoken the division took place; for the second reading, 219; against it, 292; majority against the government, 73. On the 29th of June the resignation of ministers was announced by sir Robert Peel. He cast a retrospect over the reasons which had influenced his conduct, and the results which had been obtained. "The name," he said, "which ought to be associated with the success of those measures, is not the name of the noble lord, the organ of the party of which he is the leader, nor is it mine. The name which ought to be, and will be, associated with the success of those measures, is the name of one who, acting, as I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has, with untiring energy, made appeals to our reason, and has enforced those appeals with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned: it is the name of Richard Cobden." He concluded his speech with those emphatic words which have been inscribed upon the pedestal of more than one monumental tribute of a nation's gratitude:—"It may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

The House of Commons adjourned to the 3rd of July. On the 6th lord John Russell, as First Lord of Treasury, and the other members of the Administration were sworn into office.

From the 16th of July, when, after the change of government, the House of Commons met again for the dispatch of business, to the 28th of August, when parliament was prorogued by commission, the measures passed were various and important. The impending distress in Ireland occupied much of the attention of the Legislature. Two measures of permanent social interest became law. One enactment has worked a most material and salutary change in the power of the people to obtain cheap justice—the establishment of County Courts for the Recovery of Small Debts. The other, directed to important sanitary objects, which received the royal assent on the 26th of August, declares that "it is desirable for the health, comfort, and welfare of the inhabitants of towns and populous districts, to encourage the establishment therein of Public Baths and Washhouses, and open Bathing Places." To town councils and parish vestries is given the power to establish such public conveniences, the expenses of which, beyond the receipts, are to be paid as part of the poor's-rate.

On the 4th July sir Robert Peel wrote to lord Hardinge, "there is nothing I would not have done to insure the carrying of the measures I had proposed this Session. I pique myself on never having proposed anything which I have not carried; but the moment their success was insured, and I had the satisfaction of seeing two drowsy Masters in Chancery mumble out at the table of the House of Commons that the Lords had passed the Corn and Customs Bills I was satisfied. Two hours after this intelligence was brought we were ejected from power; and, by another coincidence as marvellous, on the day on which I had to announce in the House of Commons

the dissolution of the Government, the news arrived that we had settled the Oregon question, and that our proposals had been accepted by the United States without the alteration of a word." *

The settlement of the Oregon question was announced to the House of Lords on the 29th by the earl of Aberdeen. He made a brief statement of what had occurred since the President of the United States, Mr. Polk, had sent his message to the Senate with a direct refusal of the repeated proposals of the British Government to submit the whole question to arbitration. When lord Aberdeen afterwards saw that the Senate and House of Representatives had adopted Resolutions of a conciliatory and friendly description, he at once put aside all idea of diplomatic etiquette, and sent over to the British minister the draft of a convention to be proposed for the acceptance of the United States' Government. The President having submitted this draft for the opinion of the Senate, that body, by a majority of thirty-eight votes to twelve, adopted a Resolution advising the President to accept the terms proposed. Mr. Buchanan, the American Secretary of State, accordingly informed our minister that the conditions offered were accepted, "without the addition or alteration of a single word." †

This settlement of the Oregon question relieved the British nation and the government from a long-continued cause of anxiety. In 1845 Mr. Polk, in his inaugural address, affirmed that it was his duty "to assert and maintain by all constitutional means, the right of the United States to that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains. Our title to the country of the Oregon is clear and unquestionable; and already are our people preparing to perfect their title by occupying it with their wives and children." ‡ The value of the Oregon territory was so little understood when the treaty of peace was concluded in 1783, that no provision whatever was made for its occupation. Forty years later the claims of the British government and that of the United States to this region had become so opposed, that lord Castlereagh said to Mr. Rush, the American minister, that by holding up a finger a war regarding Oregon might be produced between the two countries. During the foreign secretaryship of Mr. Canning the apprehension of hostilities became greater. In 1818 a convention had been entered into, by which the whole territory was to be open to the settlers of both countries for a period of ten years; but the agreement was not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the contracting parties might have to any part of the country. In 1844 Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of State at Washington, explained his reasons for declining proposals made by the British government, in a state paper, in which he contended that time so far from impairing the American claims had greatly strengthened them, by the rapid advance of the population of the United States towards that territory. An emigration, estimated at not less than a thousand in 1843 and fifteen hundred in 1844, had flowed into it, and that the current thus commenced would continue to flow with increased volume hereafter. "There can, then, be no doubt now, that the operation of the same cause which impelled our population westward from the shores of the Atlantic

* "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," p. 309.

† Hansard, vol. lxxxvii. col. 1033.

‡ "Annual Register for 1845," p. 279.

across the Alleghany to the valley of the Mississippi, will impel them onward with accumulating force across the Rocky Mountains into the valley of the Columbia, and that the whole region drained by it is destined to be peopled by us." * In 1845 the President, in a public address while negotiations were pending, referred, contrary to all usage, to other contingencies than a friendly and satisfactory termination of the differences between the two governments. Upon this declaration sir Robert Peel expressed himself with deep regret that such a reference should be made in a tone and temper which was not likely to lead to an amicable and equitable settlement of the differences. We have rights, he said, respecting this territory of Oregon clear and unquestionable. "We trust still to arrive at an amicable adjustment—we desire to effect an amicable adjustment of our claim—but having exhausted every effort to effect that settlement, if our rights should be invaded we are resolved—and we are prepared—to maintain them." †

We have thus briefly traced the course of those differences which were happily concluded before the administration of affairs was handed over by the Peel government to that of lord John Russell. The territory in dispute has now become the rising colony of British Columbia. In looking to the probable extensive emigration in a few years to this vast territory—in many parts fertile, abundantly watered by numerous streams, and most attractive in adding one more to our gold-productive colonies,—we are struck by an eloquent prediction of the great modern orator of the United States, which was made at Boston three months after the speech of sir Robert Peel on the Oregon question. The anticipation of Mr. Webster carries us forward to the consideration of a Future of far greater significance than the disputes of the Past. "I believe that it is in the course of Providence, and of human destiny, that a great state is to arise, of English and American descent, whose power will be established over the country on the shores of the Pacific; and that all those rights of natural and political liberty, all those great principles that both nations have inherited from their fathers, will be transmitted through us to them, so that there will exist at the mouth of the Columbia, or more probably farther south, a great Pacific republic, a nation where our children may go for a residence, separating themselves from this government, and forming an integral part of a new government, half-way between England and China; in the most healthful, fertile, and desirable portion of the globe, and quite too far remote from Europe and from this side of the American continent to be under the governmental influence of either country. This state of things is by no means so far off as we may imagine—by no means so remote from the present time as may be supposed; and, looking to this state of things, this question becomes one upon which intelligent and well-disposed men might very readily come to an agreement." ‡

In writing to lord Hardinge on the 4th of July, sir Robert Peel mentions "our reception in England of your closing exploits on the Sutlej." In the royal speech, on the prorogation, the Queen congratulated her parliament on the victorious course and happy conclusion of the war in India, and announced

* "Annual Register for 1845," p. 238.

† Hansard, vol. lxxxi. col. 199.

‡ "Annual Register for 1845," p. 301.

that perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout the whole of the British possessions in that quarter of the world. It was in December, 1845, when the British occupied most of the southern bank of the Sutlej, that the Sikh army began to cross the river for the purpose of making an attack on the British frontier. Runjeet Sing, the ruler of the Sikhs and the Punjaub, had, up to the time of his death in 1839, always continued on terms of amity with the British government. His son, Kurruck Sing, who died in 1840, was the ruler of the country, his elder brother being imbecile. An illegitimate son of Runjeet Sing, who succeeded to the government, was assassinated in 1843. His son, being very young, the mother assumed the power, giving her favourite, Lall Sing, the appointment of Vizier. There was no strong hand, as in the days of Runjeet Sing, to restrain the army, and thus, having crossed to the southern bank of the Sutlej, they took up an intrenched position at the village of Ferozeshah. In this camp the Sikhs had a force of more than 50,000 men, with 108 pieces of cannon. The British force, under the commander-in-chief, sir Hugh Gough, was advancing from Umballah in order to relieve Ferozepoor, held by sir J. Littler, which had been partially invested. On the 18th of December the British army reached Moodkee, and that evening repulsed an attack of the Sikhs. In this battle sir Robert Sale received a wound, of which he died two months afterwards. The British army, consisting of 16,700 men, and 69 guns, then marched towards Ferozepoor. Sir Henry Hardinge accompanied the army. Up to the time of the Sikhs crossing the Sutlej he had carefully avoided every demonstration which could be construed into an act of hostility. It was now his clear duty to repel aggression, and he put into the performance of that duty all that energy of a chivalrous nature which had so illustrated his career in the Peninsular war. Waving the claims of his rank as Governor-General, he offered to sir Hugh Gough to serve under him as second in command. On the 21st and 22nd of December was fought the great battle of Ferozeshah. The British attacked the intrenched camp on the evening of the 21st. The resistance of the Sikhs was most obstinate. Night closed before the British had become masters of a part of the intrenched quadrangle. Their situation was one of considerable peril. The British reserves had been engaged to the last man; the troops had fought a desperate battle after a long march; they were wearied, and had little food. A writer, who had access to special information, has given an animated description of the night which followed the attack on the intrenched camp. "Side by side, with the dying and the dead, the living lay down. They strove to sleep; some of them did sleep in spite of cold, hunger, thirst, and, worse than all, the cries and groans of their wounded comrades. And all around them and above, the horizon was illuminated with the flames of burning huts, exploding shells, tumbrils, ammunition carts, and occasionally a mine. Moreover, they suffered, even then, from a constant fire of artillery, which became at one time so annoying—where the Governor-General was in person—that he was forced to order two regiments, the 80th and 1st Bengal Europeans, to charge with the bayonet. But sir Henry Hardinge and sir Hugh Gough knew no rest at all; they went about from corps to corps, animating the men, and cheerfully demonstrating to the officers that there was no alternative but victory or death."*

* "Quarterly Review," vol. lxxviii. p. 263.

"The long night wore away," wrote sir Hugh Gough, "and dawned the morning of the 22nd." The line was again formed. All the artillery of the British was brought up to the attack, but this arm of war was over-matched by the heavy cannon of the Sikh batteries. Relying upon the unfailing British weapon, the bayonet, the line advanced. The two commanders rode in front. The inner works were carried; the troops entered the village. But the day was not yet gained. The Sikh army of reserve had marched from the camp above Ferozepoor early in the morning, and their advanced guard became engaged with our cavalry. They however drew off, but soon again appeared in tremendous force. Very touching are the words in which the veteran commander-in-chief described his feelings: "The only time I felt a doubt was towards the evening of the 22nd, when the fresh enemy advanced with heavy columns of infantry, cavalry, and guns; and our cavalry horses were so thoroughly done up that they would not command even a trot. For a moment then I felt regret (and I deeply deplore my want of confidence in Him who never failed me nor forsook me) as each passing shot left me on horseback: but it was only for a moment." The cavalry movement, with jaded horses and exhausted men, decided the struggle. A panic seized the Sikhs, who believed the British were going to fall on their flank in force. They abandoned their guns, and retreated across the Sutlej. The British in that terrible struggle, almost unmatched in Indian warfare, lost 2415 men, with many distinguished officers. The European regiments were fearfully thinned. Of these the 62nd left half its numbers on the field.

Having crossed the Sutlej the Sikhs again took up a fortified position. The British army were so destitute of ammunition that they were unable to prevent the Sikhs again establishing a portion of their army on the left bank of the river. They intrenched themselves near the village of Alliwali to prevent sir Harry Smith's communication with the main army. With 12,000 men and thirty-two guns he attacked them, carried their camp by storm, captured the whole of their cannon and munitions of war, and drove the entire force precipitately across the Sutlej.

On the 10th of February was fought the great battle of Sobraon. The Sikhs had here intrenched themselves on the southern bank, having constructed a bridge of boats across the river. The victory of Alliwali had enabled sir Harry Smith to unite with the main army. A siege train had arrived from Delhi. Sir Hugh Gough was strong enough to attack the Sikhs, at some moment when the accidents of climate would permit him fairly to engage the enemy. He waited for a fall of rain to swell the ford, or a thaw of snow upon the hills, which would deprive them of any means of crossing except by their bridge of boats. A fall of rain came; the ford was impracticable. The Sikhs, dislodged from their intrenchments, retreated across the bridge, which broke down with the weight of the masses, having lost 13,000 men and sixty-seven guns. The British loss was about 2000 killed and wounded. On the 20th of February Lahore, the capital, was occupied; Dhuleep Sing, the young Maharajah, was reinstated in the city; and a treaty was signed by which he was continued in the relation of a friendly sovereign with the British government.

THE MINISTRY AS FORMED BY LORD JOHN RUSSELL

CABINET.

Marquis of Lansdowne	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Cottenham	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Minto	Lord Privy Seal.
Right Hon. Lord John Russell	First Lord of the Treasury.
Right Hon. Charles Wood	Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Earl of Auckland	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Right Hon. Sir George Grey	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Grey	Secretary of State for the Colonies.
Right Hon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse	President of the Board of Control.
Earl of Clarendon	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay	Paymaster of the Forces.
Marquis of Clanricarde	Postmaster-General.
Lord Campbell	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. Viscount Morpeth	Woods and Forests.
Right Hon. H. Labouchere	Chief Secretary for Ireland.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Duke of Wellington	Commander-in-Chief.
Marquis of Anglesey	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Right Hon. Fox Maule	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. T. M. Gibson	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
H. G. Ward, Esq.	Secretary of the Admiralty.
Right Hon. R. L. Shiel	Master of the Mint.
J. Jervis, Esq.	Attorney-General.
David Dundas, Esq.	Solicitor-General.

GREAT OFFICERS OF STATE.

Earl Fortescue	Lord Steward.
Earl Spencer	Lord Chamberlain.
Duke of Norfolk	Master of the Horse.

IRELAND.

Earl of Bessborough	Lord Lieutenant.
Right Hon. Maziere Brady	Lord High Chancellor.

SCOTLAND.

Right Hon. Andrew Rutherford	Lord Advocate.
Thomas Maitland, Esq.	Solicitor-General.

CHAPTER XXX.

The great Irish Famine—The Potato-Rot of 1845 and 1846—Modes of relief adopted by the Government—Mr. O'Connell's call upon England for help—His death—Magnificent Subscriptions—Irish Landlords and Cottier Tenants—Navigation Laws suspended—Ten Hours' Factory Bill—Abundant Harvest in England—Monetary Pressure and Panic—Excitement on the subject of National Defences—The Duke of Wellington's Letter—Proposed increase of the Income Tax—The House of Commons on the night of the 24th of February—News of the Abdication of Louis Philippe—Real causes of the overthrow of the French Monarchy—The Revolution of 1848—Provisional Government appointed—Chartism in England revived by the Socialist Revolution—The tenth of April—Preparations of the Government—Physical-force Chartism at an end—The attempt at Insurrection in Ireland—The French Republic established in bloodshed—Paris in a State of Siege—Prince Louis Napoleon, President—Convulsions of the Continent—Progress of improvement in England—The Public Health Bill—The impulse to social amelioration given by Prince Albert—Free-Trade Banquet at Manchester to celebrate the final extinction of the Corn-Laws—Meeting of Parliament the next day—Tranquillity and Loyalty of England contrasted in the Royal Speech with the condition of the Continental Kingdoms.

Postscript.

Tables—Sovereigns—Population—Occupations of the People—Census of Education—Census of Religious Worship—Revenue and Expenditure—Commerce.

ONE of the most intelligent and experienced of the official men attached to the Whig Government thus wrote in the beginning of 1848: "The time has not yet arrived at which any man can with confidence say that he fully appreciates the nature and the bearings of that great event which will long be inseparably associated with the year just departed." That event was "the great Irish Famine." This thoughtful writer adds, "Unless we are much deceived, posterity will trace up to that famine the commencement of a salutary revolution in the habits of a nation long singularly unfortunate, and will acknowledge that on this, as on many other occasions, Supreme Wisdom has educed permanent good out of transient evil."*

We have seen how the first appearances of the Potato-Rot, which was to deprive the population of Ireland of their too-exclusive article of subsistence, induced that alarm in 1845 which was the turning-point in the memorable change of the policy of sir Robert Peel as to the supply of food for the population of all this kingdom. The disease in the crop of 1845 was not so universal as to prevent a considerable portion being saved; but the quantity that was

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxxxvii. p. 329. Article "On the Irish Crisis," by Sir Charles Trevelyan.

found unfit for food when the store-pits were opened in 1846, fully testified to the wisdom of the step which sir Robert Peel took upon his own responsibility before he quitted office, of giving a commission to a great mercantile house to purchase a hundred thousand pounds' worth of Indian corn in the American markets. That supply was intrusted to Irish commissariat officers in the spring of 1846, to sell from various depôts at a moderate price, wherever the ordinary supplies of food were found to be deficient. The necessity for something more effectual than even such a timely but partial supply was soon apparent. In 1846 the fatal potato blight took place earlier, and was much more destructive, than in 1845. Father Mathew, the great temperance apostle of Ireland, has described how, on the 27th of July, he saw in a journey from Cork to Dublin the doomed plant blooming in all the luxuriance of an abundant harvest; but how, on his return on the 3rd of August, he beheld one wide waste of putrefying vegetation: "In many places the wretched people were seated on the fences of their decaying gardens, wringing their hands, and wailing bitterly the destruction that had left them foodless." The experience of the partial failure of 1845 had not taught the people that it was dangerous to depend upon one species of food alone. The great proportion of the early culture of 1846 was that of potatoes. Towards the end of July the potatoes began to show symptoms of the disease of the previous year. There was first a little brown spot on the leaf; the spots gradually increased in number and size, until the foliage withered, and the stem became brittle. Then, although the stalks remained green, the leaves suddenly blackened; the growth of the root was arrested; the staple food of a nation had perished. No potatoes were that year pitted. Those that were of any value when dug up were immediately sold or consumed, in the natural apprehension that they would rot. The autumn came, and it was now found that the potato crop had, with very few local exceptions, universally and entirely failed.

Before the distress in Ireland had reached its height—before the word "Famine" was the only term which could express the real state of human beings who would die for want of food if help were not bestowed upon them—the government of lord John Russell had devised various modes for the relief of sufferings and privations which were, even in their early stage, far more extensive than those which had been caused by the failure of the potato crop in various years during the previous quarter of a century.

On the 28th of August, 1846, the royal assent was given to three Acts especially directed to meet the inevitable failure of the great Irish esculent. They were Acts for the employment of the poor in the distressed districts for a limited period; for providing additional funds for provisional loans and grants for public works; and for authorizing a further issue of money in aid of public works. The application of these measures was a tentative process. The Labour Rate Act at the beginning of September was directed to be applied to twenty-four districts, proclaimed to be in a state of distress. At the beginning of October this measure was found ineffectual, and the Lord-Lieutenant issued a circular authorizing the undertaking of works of permanent utility. In the House of Commons, on the 20th of January, 1847, lord John Russell described how the Labour Rate Act and other Acts of the last session had worked. An immense staff of servants, upwards of eleven

thousand, had been employed to furnish labour to half a million of adults, representing two millions of souls, at an expense estimated for January of 800,000*l.* It was difficult to find trustworthy servants, and to prevent the improper employment upon the works of persons by no means destitute. It was desirable for the government to adopt new measures; to form Relief Committees empowered to receive subscriptions and levy rates, and to be intrusted with donations from the State. Out of the sums thus raised they were to purchase food, and deliver rations to the famishing inhabitants. The system of affording relief through public works had utterly broken down; the payment of money was evidently liable to gross abuse; and undrest food, such as meal, might be exchanged for less needful articles by the improvident. Rations of cooked food offered the most effectual mode of relieving the helpless and prostrate people. Then began that beneficial system which was limited by the Act of the 1st of October, and which reached its highest point in July, 1847, when upwards of three millions of persons received separate rations. The Famine was stayed. The harvest was approaching in which the staple food was not affected by the disease. Impressively has it been said by sir Charles Trevelyan—"This enterprise was in truth the grandest attempt ever made to grapple with famine over a whole country. Organized armies, amounting altogether to some hundreds of thousands, had been rationed before; but neither ancient nor modern history can furnish a parallel to the fact, that upwards of three millions of persons were fed every day in the neighbourhood of their own homes, by administrative arrangements emanating from and controlled by one central office." *

The last time that the voice of Daniel O'Connell was heard in Parliament was on the 8th of February, 1847. He called upon the House of Commons to do something speedy and efficacious—some great act of national generosity, calculated upon a broad and liberal scale. "Ireland is in your hands—in your power. If you do not save her, she cannot save herself." The great demagogue was dying. The wretched parodists of his system of agitation, which was as powerful for good as for evil—the ranting and swaggering young Irishers, who, as Charles Lamb said of the early dramatists, used blood as they would "the paint of the property-man in the theatre"—had separated from him when he declared against the employment of physical force to obtain the Repeal of the Union. In the famine he perhaps clearly saw how social evils had been neglected for the advocacy of purely political objects, very uncertain in their possible benefits for the future, and deeply injurious in their present tendency to put aside all real improvement. He died at Genoa on the 15th of May. Had he lived he would have seen and acknowledged how England had answered, not merely his call upon her generosity, but had yielded at once and wholly to the cry that had gone up to Heaven from the afflicted land, and had stretched forth her hand to succour and to save. Distressing as it must be, even at this distance of time, to look back upon the amount of human misery produced by this national calamity, there were circumstances connected with its relief that we can regard with pride and admiration. The noble exertions of public officers and private individuals, the unstinting employment of the pecuniary resources of the government, the

* "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxxxvii. p. 269.

munificence of the subscriptions sent to Ireland from the sister kingdom, the tender sympathy with the sufferers of every true English heart—these might be considered by a captious few as the mere payment of a debt from the happier island; but if so the payment was large and liberal, and such as could scarcely have been anticipated, even by those who best understood the English character. Captain Mann, an officer of the Coast Guard, who had seen the whole course of this great affliction, and who, when the worst was over, said, “I frequently look back upon it as a fearful and horrid dream,” was of opinion that “such sufferings, and such help, cannot be easily forgotten.” The Government in 1846 and 1847 advanced more than seven millions of money. The British Association for the Relief of the Distress in Ireland and Scotland applied to Ireland half a million sterling of the subscriptions raised. The Society of Friends collected in addition 168,000*l.*; and many persons in England contributed largely, independently of any association. Sir Robert Peel, in his Cabinet Memorandum of November 1, 1845, thought there would be no hope of contributions here for Irish relief. He apprehended that the charitable would have Monster meetings and Repeal rent too present to their minds to make any great exertions.* All such feelings quickly passed away. England did her duty. “In the hour of her utmost need, Ireland became sensible of an union of feeling and interest with the rest of the empire, which would have moved hearts less susceptible of every generous and grateful emotion than those of her sons and daughters.” † It was during the eventful years from 1846 to 1850 that the vast amount of Emigration took place which has been called the Irish Exodus. Before the gold discoveries in Australia, the emigrants from England and Scotland were comparatively few. “It is to Ireland that we must chiefly ascribe the departure during those five years, of a million and a quarter of emigrants from the ports of the United Kingdom, three-fourths of whom went to the United States.” ‡

Sir James Graham wrote to sir Robert Peel at the commencement of the alarm with respect to the potato crop, “A great national risk is always incurred when a population so dense as that of Ireland subsists on the potato; for it is the cheapest and the lowest food, and if it fail no substitute can be found for starving multitudes.” § Why was the population of Ireland driven to subsist on the cheapest and the lowest food? Why was the agriculture of the South and West in a neglected state, little wheat being grown, with oats inferior for milling purposes, and green crops almost unknown? Why was the sole foundation for a sufficiency of food the renting of a bit of land on which a family could be located in a miserable cabin; the population rapidly increasing, inasmuch as land used for raising potatoes will support three times the number as the same land laid down to corn will support? These small tenures paid the landlord a higher rent than could have been obtained by letting to cultivators on a large scale. The rent of the cottier tenantry was always forthcoming, either in money or in kind. This certain payment, however delayed, was the absolute condition of their precarious existence upon the cheapest and the lowest food. Too often, even in

* “Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel,” p. 143.

† Sir Charles Trevelyan—“Edinburgh Review,” vol. lxxvii. p. 316.

‡ See the Twenty-second Report of the Emigration Commissioners, 1862. Table, p. 65.

§ “Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel,” p. 114.

the best times, they were standing on the margin of absolute want, especially when they were waiting for the ingathering of their crop. It was as truly as boldly said, by a great political economist, soon after the Irish crisis—"With individual exceptions (some of them very honourable ones), the owners of Irish estates do nothing for the land but drain it of its produce." He had previously said—"In no sound theory of private property was it ever contemplated that the proprietor of land should be merely a sinecurist quartered on it."* Mr. O'Connell, in the speech we have quoted, replied to some such inference:—"It is asserted that the Irish landlords do not do their duty. Several of them have done their duty; others have not. . . . But recollect how incumbered is the property of Ireland, how many of her estates are in Chancery, how many in the hands of trustees." The legislature did recollect this; and in 1849 passed the Act by which a Commission for the sale of Incumbered Estates was established. From the beneficial operations of this Commission, and through a better spirit infused into the proprietors of unincumbered estates, much of the land has come into the hands of skilful cultivators; and that race of cottier tenantry, of whose family one or more of its members was supported by beggary, has in great part vanished. Religiously and wisely did the Society of Friends in Ireland regard the mysterious dispensation with which their country had been visited in the blight of the potato, "as a means permitted by an All-wise Providence to exhibit more strikingly the unsound state of its social condition."

The question of a probable scarcity of food, not only in Ireland and in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland but in the kingdom generally, was very early in the session brought before parliament; upon a proposal of the government for the total suspension of all import duties upon corn, and of the Navigation Laws through which importation was restricted. There was very little opposition to this measure. The Protectionists were paralyzed by the fearful presence of the Irish famine, which forbade the consideration of class interests whilst three millions of people were crying out for food. Sir Robert Peel has justly said, that if subsequent events could fairly be taken into account, the various measures taken by parliament to mitigate the sufferings of 1846 and 1847, and "the hurried suspension of the Navigation Laws and of the remaining duties on articles of subsistence, would exercise no unfavourable influence on the opinion which might be formed on the precautionary measures of 1846." Unanimously as these measures were passed, as an absolute and uncontrollable necessity, there was scarcely a debate during the session in which the Repeal of the Corn-Laws, and the abolition or reduction of Protective Duties, were not denounced as causes of present injury and of future mischief. When the Budget was brought forward, lord George Bentinck denied that free-trade had caused any increased consumption, as affirmed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, except in slave-grown sugar and in foreign silks; and he read an address from the Spitalfields weavers to himself, which thus concluded:—"We entertain the idea that had your lordship possessed the reins of government, the people of Ireland would not have perished to the extent they have.

* John Stuart Mill—"Principles of Political Economy," book ii. chap. ii. sect. 5.

because we conceive that your lordship would not have regarded the fashionable principles of political economy, whereby the people might have been saved." His lordship with great complacency affirmed that he agreed with them.

It was during this session that the Ten Hours' Factory Bill was carried upon the motion of Mr. Fielden; the members of the government being divided in opinion, not only upon the general question of this interference with labour, but as to the probable benefit, or rather injury, of limiting factory labour to ten hours or to eleven hours. Sir Robert Peel was strongly opposed to restrictions of labour which might lessen the power of the operatives to command the material necessities and comforts of life. It had been said that a diminution of the hours of labour would tend to the moral and intellectual improvement of the great labouring class. "I firmly believe," said sir Robert Peel, "that the source of the future peace, happiness, and prosperity of this country, lies in the improvement, religious as well as moral, of the different classes of society; but it is in thus advocating the elevation of the people that I oppose these restrictions. I do not deny the advantage of leisure; but of this I am perfectly convinced, that the real way to improve the condition of the labourer, and to elevate the character of the working classes of this country, is to give them a command over the necessities of life." When the Bill went to the House of Lords, lord Brougham laughed at the idea of passing the Bill for the sake of mental improvement. After ten hours' work a man was too tired for the task of self-cultivation. He had been trying to educate the peasantry for these twenty-five years, and his constant competitor and antagonist, by which he had always been defeated, was—Sleep.

On the 23rd of July Parliament was prorogued by the Queen. Her Majesty, after announcing her intention immediately to dissolve the present parliament, said—"I rely with confidence on the loyalty to the throne, and attachment to the free institutions of this country, which animate the great body of my people. I join with them in supplications to Almighty God that the dearth by which we have been afflicted may, by the Divine blessing, be converted into cheapness and plenty."

The prayer was heard. On the 17th of October thanksgivings were offered up in all the churches of England for the abundant harvest. But in a country of such large and complicated commercial relations as Great Britain, the transition from dearth to plenty cannot produce that universal gladness which is felt in simpler communities, when the garners are newly filled, and the privations of the summer and the dread of the winter are removed in a bounteous autumn. In September and October there had been such a pressure upon the merchants and traders as had not been experienced since the great panic of 1825. Mercantile houses in London of the highest eminence suspended their payments. Corresponding disasters occurred at Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow. All the usual accommodation in the Money Market was at an end. In October the alarm swelled into a general panic; the crash of eminent houses went on in London; in the country, not only mercantile firms but banks were failing; the funds fell rapidly; exchequer bills were at a high rate of discount. On the 19th of October a deputation from the bankers, merchants, and shipowners of Liverpool addressed the First Lord

of the Treasury on the necessity for some remedial measures. On the 23rd a deputation of London bankers urged upon the Government to grant relief by a suspension of the Bank Charter Act of 1844. On the 25th of October a letter was addressed, signed by lord John Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, in which it was announced that "her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that a time has arrived when they ought to attempt, by some extraordinary and temporary measure, to restore confidence to the mercantile and manufacturing community." They recommended, therefore, the Directors of the Bank of England to enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances upon approved security, charging a high rate of interest. The letter added, "if this course should lead to any infringement of the existing law, her Majesty's Government will be prepared to propose to Parliament on its meeting a Bill of Indemnity." The recommendation was immediately acceded to by the Bank of England. There was a partial restoration of confidence; but the ruin had been too widely spread not to make its effects long felt by the mercantile and manufacturing classes, and thus, by abridging the capital engaged in the employment of labour, extending the suffering to the class least able to endure it.

The New Parliament was opened on the 18th of November. Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre was re-elected Speaker. On the 23rd the royal speech was delivered by Commission. It announced that although the course recommended by Ministers to the Bank of England might have led to an infringement of the law, the law had not been infringed. It went on to say that the alarm had subsided; that the pressure on the banking and commercial interests had been mitigated; and that the abundant harvest with which the country had been blessed had alleviated the evils which always accompany a want of employment in the manufacturing districts. On the 30th of November the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech in which he defended the government interference with the Bank Act of 1844, ascribed the recent pressure to the continued drain of available capital for the purchase of foreign corn and for the construction of railways. He moved the appointment of a Select Committee "to inquire into the causes of the recent commercial distress, and how far it has been affected by the laws for regulating the issue of Bank-notes payable on demand." After three nights of debate the motion was agreed to. It is unnecessary to follow the course of that debate. A law was passed for the Prevention of Crime and Outrage in Ireland; and a Bill to remove the Civil Disabilities of the Jews was read a first time, the second reading being deferred to the 7th of February. The measure proposed by lord John Russell was occasioned by the return at the general election of the baron Rothschild as one of the members for the City of London. It was first presented in the shape of a Resolution, affirming the eligibility of Jews to all functions and offices to which Roman Catholics were admissible by law. The Prime Minister, who was the colleague of baron Rothschild, vindicated his measure in a speech of great eloquence and historical research. He was opposed by sir Robert Inglis and lord Ashley; he was supported by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli.

On the 20th of December it was moved and carried in both Houses that Parliament should be adjourned to the 3rd of February.

When Parliament met after the Recess, there was existing in the country an unusual excitement on the subject of our national defences. Many may remember how the enjoyment of the great domestic festival of Christmas was somewhat marred that season, by a letter of the earl of Ellesmere which appeared in the "Times" of the 25th of December, 1847. From the 10th of October, 1846, when the King of the French and M. Guizot, his minister, by a stroke of policy intended to circumvent the supposed designs of the British government, secretly prepared and hastily accomplished the double marriage of the Queen of Spain with the Infante of Spain, the duke of Cadiz, and of the Infanta with the duke de Montpensier, the son of Louis Philippe, it was evident that between the two Courts of France and England there would no longer be friendship. There had been too much bad faith on the part of the King to permit the old relations to continue, which had existed during the days of the *entente cordiale* at Windsor Castle and at the Chateau d'Eu. M. Guizot exaggerated the importance to France of the Spanish alliance. He has said, that he had openly laid down the principle that the throne of Spain should not pass from the House of Bourbon, and that he secured its triumph when it was on the point of defeat.* The British government perhaps took an equally exaggerated view of a new Family Compact, in being, as M. Guizot infers, more influenced by memory and imagination than enlightened by observation; the Past casting its mighty shadows over their minds, and leading them to waste their strength in the pursuit or avoidance of phantoms.† Whether the apprehension of the mischief that was especially provided against by the Allied Powers in 1814 were well-founded or unreasonable, the correspondence between the two governments became altered in its character; and the English people, with a natural hatred of trickery, and with peculiar feelings of disgust at some circumstances connected with the marriage of Queen Isabella to the Infante, from that time forth ceased to regard Louis Philippe with the sentiments of respect and confidence which once prevailed. When lord John Russell, therefore, in making his financial statement for the year exhibited a probable excess of expenditure beyond revenue, occasioned by the Irish famine and by the commercial panic, he said it was obvious that the deficiency must be met by taxation, or by great reductions in the army and navy. He adverted to a Letter of the duke of Wellington on our National Defences, which had been described by a foreign writer,‡ animated by the most friendly feelings towards England, as a pamphleteering reply to the Prince de Joinville. Nothing, he continued, could be more foreign to the intentions of the duke of Wellington, or could have given him greater pain, than the publication of sentiments which he had confidentially expressed to a brother officer. The duke had communicated to the government what he considered to be a deficiency in our defences; but it was far from his wish to make any public appeal, or to exasperate relations between England and other countries. It was clear from the statements of lord John Russell that France was the country from which danger was apprehended. "Under a king," he said, "who was a sincere lover of peace, since 1833 the active preparations and

* Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir R. Peel," p. 336.

† Ibid., p. 330.

‡ M. Chevallier.

increase of the naval force of France had been very extensive." The proposition of the government was to increase the Military, Naval, and Ordnance estimates by 358,000*l.*; to lay the foundation of a Militia by a grant of 150,000*l.*; and to meet the probable deficiency of revenue by increasing the Income Tax to 5 per cent. The proposed armament was moderate, compared with the public alarm on the subject of invasion; but it was evident that a reduction of expenditure would be strenuously demanded by the union of two very opposite parties—the Free-traders and the country gentlemen. The House of Commons was debating these subjects, when the question whether we could look to the professed friendship of Louis Philippe as our security for peace, or prepare for a rupture arising out of his bitter remembrance of our dissatisfaction with his schemes for the aggrandizement of his house, suddenly received a solution most unexpected—pregnant with far higher consequences than the success or the failure of an obsolete policy, totally out of character with the altered condition of society in which a king could no longer say—"I am the State."

Mr. Cobden, in his "Historical Episode,"—which, however decided may be the bias of his opinions, exhibits many of the qualifications of the historian,—has preserved the recollection of a scene of singular interest. "On the evening of the 24th of February, 1848, whilst the House of Commons was in session, a murmur of conversation suddenly arose at the door, and spread throughout the House, when was witnessed—what never occurred before or since, in the writer's experience—a suspension for a few minutes of all attention to the business of the House, whilst every member was engaged in close and earnest conversation with his neighbour. The intelligence had arrived of the abdication and flight of Louis Philippe, and of the proclamation of the Republic." Mr. Cobden relates a curious anecdote of the impression which this startling intelligence produced upon sir Robert Peel. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Hume were sitting together when the news reached their bench. Mr. Hume stepped across the floor to tell it to the ex-minister; and on returning to his place, repeated the following remarkable words as sir Robert's commentary: "This comes of trying to carry on a government by means of a mere majority of a Chamber, without regard to the opinion out of doors." *

Before we proceed to narrate, with necessary brevity, the portentous event which shook Europe to its centre, "with fear of change perplexing monarchs," we feel it due to M. Guizot, who has been accused of precipitating the fall of his sovereign by his conduct in the Spanish marriages, to exhibit his opinion upon this debateable matter: "It has sometimes been said that the Spanish marriages, and the ill-humour which the English government had felt on their account, were not without their influence in this catastrophe. This is a frivolous mistake with regard to its nature and causes; they were altogether internal. It was a social and moral crisis—an earthquake, French at first, and afterwards European, but with which the external relations of States and their Governments had nothing to do." †

The real causes of the "social and moral crisis," by which the govern-

* "The Three Panics," p. 12.

† Guizot, "Memoirs of Sir R. Peel," p. 337.

ment of France was overthrown, were too deeply imbedded in the feelings and opinions of that large portion of the French people who were shut out from an active participation in public affairs, to be at first seen and understood by political observers in England. The proximate causes were on the surface. A very short time sufficed to reveal, what might have been conjectured from the tendency of much of the current literature of the time, that the employers of labour and the receivers of wages had no bond of union or sympathy; were suspicious of each other; were regarding each other as natural enemies,—the one accustomed to view their almost exclusive possession of political power as their exclusive and inalienable right; the other, debarred from civil privileges, hating the government much, but hating the middle class more, upon whose affections the government was founded. The Opposition in the Chambers were ready to excite this uneasiness in the masses. They wielded the double weapons of the Tribune and the Press; dangerous as orators they were more dangerous as journalists. Seeking for the attainment of power whilst they strove to accomplish an electoral reform, they did not hesitate to ally themselves with men of more extreme opinions, whose democratic principles were directed rather towards the maintenance of the doctrine of "Equality" under a new form, than to the assertion of "Liberty," as understood by the founders of the Revolution which had overthrown the ancient monarchy; which was the cry of the indignant citizens who destroyed the monarchy of the Restoration, to place upon the throne one who was proud to call himself a Citizen King. The constitutional opposers of the government of Louis Philippe in 1848 were ready enough to propitiate the assertors of Equality, without perceiving that it had taken a practical shape in which was involved the modification or destruction of all the conditions of society which rested on the basis of individual property exchanging Capital for Labour, and which, carrying out the principle of Competition, regarded the Consumer more than the Producer. A profound thinker has said, "the passion for Equality has never ceased to occupy that deep-seated place in the hearts of the French people which it was the first to seize: it clings to the feelings they cherish most fondly."* In 1848 the principle of Co-operation was regarded by the workmen of France less as a means of benefiting their condition, than as placing all men upon a level. Vain attempt to war against Nature, who, in making men unequal in bodily and mental vigour, has decreed that the most skilful, the wisest, and the strongest shall be foremost in the race.

It is not compatible with the limits of our work to enter into any minute detail of the Revolution of February. The legislative session had opened on the 28th of December, 1847. The king's Speech contained an allusion to the agitation for "electoral and parliamentary reform,"—which words had become a toast at several provincial banquets. Petitions for reform had been presented to the Chamber of Deputies. On the opening of the session there had been discussions in the Chamber on the legality of peaceful and unarmed political meetings. On the 22nd of February there was to have been a reform banquet in the twelfth *arrondissement* of Paris—a quarter where the materials for disorder were abundant. The Minister of the Interior forbade the meeting, as the committee for the banquet had proposed a procession of

* De Tocqueville, "France before the Revolution of 1789," Mr. Reeve's translation, p. 383.

National Guards in uniform, and of students. The uniform of the National Guards had almost disappeared from public view. They were no longer favoured and flattered by the government. The principal leaders of the parliamentary Opposition now announced that the banquet was adjourned, in consequence of the declaration of the Minister of the Interior. This postponement was loudly murmured at by the democratic journalists. On the morning of the 22nd the streets were crowded at an early hour. About noon a crowd surrounded the Chamber of Deputies; and a cry was raised of "Down with Guizot;" but in the evening the city was quiet. Not so during the night. The government was collecting troops, and the people were raising barricades. The *rappel* was again heard calling out the National Guard at seven in the morning of the 23rd. Some firing soon took place between the populace and the Municipal Guards. But the National Guards had come to an agreement amongst themselves to act the part of conciliators rather than that of the opposers of the people; and their presence in consequence prevented any attempt of the regular troops to disperse the multitudes assembled in various quarters. Soon the cry of *Vive la Réforme* was heard amongst groups of the citizen soldiers. The royal occupants of the Tuileries began to be seriously alarmed. A council was hastily summoned, when M. Guizot, finding that the Cabinet could not rely upon the firmness of the king, expressed his determination to retire. He himself announced his resignation to the Chamber of Deputies. There was joy that night in Paris, for it was thought that the cause of Reform had gained a victory. Houses were illuminated as if the crisis were passed. But a band of republicans bearing a red flag had come forth, and gathering together before the Hotel of Foreign Affairs occupied by M. Guizot, where a battalion of infantry was stationed, a shot fired from the mob was answered by a volley from the soldiery, and fifty fell, killed or wounded. A procession was immediately formed. The bodies of the dead were carried by torchlight through the streets, amidst the frantic cries of excited crowds demanding vengeance. The opportunity of restoring tranquillity by the exercise of force had passed away. During the night the king had reluctantly decided for concession. He had sent for M. Thiers and offered him the formation of a ministry. As the condition of his acceptance M. Thiers stipulated that M. Odillon Barrot should be a member of the Cabinet. This was entirely to yield upon the question of Reform, and wholly to change the policy of the government. But there was no alternative for the perplexed king. The change of administration was announced by placards in the morning. The command of the troops had been given to Marshal Bugeaud during the night; and it is probable that he would have adopted no half measures to support the Crown. His command was superseded by the new ministers, who judged that the danger of insurrection was passed. They were deceived. About noon the populace attacked the Palais Royal, and sacked the apartments. The Tuileries was next to be assailed. The king left the palace with his queen. The mob broke in. The throne was carried along the Boulevards, and was burnt at the foot of the column of July.

The Chamber of Deputies met at half-past twelve, when M. Dupin announced the abdication of Louis Philippe. M. Dupin also announced that the king had abdicated in favour of his grandson, the comte de Paris,

appointing the duchess of Orleans regent. The duchess, leading her two sons by the hand, entered the Chamber, accompanied by the duke de Nemours. She said, "I have come here with all I have dear in the world." Some repugnance was manifested at the presence of the royal strangers, but the duchess appearing unwilling to retire, a stormy discussion began. By a law of 1842 it was declared that during the minority of the comte de Paris, in the event of the demise of the king, the duke de Nemours should be regent. The debate turned upon this difficulty. It was soon interrupted by the rush of a crowd that filled all the passages of the Chambers and swarmed into the Hall. The mother and her children were surrounded by armed men; but still she resolved to remain. She heard the demand for a Provisional Government; she heard the assertion that a Regency could not be created. Amidst clamours and threats she was forced by her attendants out of the Hall. The Deputies were scarcely free agents, as, with the applauses or the hisses of the fierce Republicans who were now in command of the situation, the members of a Provisional Government were nominated. Seven Deputies were finally appointed to this responsibility. In the meantime another Provisional Government had been formed at the Hotel de Ville. The members chosen by the Chamber were Lamartine, Marie, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and Garnier Pagès. The Provisional Government of the Hotel de Ville consisted of Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Albert. The Seven proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, and there, after violent altercation, came to a compromise with the Four. Liberty and Equality shook hands. There was to be a Republic; but a Republic in which the principles of Socialism should be the paramount element. At the top of the stairs of the Hotel de Ville, Lamartine proclaimed the Republic to the populace below. The Provisional Government of Eleven declared that the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved; that a National Assembly should be convoked, the members of the "ex-Chamber of Peers" being forbidden to assemble. On the 25th "a Proclamation," signed by Garnier Pagès and Louis Blanc, declared that the Provisional Government undertook to secure the existence of the workman by labour; to guarantee labour to all citizens. On the 26th the members presented themselves to the people assembled before the Hotel de Ville; and there Lamartine proclaimed the abolition of Royalty and the establishment of the Republic, with the exercise of their political rights by the people. The prospect of universal suffrage was made still more agreeable by the announcement of the opening of National Workshops for the unemployed workmen.

Chartism had slumbered in England since the monster petition of 1839.* The principles of Socialism, which had been diligently propagated in France during the ten years which preceded the Revolution of 1848, gradually made their way to a small extent in this country. Enthusiasts multiplied, who believed that the evils of Competition were to be swept away by one broad recognition of the blessings of Co-operation. Whilst Robert Owen, the most benevolent of fanatics, still continued to predict that grass would soon grow in the streets of London at the time when happy communities should produce every necessary and every luxury of life for themselves in capacious parallelograms, there were less harmless regenerators of society who asserted

* *Ante*, p. 417.

that universal felicity could not exist without the complete establishment of democratic principles which should know no distinctions of rank and wealth. "Liberty and Property," wrote Voltaire, "is the cry of England. It is of far higher worth than St. George and my right—than Saint Denis and Mount Joy. It is the cry of Nature." The social regenerators of England in 1848, when they had taken the government of the country into their own hands, "would divide the land into small farms, and give every man an opportunity of getting his living by the sweat of his brow." Such was one of the doctrines propounded at "the Convention" held in the week which preceded the great demonstration of the 10th of April. The organ of Chartism was the "Northern Star," of Mr. Feargus O'Connor, one of the members for Nottingham; a brawling ignorant demagogue, who, not without an eye to his own profit, had contrived to induce many hard-working people to subscribe their money to his schemes for establishing "The National Land Company." This association was, in truth, founded upon those rights of property which his disciples, with some inconsistency, were inclined to abolish for all landowners except themselves. In the meantime, whilst the higher mysteries of Chartism only now and then peeped out, the great business of the Chartists was to get up a Petition to Parliament for their five points, which being completed, and alleged to have received 5,706,000 signatures, was to be presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Feargus O'Connor on the 10th of April.

The preparations for this day would have been calculated to alarm any other than an energetic government. A great convulsion might have shaken all our institutions into temporary disorder, had not the avowed designs of the physical-force Chartists been promptly met by such an organization as would have crushed mob-violence into annihilation at the moment of its display. The ministry took the advice of the duke of Wellington. He so judiciously arranged a plan for the presence of the military power at every point where a contest might by possibility occur, that, without the display of a single soldier, effectual resistance was impossible. "You have left one point unprotected—one way in which they could escape," said a member of the Cabinet to the great captain. "That was precisely what I intended to do," replied the duke.* But, more than all the combinations of military science was a display of strength which proclaimed to the Chartists,—some of whom were young enthusiasts who had brooded over the evils of society hopelessly and passionately; many, desperate men, such as the *prolétaires* of France; all, without any definite plan, at the command of ignorant and presumptuous leaders,—that they alone were not the People. On that morning, a hundred and seventy thousand special constables stood shoulder to shoulder in the streets of London, each armed only with a staff which represented the strength of the law—a band where a real equality of rights and duties placed the peer side by side with the shopkeeper; where the merchant stood amidst his clerks and the manufacturer with his workmen; where the humblest and the highest exchanged the resolves of good subjects, that, come what might, the generation which had seen so many ameliorations of the state of society peacefully accomplished, should not be disgraced by an attempt to redress grievances by physical force, under the direction of empty-headed

* We state this from private information.

demagogues. The display of the national will,—the unostentatious preparations of the government, and their bold resolve not to prevent the proposed meeting of the Chartists on Kennington Common, but steadily to oppose their return over either of the bridges in procession,—was enough for present safety and future peace. This resistance to their return in multitudes at night-fall was accomplished, not by the soldiery, who continued unseen to the last, but by the police alone. The great Petition was ignobly carried to the House of Commons in a cart, to be presented by Mr. Feargus O'Connor without his legions. Physical-force Chartism was really at an end, although its revival was several times attempted, to be put down by the same firmness.

Contemporaneous with the abortive proceedings of disaffection in London, in Glasgow, and in a few provincial towns, was what at first appeared to be a serious renewal of insurrection in Ireland. An association was in 1847 formed in Dublin, called "The Irish Confederation." Of this Confederation Mr. Smith O'Brien, with several others who attained to distinction as the utterers of the boldest sedition, and the announcers of the bloodiest resolves, were leading authorities. The French Revolution gave a new impulse to their exertions. "Up with the barricades and invoke the God of battles," cried Mr. Meagher, at a meeting held to congratulate the Provisional Government of France. The uttering of seditious speeches was, up to April, an offence which the law regarded as a misdemeanor; but an Act was then passed which rendered it felony to compass or imagine the deposition of the Queen, or to give expression to any such intention. Under this Act, Mr. Mitchell was tried and convicted; and Mr. Duffy was about to be prosecuted. It was determined by Mr. O'Brien and his bold associates in an act of treason, to rise in August to rescue Mr. Mitchell, and to prevent the trial of Mr. Duffy. A War Directory was appointed by the Confederation, and a mighty warrior, Mr. O'Brien, was to take the field in person and lead his forces to the overthrow of the despotic government. On the 28th of July the great rebel was in arms. He engaged the Police in a pitched battle near Ballingarry, where he had seven of his army killed and several wounded. On the 5th of August he was arrested at Thurles. The adventure of "the cabbage-garden" will be long remembered, in connection with the wise mercy of the government, which, after a few years, permitted his return to Ireland, to warn political fanaticism of the probable danger of that public contempt which awaits the anarchist who is too silly to be mischievous. The insurrection had soon come to an end. There were trials for high treason, of which the ridicule attached to the traitors could not prevent the people acknowledging that their capital sentence was deserved; rejoicing equally when, in the next year, after the demand of a writ of error, the sentence was commuted to transportation. Ireland was now free to apply herself to the amelioration of her social evils, instead of continuing a vain struggle for a separation from a country which had saved her in the direst hour of her calamity, and which was now ready to devote her capital and her skill, in a hearty endeavour to improve the material resources of the neglected land.

The essential differences between the institutions of England and of France, and the no less remarkable diversity in the political aspirations of the people of each, may in some degree account for the contrast between the two countries which 1848 presented. The insurrectionary movements in the one

were suppressed without bloodshed. In the other, within four months after the proclamation of the Republic, sixteen thousand persons were killed or wounded in the streets of Paris. The short career of the Provisional Government of France had been upheld by military force, amidst the increasing animosities of the Socialists. When the National Assembly was opened and had appointed an Executive Commission of five members, there was an attempt to form another Provisional Government of those who had now come to be designated as Red Republicans. This attempt was put down. The election of prince Louis Napoleon to a seat in the National Assembly was met by the proposition of a decree for his banishment. He was admitted to take his seat by the vote of a great majority. Close upon this event came the terrible crisis which, after four days' fighting, ended in the total rout of the insurgents; the appointment of general Cavaignac as Dictator; and the declaration that Paris was in a state of siege, that is, under martial law. This state endured from the 24th of June till the 20th of October. On the 21st of December prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte took the oath as President of the French Republic, to continue in office till May, 1852.

The year 1848 will be memorable, not only for the Revolution of France, and its great example of extreme democratic opinions terminating, after a sanguinary struggle, in military despotism, but for the universal up-heaving of the continental kingdoms in an earthquake of which the tremblings have not yet subsided. To trace these events beyond this general reference to them would be beyond the scope of our history. We could not attempt to narrate the convulsions of Italy; the war between Austria and Sardinia; the insurrection of Hungary and the Hungarian war; the violated promises of sovereigns to their peoples; the dead calm, which was not peace, that ensued when Absolutism had triumphed; without going into a view of cause and effect, of the merit of contending principles, of the balance of good and evil, in the absence of which a meagre narrative of occurrences would be wholly unsatisfactory.*

Amidst the general disquiet of Europe, the Session of Parliament came to a close on the 5th of September. It was in no boastful spirit that the Queen said, that, surrounded by convulsions and wars between neighbouring States, she had had the satisfaction of being able to preserve peace for her own dominions, and to maintain our domestic tranquillity. "The strength of our institutions has been tried, and has not been found wanting." In these troublous times the social improvement of the country steadily went forward. The great measure of establishing a General Board of Health, and to create Local Boards, was the timely work of this Session. It is unnecessary to point out how the condition of the cities and towns of this kingdom has been essentially changed—how the amount of human suffering has been lessened, and the moral improvement and contentment of the inhabitants in dense and populous districts promoted, by the Public Health Act. The awakening had succeeded to a lethargic sleep. No one was more strenuous in proclaiming how individual energy was to make legislative

* In the *Appendix*, we do not profess to present the occurrences there briefly noticed in their chronological succession with any attempt to digest them historically. We offer those imperfect Annals of nineteen years as some aid to the reader, if he should desire to trace the course of very marked events from the close of this history.

provisions effectual than Prince Albert. At a meeting of the "Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes," he uttered words which sank deep into the national mind: "Depend upon it, the interests of classes too often contrasted are identical, and it is only ignorance which prevents their uniting for each other's advantage. To dispel that ignorance, to show how man can help man notwithstanding the complicated state of civilized society, ought to be the aim of every philanthropic person; but it is more peculiarly the duty of those who, under the blessing of Divine Providence, enjoy station, wealth, and education."

On the 31st of January, 1849, there was a public banquet in the Free-trade Hall at Manchester, to celebrate the triumph of that principle which had so often been advocated in that vast room. Two thousand persons were assembled. The renowned leaders of the League were the chief speakers. Their special vocation was now at an end, but they were ready again to do battle for political truth if a defeated party should attain power, and attempt to undo the great work of seven years. The hand of the clock was approaching the hour which was to begin another day, when the band struck up the inspiring air of "A good time coming, boys." A chorus, very solemn in its joyfulness, burst from those two thousand voices. As the clock struck twelve, the chairman called for silence. "THE GOOD TIME HAS COME," he shouted. Then that multitude stood up, and with the British huzza which has struck terror into many an enemy proclaimed that one foe to the well-being of the people was at last laid low. The first of February, so hopefully expected, so patiently waited for, had arrived. The millions who earned their daily bread by the sweat of their brow might at last eat "untaxed food."

When the Session of Parliament was opened by the Queen on the 1st of February, the same newspaper contained the Speech of her Majesty, and the Report of the great banquet at Manchester. The royal speech contrasted the tranquillity and loyalty of England with the condition of the continent, convulsed by anarchy or trodden down by absolutism. Who, with any pretence to political philosophy, can now fail to trace this peace and contentment, in a very material degree, to the extinction of that injustice which had been so long perpetrated by delusive legislation, for the supposed interests of an exclusive class? The great statesman who accomplished this work points, with an honest exultation, to those who had been loudest in condemnation of the measures of 1846, who, on the 10th of April, 1848, openly rejoiced that provision had been made for the total repeal of the Corn-Laws. Yet, he says, these admissions were retracted, on the removal of all danger from popular disaffection. "They were retracted without due reflection on the causes which had interfered in the hour of danger to promote loyalty to the throne, and confidence in the justice of parliament."*

All these inconsistencies of party feeling have long since passed away. We have no pleasure in recalling the wearisome period of controversy that preceded the common agreement of all, except a few who still pored over their obsolete statistics, to enter upon a new era of manly exertion, unimpeded by class prejudices and unembittered by class animosities. We were

* "Memoirs by Sir Robert Peel," p. 319.

becoming an united people, even in that dawning of a brighter day when the Queen met her Parliament on the 1st of February, 1849, and said—"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. I look to the protection of Almighty God for favour in our continued progress; and I trust you will assist me in upholding the fabric of the Constitution, founded as it is upon the principles of freedom and of justice."

END OF THE HISTORY.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE thus completed a labour of seven years, in writing the History of my country from the Roman period to a remarkable epoch of the reign of Queen Victoria. With a reverent heart I thank the Supreme Controller of all human designs that He has permitted me, in reaching a prolonged term of the life of man, to carry forward my purpose to its close.

In referring from time to time to the irrevocable results of this long-continued occupation—irrevocable, because this History of four thousand pages has been produced at periodical intervals, thus precluding the power of revising it as a whole—I am conscious of errors that might have been corrected under other circumstances. But I am not conscious of any material want of harmony between the earlier and the later portions—certainly of no essential discordance of principles and feelings. Whatever may be the defects of this narration,—stretching over nineteen hundred years of recorded time, and comprehending a vast body of facts, of whose quantity and varied character the Indexes, full as they are, will give an inadequate conception—I am warranted in saying that it is the only complete History of England—a Library History and not a School History—which is the production of one writer. With the exception of three Chapters, the “Popular History” has been wholly written by myself.* This unity of thought, whatever may be the knowledge and ability of a historian, must have a certain value beyond what may be attained by a division of labour. Being the production of one mind, the due proportions of the narrative, from the first Chapter to the last, have, I trust, been maintained.

Having undertaken, perhaps somewhat rashly, to write a History of England that, regarding only its chronological extent, involved a large range

* Those three chapters are Chap. xxix. of Vol. v. ; Chap. iv. of Vol. vii. ; and Chap. viii. of Vol. viii. Being confined to the subject of the Fine Arts, I felt that they required technical knowledge and a peculiar judgment to which I could not pretend. I therefore confided them to Mr. James Thorne, who has for some years contributed many articles on Art to works in which I have been engaged.

of research,—more especially so as it was intended from the first to embrace the Social as well as the Political History of many ages,—it is scarcely necessary for me to apologize for not having plunged into the great ocean of unpublished State Papers, which have, in very recent days, afforded most valuable materials for the authors of special Histories of particular eras. Such an employment would have rendered it impossible for me to have completed my undertaking in double or treble the years during which it has been my continued occupation. At the same time I may conscientiously state that I have not taken upon trust the facts or opinions of any previous writers of the general history of our country or of the history of any detached regnal periods. I have consulted no inconsiderable number of books that are the essential foundations of the English Historical Library; and for modern times I have not neglected that vast field of Memoirs and Letters, English and Foreign, in which there are always fruits to be gathered by the writer who will diligently seek for them.

Of the spirit which has animated me during the progress of this work, and has sustained me through the difficulties of my task, I will venture to say a few words. I had a fixed purpose in view when I commenced it. I addressed myself, not exclusively, but with a steady regard, to those of either sex who were entering upon the serious duties of life. Passing from the elementary works that had been used in the course of ordinary education, there were hundreds to whom a fuller History,—not dry, not didactic, not written with the prejudices of party or sect—would be an acquisition. Feeling my responsibilities to be increased by the fact that my duty was to impart knowledge and not to battle for opinions, my desire has been to cherish that love of Liberty which is best founded upon a sufficient acquaintance with its gradual development and final establishment amongst us; to look with a tolerant judgment even upon those who have sought to govern securely by governing absolutely; to trace with calmness the efforts of those who have imperilled our national independence by foreign assault or domestic treason, but never to forget that a just love of country is consistent with historical truth; to carry forward, as far as within the power of one who has watched joyfully and hopefully the great changes of a generation, that spirit of improvement which has been more extensively and permanently called forth in the times of which this concluding Volume treats, than in the whole previous period from the Revolution of 1688. I doubtless have failed in many cases in the accomplishment of my leading purposes; but the wish to effect these objects has been always present.

In the Introduction to my First Volume I have stated the circumstances which led me to entertain the idea of writing a book that might be recommended for purposes of instruction, "when a Young Man of Eighteen asks for a History of England." With a pardonable pride, I may presume to mention that my desire to produce such a book has been welcomed in a manner far beyond my hope—I fear beyond my desert. Whilst the Prince of Wales was pursuing his studies at the University of Cambridge, my History was used as a text-book, and was quoted and recommended by the Reverend Charles Kingsley, the Professor of Modern History, in the course of Lectures which His Royal Highness attended. The exalted rank of the Student—the literary eminence of the Professor—combine to render this compliment most grateful to me. It affords me the consolation of believing that, whatever may be the errors and deficiencies of my undertaking, it has been recognized by one whose opinion is of no ordinary value, as a well-meant endeavour to write the History of the Kingdom and of the People with a due sense of my responsibility to be just and truthful, and with a catholicity of mind that may be preserved without the suppression of honestly-formed opinions.

I am writing the concluding sentences of this Postscript in my birth place—in Windsor. In solitary walks of my boyhood—by the windings of the Thames, or looking from the gentle hills of the Forest,—the "proud keep" seldom rose to my view but I connected it with some historical memory. To me those majestic towers were interpreters of Heaven's o'er-past decrees. They formed my mind to look upon the History of my country as the most interesting of studies; to endeavour to draw from that study a just guide to the public duties of a youth who had the happiness to be born a Briton. If what I have written in these Volumes should inspire similar feelings; if this History should be found more calculated for truthful instruction than the Histories which were accessible to me in my early days, I have not written in vain.

In the "Faery Queen,"—passages of which present themselves to my memory as I ramble amongst the scenes where I first read that noble poem, a man "of ripe and perfect age" unrolls the ancient book of "Briton Moniments" to two youthful champions, who burn with fervent fire to attain a knowledge of "their country's ancestry." As the old man of Spenser unfolded the "records from ancient times derived," to induce that feeling of patriotism which would make his chivalrous visitors brave and courteous maintainers of England's honour, I would point to the earliest and

to the latest of our Annals, to exhort the rising generation to a grateful sense of the blessings of which they are the heirs. To the young man who is passing into active life at a season in which his country has attained a position of greatness unprecedented, and of security not easily to be shaken, whilst I look back to early days of national danger and difficulty, but nevertheless days in which the true Englishman rarely lost heart or hope,—to him especially I would say, in the words of the poet who now wears the Laurel which Spenser wore,

“ Love thou thy land, with love far-brought
From out the storied Past, and used
Within the Present, but transfused
Thro’ future time by power of thought.”

CHARLES KNIGHT.

TABLES,
FROM 1815, INCLUDING RETURNS DERIVED FROM THE CENSUSES OF 1851 AND 1861.

—♦—
CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND RULERS.

GREAT BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.
1815 Regency	Louis XVIII.	Francis I.	Frederic William III.	Charles XIII.	Alexander I.	Ferdinand VII.
1818 —	—	—	—	Charles John XIV.	—	—
1820 George IV.	Charles X.	—	—	—	—	—
1824 —	—	—	—	—	Nicolas I.	—
1825 —	Louis Philippe.	—	—	—	—	—
1830 William IV.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1833 —	—	Ferdinand I.	—	—	—	Isabella II.
1835 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1837 Victoria.	—	—	Frederic William IV.	—	—	—
1840 —	—	—	—	Oscar IV.	—	—
1844 —	Louis Napoleon.	Francis Joseph I.	—	—	—	—
1848 —	(President of Re- public.)	—	—	—	—	—
—	Napoleon III.	—	—	Charles XV.	—	—
1850 —	—	—	—	—	Alexander II.	—
1852 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
1855 —	—	—	William I.	—	—	—
1861 —	—	—	—	—	—	—

OCCUPATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN,

And number of Persons engaged in them (arranged in the order of the Numbers) in 1851.

[This classification was not called for in the Census for 1861.]

Occupations.	Persons.	Occupations.	Persons.
Agricultural Labourer . . . }	1,460,896	Iron-miner	28,088
Farm Servant, Shepherd . . . }		Printer	26,024
Domestic Servant		Nurse (not Domestic Servant)	25,518
Cotton, Calico, manufacture, print- ing and dyeing	1,038,791	Shipwright, Shipbuilder	25,201
Labourer (branch undefined)	501,465	Stone Quarrier	23,489
Farmer, Grazier	376,551	Lodging-house Keeper	23,089
Boot and Shoe maker	306,767	Lead-miner	22,530
Milliner, Dressmaker	274,451	Copper-miner	22,385
Coal-miner	267,791	Straw Hat and Bonnet maker	21,902
Carpenter, Joiner	219,015	Cooper	20,245
Army and Navy	182,696	Watch and Clock maker	19,159
Tailor	178,773	Brewer	18,620
Washerwomen, Mangler, Laundry- keeper	152,672	Dock Labourer, Dock and Harbour Service	18,462
Woolen Cloth manufacture	146,091	Clergyman of Established Church	18,587
Silk manufacture	137,814	Protestant Dissenting Minister	9,644
Blacksmith	114,570	Police	18,348
Worsted manufacture	112,776	Plasterer	17,980
Mason, Pavior	104,061	Warehouse,—Man, Woman	17,861
Messenger, Porter, and Errand Boy Linen, Flax manufacture	101,442	Saddler, Harness-maker	17,583
Seamen (Merchant Service) on shore or in British Ports	101,425	Hatter, Hat manufacture	16,975
Grocer	98,860	Coachman (not Domestic Servant), Guard, Postboy	16,836
Gardener	89,206	Law Clerk	16,626
Iron manufacture, moulder, founder Innkeeper, Licensed Victualler, Beer-shop keeper	85,913	Coachmaker	16,590
Seamstress, Shirtmaker	80,946	Cowkeeper, Milkseller	16,526
Bricklayer	80,032	Ropemaker	15,966
Butcher, Meat Salesman	75,721	Druggist	15,643
Hose (Stocking) manufacture	73,068	Surgeon, Apothecary	15,163
School,—master, mistress	67,989	Tin-miner	15,050
Lace manufacture	67,691	Paper manufacture	14,501
Plumber, Painter, Glazier	66,989	Coalheaver, Coal Labourer	14,426
Baker	65,499	Greengrocer, Fruiterer	14,320
Carman, Carrier, Carter, Drayman Charwoman	65,376	Muslin manufacture	14,098
Draper (Linen and Woollen)	63,660	Confectioner	13,865
Engine and Machine maker	62,808	Tinman, Tinker, Tinplate worker Staymaker	13,770
Commercial Clerk	62,472	Solicitor, Attorney, Writer to the Signet	13,699
Cabinet maker, Upholsterer	56,981	Dyer, Scourer, Calenderer	12,964
Teacher (various), Governess	55,423	Currier	12,920
Fisherman, Woman	49,184	Builder	12,818
Boat, Barge, Man, Woman	48,082	Farm Bailiff	12,805
Miller	43,760	Hair-dresser, Wig-maker	12,173
Earthenware manufacture	40,897	Coal-merchant, dealer	12,092
Sawyer	40,575	Glass manufacture	12,005
Railway Labourer	38,294	Carpet and Rug manufacture	11,457
Straw-plait manufacture	37,683	Goldsmith, Silversmith	11,242
Brick-maker, dealer	37,268	Brass founder, moulder, manufac- ture	11,200
Government Civil Service	36,512	Maltster	11,150
Hawker, Pedlar	35,443	Railway Officer, Clerk, Station- Master	10,948
Wheelwright	34,366	Bookbinder	10,953
Glover	32,062	Road Labourer	10,923
Shopkeeper (branch undefined)	31,168	Wine and Spirit Merchant	10,467
Horsekeeper, Groom (not Domestic) Jockey	30,963	Fishmonger	10,439
Nail manufacture	30,553	Merchant	10,256
	29,882	Ribbon manufacture	10,074
	29,800		
	29,408		
	28,533		

* This is the Army and Navy of the United Kingdom, exclusive of the Indian Army and Navy.

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

FROM THE CENSUS, MARCH 30TH, 1851.

[This classification was not repeated in 1861.]

ENGLAND AND WALES.

	Total Number of Places of Worship.	Open in the Morning.	Sittings (Morning).	Attendance (Morning).
Church of England	14,077	11,794	4,852,645	2,541,244
Methodists	11,974	5,566	1,538,612	808,752
Independents	3,244	2,261	901,352	524,612
Baptists	2,789	2,055	636,864	360,806
Quakers	371	362	94,805	14,364
Unitarians	229	183	60,044	28,483
Presbyterians	161	149	86,535	47,582
Plymouth Brethren	132	101	14,613	5,699
New Church (Swedenborgians)	50	44	11,465	4,846
Sandemanians	6	6	956	439
Moravians	32	28	8,543	4,993
Isolated Congregations	539	338	74,876	36,969
	33,574	22,887	8,281,310	4,378,789
FOREIGN PROTESTANTS.				
Lutherans	6	6	2,172	1,152
French Protestants	3	2	530	225
Reformed Church, Netherlands	1	1	350	70
German Protestant Reformers	1	1	200	120
	11	10	3,252	1,567
OTHER CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.				
Roman Catholics	570	542	175,309	252,783
Greek Church	3	3	291	240
German Catholics	1	1	300	500
Italian Reformers	1	0	0	0
Catholic and Apostolic (Irvingites)	32	29	6,545	3,176
Latter Day Saints	222	147	23,413	7,517
	829	722	205,858	264,216
Jews	53	50	8,100	2,910
Total	34,467	23,669	8,498,520	4,647,482

SCOTLAND.

	Total Number of Places of Worship.	Open in the Morning.	Sittings, (Morning).	Attendance (Morning).
Established Church of Scotland	1183	1022	713,567	351,454
Other Presbyterians	1431	1249	743,773	467,020
Episcopal Church	134	116	35,769	26,966
Independents	192	169	70,851	26,392
Baptists	119	98	24,330	9,208
Quakers	7	7	2,153	196
Unitarians	5	5	2,438	863
Methodists	82	65	21,768	8,937
Evangelical Union	28	26	10,589	3,895
Other Protestants	13	12	1,806	667
Isolated Congregations	60	41	9,321	2,871
Roman Catholics	117	101	48,771	43,878
Irvingites	3	3	675	272
Latter Day Saints	20	18	3,177	1,304
Jews	1	1	67	28
Total	2395	2933	1,689,049	943,951

SCHOOLS. ENGLAND AND WALES.

CENSUS OF EDUCATION, 1851.

	Schools.	Scholars.
Military, Naval, Corporation, Workhouse, and Prison Schools	610	48,826
Endowed Schools —		
Collegiate and Grammar Schools	566	35,612
Other endowed Schools	2,559	170,667
	<u>3,125</u>	<u>206,279</u>
Supported by Religious Bodies :—		
Church of England	10,555	929,474
Independents	453	50,186
Wesleyan Methodists	381	41,144
Roman Catholics	339	41,382
Undenominational	514	82,597
Others	466	44,003
	<u>12,708</u>	<u>1,188,786</u>
Ragged, Orphan, Blind, Deaf and Dumb, Factory, Colliery, and Mechanics' Institution Schools, Agricultural Schools, and other Public Schools	1,081	109,214
Total of Public Day Schools, as above	15,411	1,413,170
Total of Private Day Schools	29,425	695,422
	<u>44,836</u>	<u>2,108,592</u>

Evening Schools, from which returns were obtained in 1851, 1,545 ; Scholars, 39,783, of whom 79 per cent. were males.

Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions:—Returns obtained in 1851 from 1,057 Institutions, with 163,395 Members.

SCOTLAND.

	Day Schools.	Scholars.
Supported by General or Local Taxation	1,039	88,900
" " Endowments	491	39,537
" " Religious Bodies	1,385	114,739
Other Public Schools	434	36,869
	<u>3,349</u>	<u>280,045</u>
Private Day Schools	1,893	88,472
	<u>5,242</u>	<u>369,517</u>

Sabbath Schools, 3,803 ; Scholars, 292,549 ; Teachers, 25,411.

Evening Schools for Adults, 438 ; Scholars, 15,071.

Literary and Mechanics' Institutions, 221 ; Members, 29,655.

The Census of 1861 did not require the returns of Education in the above form, but the Board of Education Returns, from the Reports of Inspectors, give the number of children attending the inspection of Primary Schools in England and Wales in 1861 as 879,834, and in 1867 as 1,210,301. In Scotland in 1861 (exclusive of Roman Catholic Schools) the number inspected was 148,806, and in 1867 it was 180,799.

PUBLIC INCOME AND EXPENDITURE,
FROM 1815 TO 1850.

	Income.	Expenditure.	
	Net Receipts.	Interest on Debt funded and unfunded.	Total Amount expended in the Year.
	£	£	£
1815	72,210,512	31,576,074	92,280,180
1816	62,264,546	32,938,751	65,169,771
1817	52,055,913	31,436,245	55,281,238
1818	53,747,795	30,880,244	53,348,578
1819	52,648,847	30,807,249	55,406,509
1820	54,282,958	31,157,846	54,457,247
1821	55,834,192	31,955,304	57,130,586
1822	55,663,650	29,921,493	53,710,624
1823	57,672,999	29,215,905	56,223,740
1824	59,302,403	29,066,350	59,231,161
1825	57,273,869	28,000,237	61,520,753
1826	54,894,989	28,076,957	55,081,073
1827	54,932,518	28,230,847	55,823,321
1828	55,187,142	28,095,506	54,171,141
1829	50,786,682	29,155,612	51,835,137
1830	50,056,616	29,118,858	49,078,108
1831	46,424,440	28,341,416	49,797,156
1832	46,988,755	28,323,751	46,379,692
1833	46,271,326	28,522,507	45,782,026
1834	46,425,263	28,504,096	46,678,079
1835	45,893,369	28,514,610	45,669,309
1836	48,591,180	29,243,598	48,093,196
1837	46,475,194	29,489,571	49,116,839
1838	47,333,460	29,260,238	47,686,183
1839	47,844,890	29,454,062	49,357,691
1840	47,567,565	29,381,718	49,169,552
1841	48,084,360	29,450,145	50,185,729
1842	46,965,631	29,428,120	50,945,169
1843	52,532,817	29,260,160	51,148,254
1844	54,003,754	30,495,459	52,211,000
1845	53,060,354	28,253,872	53,386,603
1846	53,790,138	28,077,987	50,943,830
1847	51,546,265	28,141,531	54,502,947
1848	53,388,717	28,563,517	54,185,136
1849	52,951,749	28,323,961	50,874,696
1850	52,810,680	28,091,590	50,231,874

NATIONAL DEBT (continued from p. 384).

Peace . .			Principal.	Interest.	
			£	£	
	Victoria.	1 & 2	1838	786,840,165	29,432,903
"		2 & 3	1839	787,236,060	29,335,451
"		3 & 4	1840	788,644,401	29,415,924
"		4 & 5	1841	792,209,685	29,462,030
"		5 & 6	1842	791,757,816	29,300,112
"		6 & 7	1843	792,664,743	29,047,473
"		7 & 8	1844	787,987,194	28,272,652
"		8 & 9	1845	785,115,222	28,125,113
"		9 & 10	1846	782,977,634	28,025,253
"		10 & 11	1847	790,376,351	28,442,683
"		11 & 12	1848	791,517,338	28,307,343
"		12 & 13	1849	790,927,016	28,091,579
"		13 & 24	1850	787,029,162	28,025,523

EXPORTS.

REAL OR DECLARED VALUE OF BRITISH AND IRISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES EXPORTED, 1815 TO 1850.

£		£		£	
1815	51,603,028	1827	37,181,335	1839	53,233,580
1816	41,657,873	1828	36,812,756	1840	51,466,430
1817	41,761,132	1829	35,812,623	1841	51,634,623
1818	46,603,249	1830	38,271,597	1842	47,381,023
1819	35,208,321	1831	37,164,372	1843	52,278,449
1820	36,424,652	1832	36,450,594	1844	58,584,292
1821	36,659,630	1833	39,667,347	1845	60,111,081
1822	36,968,964	1834	41,649,191	1846	57,786,875
1823	35,458,048	1835	47,372,270	1847	58,842,377
1824	38,396,300	1836	53,368,571	1848	52,849,445
1825	38,877,388	1837	42,069,245	1849	63,596,025
1826	31,536,723	1838	50,660,970	1850	70,367,885

IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN GRAIN.

THE framers of the law of 1829 intended it to prevent fluctuations in the price of English grain, but in seven years, notwithstanding the provision, the price varied from 75s. 3d. in 1829 to 36s. 8d. in 1835, descending regularly every year; while in the three years, 1829, 1830, and 1831, there were imported 4,557,736 quarters. The total quantity imported during the next ten years kept increasing, with occasional exceptions; but in 1845, waiting the repeal of the duty, the importation was only 1,142,700 quarters, of which only 315,615 were taken for home consumption. In 1846, after the repeal, there were imported 1,437,944 quarters, and 1,995,852 were taken for home consumption. In 1847 there were imported 2,650,058 quarters; besides 6,329,646 cwts. of wheat-meal, 3,614,637 quarters of Indian corn, and 1,451,020 cwts. of Indian corn-meal. In 1848 there were imported 2,594,013 quarters of wheat, 1,765,475 cwts. of flour, and 1,586,781 quarters of Indian corn. In 1849 the imports were 3,872,134 quarters of wheat, 3,371,301 cwts. of flour, 2,247,424 quarters of Indian corn, and 102,173 cwts. of Indian corn-meal. In 1850 were imported 3,754,593 quarters of wheat, 3,855,050 cwts. of flour, 1,286,264 quarters of Indian corn, and 11,401 cwts. of meal.

From 1851 the computation has been made in cwts., and the wheat and flour placed under the head of wheat, 1 cwt. of flour being reckoned equal to 1½ cwt. of grain. In 1851 there was imported a total of 23,161,718 cwts. of wheat, and 7,747,011 cwts. of Indian corn. In 1852, wheat 18,092,627 cwts., Indian corn 6,305,472 cwts. In 1853, wheat 27,077,079 cwts, Indian corn 6,619,213 cwts. In 1854, wheat 19,426,731 cwts., Indian corn 5,784,420 cwts. In 1855, wheat 13,940,322 cwts., Indian corn 5,208,570 cwts. In 1856, wheat 22,611,568 cwts., Indian corn 7,619,199 cwts. In 1857, wheat 17,620,499 cwts., Indian corn 4,931,927 cwts. In 1858, wheat 22,300,941 cwts., Indian corn 7,503,536 cwts. In 1859, wheat 21,497,734 cwts., Indian corn 5,632,727 cwts. In 1860, wheat 31,841,926 cwts., Indian corn 7,936,123 cwts. In 1861, wheat 37,646,705 cwts., Indian corn 13,244,366 cwts. In 1862, wheat 50,042,394 cwts., Indian corn 11,694,818 cwts. In 1863, wheat 30,887,892 cwts., Indian corn 12,736,594 cwts. In 1864, wheat 28,837,203 cwts., Indian corn 6,285,938 cwts. In 1865, wheat 25,843,552 cwts., Indian corn 7,096,033 cwts. In 1866, wheat 29,371,679 cwts., Indian corn 14,322,863 cwts. In 1867, wheat 39,136,780 cwts., Indian corn 8,540,429 cwts.

AVERAGE GAZETTE PRICES OF BRITISH WHEAT, BARLEY, AND OATS, PER IMPERIAL QUARTER.

	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1860.	1867.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Wheat	69 9	50 6	44 3	40 3	53 3	64 5
Barley	44 2	31 6	27 9	23 5	36 7	40 0
Oats	28 8	20 6	17 6	16 5	24 5	26 0

QUANTITIES OF BRITISH WHEAT, BARLEY, AND OATS SOLD IN THE
PRINCIPAL MARKET TOWNS OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

The Returns were from 290 towns previous to 1865, since that date they have been from only
150 towns.

[IN QUARTERS.]	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1860.	1867.
Wheat . . .	4,637,617	5,399,834	4,453,983	4,688,247	4,623,457	2,724,673
Barley . . .	2,041,130	2,401,130	2,099,821	2,235,271	1,787,056	1,575,733
Oats	960,334	1,022,875	851,050	866,082	495,880	284,776

APPENDIX.

ANNALS, 1849-1867.

BEING A

BRIEF CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF PUBLIC EVENTS;

AND A

SUMMARY OF LEGISLATION AND STATISTICS.

ANNALS, 1849-1867.

1849.

INDIA.—At the opening of Parliament on the 1st of February, the Royal Speech announced the beginning of a war of a very serious nature: "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."

[To make the narrative of Indian Affairs in 1849 intelligible, we must trace the origin and progress of the war during 1848.]

On April 18, 1848, Mr. Van Agnew and lieutenant Anderson, in company with Khan Singh, the newly appointed governor of Mooltan, had reached the town of Mooltan, and had been killed in a quarrel with the troops of the old governor, Dewan Moolraj; who immediately broke out into open rebellion. On June 18, lieutenant Edwardes, with a small British force, having joined the forces of the Rajah of Bhawalpoor, engaged and defeated the army of Moolraj, who retreated to the town. General Whish undertook to besiege it, but was compelled, by the desertion of Shere Singh with his troops, to raise the siege on Sept. 22. He fell back a few miles, while lord Gough with a relieving army assembled at Ferozepoor, and another large force was concentrating at Roree. On Oct. 9, Shere Singh separated himself from Moolraj, and skilfully led his army to the country north-west of Lahore, and south-west of Wuzeerabad. Hero he was joined by Chuttur Singh. On Nov. 21, lord Gough found them entrenched on the left bank of the Chenab, behind Ramunggur, with nearly 40,000 men and 28 guns, and attacked them. On the 23rd the Sikhs withdrew; on Dec. 3, major-general Thackwell crossed the Chenab at Wuzeerabad, a fight took place, and on the 4th the rebels retreated to Jailan, a little beyond which place they strongly entrenched themselves. Lord Gough had also crossed the Chenab, but stopped all further fighting till

Mooltan should have been taken, which place was then being besieged by general Whish. On Dec. 21, the British troops with their Indian allies advanced to the attack, they cleared the suburbs, and established themselves within 500 yards of the walls. The place was heavily cannonaded till the 29th, when several breaches were made, a granary was set on fire, and several small magazines exploded. On the 30th the principal magazine containing nearly 800,000 lbs. of powder blew up, killing the Dewan's mother, many of his principal officers, and destroying a great number of houses, mosques, and other public buildings. On the 31st the garrison made a sortie, but the attack was repulsed with great loss to the assailants.

[To connect the notices of Foreign Affairs in 1849, we give the following very brief abstract of events in 1848.]

ITALY.—Insurrection in Sicily. January 12. Provisional government proclaimed in Palermo. March 18. Insurrection in Milan against the Austrians. March 19. The Italian flag hoisted in all towns of North Italy. March 23. The king of Sardinia espouses the cause of Italian regeneration against Austria. May 15. Fighting at Naples between the royal troops and the National Guard; the city given up to pillage and massacre upon the defeat of the people. May 29. The Austrians defeated at Goito by the Sardinian army under king Charles Albert. June 12. The whole of the Venetian territory, except the city of Venice, was in the hands of the Austrians. July 27. Retreat of the Sardinian army, after six days' fighting with the Austrians. August 4. They capitulated to the Austrian Field-Marshal Radetsky. Sept. 21. Armistice between Sardinia and Austria.

GERMANY.—March 13. Revolution at Vienna—Prince Metternich flies from the city—Constitutional government to be established. March 18. A week of commotion and fighting at Berlin—A new ministry appointed—An amnesty proclaimed. June 16. Renewed conflicts in Berlin. July 12. The archduke Johann of Austria installed at Frankfort as lieutenant-general of Germany. Oct. 6. Insurrection in

Vienna—Count Latour, the minister of war, assassinated. Oct. 16. The emperor of Austria issues a proclamation appointing prince Windischgrätz commander-in-chief, and announces his determination to put down by force the party in rebellion. Oct. 28. Windischgrätz attacks Vienna with 75,000 men. Nov. 7. The imperial troops in possession of the city—Hungarian troops sent to assist the insurgents are defeated. Dec. 2. Ferdinand II., emperor of Austria, abdicates in favour of his nephew. To the end of the year continued fighting between the Hungarians and Austrians.

Jan. 5. Buda-Pesth taken by the Austrians, and Kossuth the Hungarian President retires to Debreczin.

Feb. 1. Parliament opened by the Queen in person. She said in her speech that she hoped the joint-intervention of England and France would produce a permanent settlement of the troubles in Sicily, and stop any further effusion of blood. Feb. 6, the ministers brought in a Bill to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland for six months, which was opposed by Mr. J. O'Connell and some other Irish members, but carried through all its stages by large majorities, and received the royal assent on the 27th. Feb. 7, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a grant of 50,000*l.* for the relief of the distress in Ireland, which met with some opposition, but ultimately passed the House of Lords on March 6.

Feb. 8. The Roman National Assembly adopts a republican form of government, and divests the Pope of all temporal power; against these decrees the Pope published a protest on the 14th, and on the 18th appeals to the Roman Catholic powers for protection.

March 6. The emperor of Austria issues the charter of a new constitution for the whole empire. It contained many improvements, but was only accepted by some of the states.

March 8. The Sardinian government recommences hostilities against Austria, and on the 23rd, the Sardinian army was utterly routed at Novara. On the 25th, Carlo Alberto resigned his crown in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel.

March 12. The second reading of the Navigation Bill was carried in the House of Commons by 266 against 210; it passed the House of Lords with little opposition, and received the royal assent on June 26.

March 30. Haynau, the Austrian commander, takes Brescia, in Italy, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, and nearly the total destruction of the city.

April 2. Trial of the Paris insurgents. Barbes, Albert, Blanqui, Sobrier, and Raspail, transported for various periods.

April 18. Prince Albert laid the first stone of the Great Grimsby Docks.

April 24. The Austrians defeated at Gran by the Hungarians, who likewise reoccupy Pesth.

April 26. Civita Vecchia occupied by French troops under general Oudinot.

April 29. The king of Prussia, who had been elected hereditary emperor of Germany, by the National Assembly at Frankfort, on this day declined by his plenipotentiary the proffered dignity, and rejected the Frankfort framed constitution.

May 1. Meeting of Protectionists held in the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street, London, under the presidency of the duke of Richmond, to form an association for the purpose of "arresting the progress of Free-trade;" of opposing the repeal of the Navigation Laws; and of re-establishing Protection.

May 7. The second reading of the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, relieving Jews and other dissenters from certain parts of the existing oath, was carried by 278 to 185. After passing the Commons, the Bill was thrown out by the Lords on June 26, by a majority of 95 to 70.

May 7. An insurrection having broken out in Dresden on the 3rd, the city was on this day bombarded by Prussian and Saxon troops, and the insurgents were driven out of the town.

May 11. On the appeal by writ of error to the House of Lords by W. Smith O'Brien and three others, the judgment was confirmed, and they were all sentenced to transportation.

May 16. Prince Albert addressed a public meeting of the Servants' Provident and Benevolent Society, pointing out and recommending the advantages of vesting savings in government annuities. He told them that their society was founded on the correct principle "which requires every man by personal exertions, and at his own choice, to work out his own happiness."

May 19. A large meeting held at Cape Town, to express the indignation of the whole colony against the attempt of the Colonial Office to make the Cape a penal colony. The same feeling had been expressed at previous meetings. Subsequently the inhabitants combined to refuse supplies to the public departments; and at length the intention was abandoned.

May 27. The Legislative Assembly of the French Republic holds its first sitting.

June 3. The French army, commanded by general Oudinot, commences its attack on Rome. After a brave defence it was surrendered on July 3.

June 4. The Incumbered Estates, Ireland, Bill passed the House of Commons after a slight opposition; it received the royal assent on July 28.

June 13. A red republican procession visit the National Assembly in Paris, ostensibly to present a petition, but in a threatening attitude. They were dispersed by the troops without violence; but Paris is thereupon declared in a state of siege by the Assembly; and on the 14th several of the newspapers were ordered to be suppressed, and Ledru Rollin and others to be prosecuted for conspiracy, and endeavouring to excite a civil war. Several of the leaders in the movement succeeded in making their escape.

June 21. The Russians, who had entered Hungary in aid of the Austrians, take Kronstadt, and having joined the Austrian army under general Wohlgenuth, defeat the Hungarians at Szered; and on the 23rd defeat them again at Eperies. On August 2 the Russians captured Debreczin.

June 27. A public meeting held at the London Tavern, London, to receive a deputation from Ireland, on the subject of the distress in that country.

July 6. The German army, which had been sent to the aid of the Schleswig-Holstein insurgents, and was besieging Fredericia, defeated by the Danes, who took 1800 prisoners. An armistice for six months between Denmark and Prussia, was concluded on the 10th.

July 12. Serious affray between the Orangemen and the Roman Catholics at Dolly's Brae, near Castlewellan, in Ireland. Several of the Roman Catholics were killed, and some of their houses wrecked and burnt. On Sept. 13, a majority of the magistrates in petty sessions, by their chairman, the earl of Roden, refused to take informations against the Orangemen accused of the offence. The refusal was repeated on Oct. 9, for which the earl of Roden and two other justices were discharged from the magistracy.

July 27. An insurrection broke out in Cephalonia and Corfu, which was suppressed, and the instigators punished.

Aug. 9. The Hungarians after various alternations of success and defeats were utterly routed at Temeswar; and on the 13th the remains of the army and Gorgey surrendered to the Russians at Grosswardein.

Aug. 22. Venice surrendered to the Austrians after an energetic defence.

Sept. 8. Louis Napoleon, president of the French Republic, publishes a letter to colonel Ney, insisting on a general amnesty, a secular administration, and other improvements for the subjects of the Pope.

Sept. 16. Prayers offered up in all the churches for the removal of the cholera, which was raging with great intensity. It continued to prevail during the autumn, till on Nov. 15, thanksgivings were offered on its cessation.

Oct. 30. The president of the French Republic dismisses his ministry.

Nov. 3. Sir James Ross returns from an unsuccessful search after sir John Franklin.

Nov. 5. Russia and Austria require Turkey to withdraw her protection from the Hungarian refugees who had fled into her territory; this is refused. Turkey appeals to England, and on this day the British fleet entered the Dardanelles; where, however, it returned on the 13th to Besika Bay.

Nov. 7. The inauguration of the Queen's College at Cork took place on this day.

Dec. 1. The queen-dowager Adelaide died at Bentley Priory, Stanmore, Middlesex, aged 57.

Dec. 16. At Mullinahone, in Tipperary, a vast assemblage of tenant-farmers and cottiers met to petition in favour of tenant-right,

which included lower rents determined by a valuation, compensation on quitting for permanent improvements, and a lease. This meeting was followed by many others with the same object.

Dec. 28. Letter appeared from sir Robert Peel to his tenantry on "the Present State and Prospects of Agriculture."

INDIA.—On Jan. 2, 1849, a breach was made near the Delhi gate, but the entrance was not found practicable; but the Bombay column had forced an entrance on the opposite side of the town, which was ultimately taken possession of by the British troops; the fort having been captured on the following day, while the citadel still remained in possession of Moolraj. On Jan. 13, lord Gough having advanced towards the Jhelum with 22,000 men and 130 guns, found himself in front of the Sikh army, which, under the command of Shere Singh, occupied a long line from Moong to Russool. Here the British troops were halted, in order to give them a day's rest before attacking the enemy. The Sikh batteries, however, some of which were within range, commenced firing on the British position, some of the shot falling close to the commander-in-chief. This occasioned him to change his plan, and a cannonade was ordered on the enemy's centre, which was kept up on both sides for an hour or two. Lord Gough ordered a flank movement of infantry to be made on the left, but it was met by a concealed battery. The repulse occasioned some confusion. A regiment of light dragoons retreated in consequence of a misunderstanding of orders, and one cavalry regiment turned and fled. Night put an end to the combat; the British bivouacked near the field of battle, and the Sikhs withdrew. This was the battle of Chillianwallah, in which the British loss was 731 men killed, and 1446 wounded. That of the Sikhs was far greater. On the 22nd, Moolraj, the citadel of Mooltan having become untenable, surrendered himself and his garrison unconditionally.

On Feb. 15, lord Gough having discovered that Shere Singh, with the main body of his army, instead of leaving, crossed the Jhelum, was on his march to Lahore, advanced in pursuit. General Whish had in the meantime arrived at Ramnuggur, with a brigade of his force, and learning that Shere Singh was approaching Wuzeerabad, dispatched col. Byrne with a detachment of men and guns to prevent or delay his crossing the Chenab. This was effected; and the Sikh army encamped itself near Goojerat. The British forces under general Whish, and brigadiers Markham and Hervey, were then enabled to cross the Chenab, and co-operate with lord Gough, who continued to advance. On Feb. 21 took place the battle of Goojerat. Lord Gough, with 25,000 men and 100 guns, attacked the strongly posted Sikh army of 60,000 men and 59 guns. After nine hours of obstinate fighting, the Sikhs were totally routed, and Shere Singh escaped to the

Salt Range Hills with only 3000 men. On March 8, he came to the British camp to propose a capitulation, but was told that nothing but an unconditional surrender would be accepted. On the 14th this was made, and the Sikh forces laid down their arms.

The Afghans, under Dost Mahomed, had taken a hostile part against the British during this contest. They had taken the fort of Attock, and captured several British officers. Sir Wm. Gibert was sent against them, and, after some other successes, on March 21, Dost Mahomed and the remnant of his army reached the Khyber Pass, through which they were able to retreat unmolested. On March 29, the Governor-General of India issued a proclamation that the Punjab was annexed to the British dominions. In July, Moolraj was tried and found guilty of the murder of Mr. Agnew and lieutenant Anderson, but was recommended to mercy, and in September he was sentenced to be transported for life.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 12 & 13 VICTORIA.

Cap. 29. *An Act to amend the Laws in force for the Encouragement of British Shipping and Navigation.*

Cap. 77. *Further to facilitate the State and Transfer of Incumbered Estates in Ireland.*

Cap. 106. *To amend and consolidate the Laws relating to Bankruptcy.*

Cap. 111. *To amend the Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act, 1848.*

Revenue, 52,951,749*l.*; Expenditure—Army and Ordnance, 8,881,141*l.*; Navy, 6,942,397*l.*; for all objects, 50,853,623*l.*; Debt, 790,927,017*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures, 63,596,025*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 41,367; to the United States, 219,450; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 32,191; to all other places, 6490: total, 299,498.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 6031; number of passengers, 63,841,539; traffic receipts, 11,866,498*l.*

Number of Paupers in England and Ireland, on Jan. 1, 1,555,166.

1850.

Jan. 3. A proclamation issued by the Queen, appointing a Commission for the Promotion of the Works of Industry of all Nations, to be holden in 1851, of which prince Albert became the acting chief. In pursuance of this object a numerous meeting was held at the Mansion-house, London, on the 25th.

Jan. 10. The Enterprise and Investigator leave Woolwich in search of sir John Franklin.

Jan. 17. A meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce took place, in order to consider the important question of how best to insure a more certain and steady supply of cotton. Several suggestions were offered, but no important mode of action was decided on.

Jan. 31. Parliament opened by commission. The speech announced the happy continuance of peace and amity with foreign powers; that the differences which had arisen between Austria and Turkey respecting the reception of the Hungarian refugees was peacefully terminated; that the United States and Sweden had granted reciprocity to British ships; the speech then referred to the cholera, and to the loyal reception of her majesty in Ireland; it congratulated the Houses on the improved condition of commerce and manufactures, and upon the freedom of the kingdom from the wars and convulsions which had prevailed during the last two years on the continent of Europe.

Feb. 4. Social riots in Paris occasioned by the orders for the police to cut down the trees of liberty; this continued for two days, but the mobs were dispersed by the troops.

Feb. 6. The king of Prussia takes the oaths to the new constitution agreed upon for that kingdom.

March 15. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made his financial statement. He showed that there would be a surplus of revenue, with which he proposed to remove the duty on bricks, and to make loans for purposes of drainage and agricultural improvement to England, Scotland, and Ireland.

March 15. The king of Wurtemberg opens his States Assembly with a speech attacking the insidious ambition of Russia, and announcing the formation of a league, under the sanction of Austria, between Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony.

March 21. A grand banquet was given at the Mansion-house by the lord mayor of London to the mayors of 188 towns, to the foreign ambassadors, the ministers and prince Albert, to promote and forward the project of the Great International Exhibition. In his speech to the meeting, prince Albert said, "It must indeed be most gratifying to me to find that a suggestion which I had thrown out, as appearing to me of importance at this time, should have met with such universal concurrence and approbation."

June 17. In the House of Lords, a resolution was moved by lord Stanley condemnatory of the foreign policy of ministers in relation to the affairs of Greece, which was carried after some debate by a majority of 57 against ministers. On the 20th, Mr. Roebuck gave notice in the House of Commons of his intention to move a resolution approving the whole foreign policy of the government. The debate on this resolution commenced on the 24th, and was continued on the 25th and the 28th, when the House divided—For the resolution, 310; against it, 264; majority in favour of ministers, 46.

July 2. Sir Robert Peel died in consequence of a fall from his horse on June 29, aged 62. On July 4, lord John Russell pronounced a panegyric on the deceased statesman, and suggested a public funeral, which was declined, on the ground of his own expressed wish, "to

be interred without ostentation or parade of any kind." On July 22, a numerous meeting was held at Willis's Rooms to consider of means to perpetuate his memory. On the 10th a meeting had been held at Bury to promote the erection of a monument to his memory at his native place; and, on the 15th, one in the city of London for a national testimonial.

July 4. A protocol, signed in London, on the part of Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Sweden, guaranteeing the integrity of the territories of Denmark. A peace had been concluded between Denmark and Prussia on the 2d respecting the duchies, but the Schleswig-Holsteiners refused to submit. On the 25th, the Danish army totally defeated the insurgents at Idsted, and entered the town of Schleswig.

July 22. Lord John Russell withdrew in the House of Commons the Jews' Oath of Abjuration Bill. On the 26th the Baron de Rothschild presented himself at the table of the House to take the oaths as member for the City of London, but on saying that he desired to be sworn on the Old Testament, a stormy debate arose, which was adjourned. It was resumed on the 29th, and on the motion of Mr. Hume that the clerk be directed to swear the baron on the Old Testament, the House divided after a debate—for the motion 113, against it 59.

Aug. 18. The parliament was prorogued by her Majesty in person.

Aug. 28. The submarine telegraph wire was sunk between Dover and Cape Grisnez, near Calais.

Aug. 30. Prince Albert laid the foundation stone of the National Gallery at Edinburgh. In his address on the occasion he said—"Let us hope that the impulse given to the culture of the Fine Arts in this country, and the daily increasing attention bestowed upon it by the people at large, will not only tend to refine and elevate the national tastes, but will also tend to the production of works, which, if left behind us as the memorials of the age, will give to after generations an adequate idea of our advanced state of civilization."

Sept. 1. The Elector of Hesse Cassel declares his dominions in a state of siege in consequence of the Chamber requiring to have a regular budget laid before them, in concordance with the constitution of 1831. An insurrection takes place, and on the 13th the Elector fled to Hanover. He is restored by Austrian and Bavarian troops, although Prussia declared her intention of supporting the constitution against the Elector, advanced troops, and even took possession of Cassel, but ultimately withdrew them on Dec. 5; and on Dec. 10 an order was issued by the prime-minister of Hesse, for the immediate payment of the taxes refused by the Chamber under pain of fine and imprisonment.

Sept. 10. The Roman Catholic Synod, which had met at Thurles in Ireland on Aug. 22, closed its labours by condemning the establish-

ment of the Queen's Colleges, and proposing a Roman Catholic university.

Oct. 25. A return banquet for the purpose of promoting the great International Exhibition of 1851, was given by the Lord Mayor of York to the Lord Mayor of London and the mayors of the principal cities and boroughs of the United Kingdom, at which prince Albert was present. On his health being drunk, he pronounced a warm eulogium on the late sir Robert Peel. In the course of it he said, "If he has had so great an influence over this country, it was from the nation recognizing in his qualities the true type of the English character, which is essentially practical. Warmly attached to his institutions, and revering the bequests left to him by the industry, wisdom, and piety of his forefathers, the Englishman attaches little value to any theoretical scheme. It will attract his attention only after having been for some time placed before him; it must have been thoroughly investigated and discussed before he will entertain it. Should it be an empty theory, it will fall to the ground during this time of probation; should it survive this trial, it will be on account of the practical qualities contained in it; but its adoption in the end will entirely depend upon its harmonizing with the national feeling, the historical development of the country, and the peculiar nature of its institutions."

Dec. 6. Cardinal Wiseman was enthroned as an archbishop. The act caused an extreme agitation throughout the country. On the 10th various addresses were presented to her Majesty on the subject of this aggression.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 13 & 14 VICTORIA.

Cap. 2. *An Act to restrain Party Processions in Ireland.*

Cap. 33. *To make more effectual Provision for regulating the Police of Towns and populous Places in Scotland, and for paving, draining, cleansing, lighting, and improving the same.* This is the first general and comprehensive Act for the management of towns in Scotland.

Cap. 52. *To make better Provision for the Interment of the Dead in and near the Metropolis.* This gives power for the formation of extra-natural cemeteries, and forbids, after certain orders have been issued, the burial in any of the parish churches or churchyards within the metropolitan district.

Cap. 59. *For the better Government of her Majesty's Australian Colonies, forming the colony of Victoria, giving a representative constitution, and empowering the legislative body to levy customs, duties, and other taxes.*

Cap. 65. *For enabling Town Councils to establish Public Libraries and Museums.*

Cap. 93. *For improving the Conditions of Masters, Mates, and Seamen, and maintaining Discipline in the Merchant Service.*

Cap. 99. *For the better assessing and*

collecting the Poor Rates and Highway Rates in respect of small Tenements. The Act gives power to vestries to determine whether tenements of a rateable value of not more than 6*l.* shall be rated to the owners or the occupiers.

Revenue, 52,810,680*l.*; Expenditure—Army and Ordnance, 8,955,061*l.*; Navy, 6,437,883*l.*; for all objects, 50,231,874*l.*; Debt, 787,029,162*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures, 71,367,855*l.*: total of exports, 73,300,951*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 32,961; to the United States, 223,078; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 16,037; to all other places, 8,773: total, 280,849.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 6,221; number of passengers, 72,851,422; traffic receipts, 13,204,668*l.*

Number of Paupers in England and Ireland, 1,228,513.

1851.

Jan. 2. The French ministry resigned; on the 10th the *Moniteur* contained the official list of the new ministry appointed by the Prince President. The new ministers were on the evening of the 10th defeated in the Legislative Assembly on a point of minor importance by 330 to 258. On the 18th the assembly passed a vote of want of confidence in the ministry, by 417 to 278. On the 24th a message from the Prince President was received, communicating the formation of a Cabinet composed of persons not members of the assembly.

Jan. 10. General Changarnier deprived of his offices as commander of the National Guards and of a division of the army.

Jan. 27. Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch to the Governor of Canada, relinquished to the provincial legislature the right of disposing absolutely of the clergy reserves in Canada.

Feb. 4. Parliament opened by the Queen in person, who in the royal speech intimated that a bill in reference to ecclesiastical titles would be introduced to Parliament in consequence of the bull recently issued by the Pope, appointing certain dioceses in England.

Feb. 20. Mr. Locke King obtained leave to bring in a Bill to extend the 10*l.* franchise to counties. This was carried against the government by a majority of 100 to 52, which circumstance, coupled with the smallness of the majority (281 to 267) in favour of government against a protectionist motion of Mr. Disraeli on the 13th, led to the resignation of the ministry on the 22nd. Lord Stanley and the earl of Aberdeen were each requested to form a government, but neither being able to do so, the former ministers were, by the advice of the duke of Wellington, reinstated in office, and resumed their places on the 3rd of March.

Mar. 10. Public meetings of English

Roman Catholics held in Freemasons' Hall, London, to petition Parliament against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. A meeting of Irish Roman Catholics for the same object was held in Dublin on the 20th of April.

Mar. 13. Opening of Owen's College, Manchester, an educational institution founded in accordance with the will of Mr. John Owen, who bequeathed 100,000*l.* for the purpose, with the condition that no religious test should be applied in the admission of students.

Mar. 31. The decennial census of Great Britain and Ireland taken this day.

May 1. The Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations opened in Hyde Park by the Queen. On the 9th of July a grand entertainment was given at the Guildhall in celebration of the Great Exhibition, when the Queen and prince Albert attended. The Exhibition was closed to the public on the 11th of October. On the 15th the awards of the Juries were announced, and the closing ceremony took place. The total number of admissions to the Exhibition was 6,007,944, being a daily average of upwards of 43,500. The largest attendance was on Tuesday the 7th of October, when 109,915 persons were admitted. The gross receipts were about 506,000*l.*; the expenses about 330,000*l.* The number of exhibitors was about 15,000.

May 3. Prince Albert, at the Royal Academy dinner on this day, in responding to the toast proposed by the president, remarked that "We have now on the one hand the eager competition of a vast array of artists of every degree of talent and skill, and on the other as judge, a great public, for the greater part wholly uneducated in art, and thus led by professional writers, who often strive to impress the public with a great idea of their own artistic knowledge by the merciless manner in which they treat works, which cost those who produced them the highest efforts of mind and feeling."

May 22. Proclamation issued by the government of New South Wales, claiming the royalty of the newly-discovered gold-fields for the Crown. The amount of gold exported from New South Wales to the end of 1851 was 468,336*l.*

June 17. Mr. Cobden moved an address to the Crown, praying her majesty to direct the foreign secretary to enter into communication with the French Government to promote a mutual reduction of armaments. Lord Palmerston objected to the adoption of the address, while he expressed the general concurrence of the government in its principle and object. The motion was withdrawn.

Aug. 1. The Lord Mayor of London, the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition, and many other distinguished persons, visited Paris by invitation, and were entertained for several days by the Municipality.

Aug. 18. Death of the king of Hanover in his 81st year. He was succeeded by his son George V.

Aug. 27. Submersion of the Great Cable Telegraph between England and France. It was opened for public use on the 13th of November.

Nov. 4. Opening of the session of the French Legislative Assembly, when the Prince President in his message recommended the restoration of universal suffrage. On the 13th the Assembly (by 353 votes against 347) threw out the bill, which had been proposed by the Ministry in accordance with the President's message, for the repeal of the existing electoral law and the substitution of universal suffrage.

Dec. 2. The Prince President of the French Republic issued a decree dissolving the Legislative Assembly, establishing universal suffrage, proposing the election of a president for ten years and the establishment of a second Chamber; also declaring Paris in a state of siege. MM. Thiers, Changarnier, Bedeau, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Charras, were arrested, and placed in confinement in the Castle of Vincennes. About 180 members who attempted to constitute a meeting of the Assembly, with M. Berryer at their head, were likewise arrested.

Dec. 18. At this date thirty-four departments of France were under martial law.

Dec. 21. On this and the preceding day the votes of the people were taken, on the principle of universal suffrage, on the question of the election of a President of the republic for ten years.

Dec. 22. Viscount Palmerston quitted office. [See parliamentary explanation, February 3, 1852.]

LEGISLATION. SESSION 14 & 15 VICTORIA.

Cap. 19. *An Act for the better Prevention of Offences*, inflicting punishments for attempts at crime, and authorizing the apprehension of persons found in possession of house-breaking instruments at night, and of suspected persons.

Cap. 28. *For the well-ordering of Common Lodging-houses*, regulating the number of lodgers, and all other matters conducing to cleanliness and health.

Cap. 61. *For providing a Metropolitan Market and Conveniences connected therewith in lieu of the Cattle Market at Smithfield*. The market is now held in the Caledonian-road, Islington.

Cap. 79. *To consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the Regulation of Steam Navigation, and to Boats and Lights to be carried by Seagoing Vessels*.

Cap. 83. *To improve the Administration of Justice in the Court of Chancery and in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council*. This is the Act by which the Court of Appeal in Chancery was established.

Cap. 99. *To amend the Law of Evidence*. Parties to a suit enabled to give testimony, and documents to be produced in Courts of Common Law.

Cap. 100. *For further improving the Administration of Criminal Justice*. Enabling

the judges to correct errors in the indictment not material to the merits of the cause; removing certain minute details from indictments, and giving juries the power of convicting for a crime though not precisely the one proved, as in case of a charge for misdemeanor or embezzlement which may turn out to be a larceny, the criminal may be found guilty in the form charged.

Revenue, 52,233,006*l.*; Expenditure—Army and Ordnance, 8,723,940*l.*; Navy, 5,849,917*l.*; for all objects, 49,506,610*l.*; Debt, 782,869,382*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 74,448,722*l.*; total of exports, 115,821,092*l.*; imports, 152,889,053*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 42,605; to the United States, 267,357; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 21,532; to all other places, 4,472; total, 335,966.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 6,890; number of passengers, 85,391,095; traffic receipts, 14,997,459*l.*

Number of Paupers in England and Ireland, 1,070,080.

1852.

Jan. 1. Installation of prince Louis Napoleon as President of the French Republic for ten years. On the 10th eighty three members of the late Legislative Assembly were banished from France, and 575 persons, arrested for resistance to the *coup d'état* of December 2nd, were conveyed to Havre to be transported to the penal settlement of Cayenne, in Guiana.

Jan. 9. The principal engineering firms of London and Lancashire discharged their workmen, and closed their works, rather than submit to the demands of the Amalgamated Society of Operative Engineers for the abolition of piece-work and overtime. This unhappy dispute lasted several months, at great cost both to masters and operatives, and occasioned much distress among the families of the workmen.

Feb. 3. Parliament opened by the Queen. The royal speech recommended the reconsideration of the Reform Act of the late reign, with a view to its amendment on some points. In the House of Commons, in the debate on the address lord John Russell, in answer to a question, explained the circumstances under which lord Palmerston had quitted office. Lord Palmerston, as foreign secretary, had sent a despatch of importance in which his colleague, had not concurred, and he had hastily expressed his approbation of the proceedings of the Prince President of the French Republic in the *coup d'état* of December 2nd.

Feb. 9. New Reform Bill introduced into the House of Commons by lord John Russell, by which the franchise was proposed to be 5*l.* rated yearly value in boroughs, and 20*l.* occupation, or 10*l.* copyhold rated yearly value in counties.

Feb. 20. Defeat of government on the Local Militia Bill, an amendment by lord Palmerston that the force should be *general* instead of *local* being carried by 136 votes to 125. In consequence of this vote lord John Russell's ministry resigned on the 21st.

Feb. 27. The earl of Derby, having accepted the Premiership, explained in the House of Lords the intended policy of his Cabinet. He said that the question of protection to agriculture was one to be solved only by a reference to the well understood and clearly expressed opinion of the people. The members of lord Derby's Cabinet were as follows :—Earl of Derby, First Lord of the Treasury; earl of Londsdale, President of the Council; lord St. Leonards, Lord High Chancellor; marquess of Salisbury, Lord Privy Seal; Rt. Hon. B. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Rt. Hon. S. H. Walpole, Secretary of State for Home Affairs; earl of Malmesbury, Foreign Secretary; Rt. Hon. sir J. S. Pakington, Colonial Secretary; duke of Northumberland, First Lord of the Admiralty; Rt. Hon. J. C. Herries, President of the Board of Control; Rt. Hon. J. W. Henley, President of the Board of Trade; lord J. J. R. Manners, Commissioner of Woods and Forests.

March 2. Re-organization of the Anti-Corn League in consequence of the accession to power of a protectionist ministry.

June 1. Electric Telegraph opened through-out from London to Dublin.

July 1. Parliament closed by the Queen in person, and dissolved by proclamation. A new Parliament called.

July 14. Death of the duke of Wellington at Walmer Castle, Dover, in his 84th year, after a slight illness. His death took place as if he had fallen asleep in his chair. On the 18th of November his remains were interred in St. Paul's Cathedral near those of Nelson, being conveyed thither by military procession along the streets of London. On the 6th of December the House of Commons voted 80,000*l.* for the expenses of the funeral.

Oct. 7. At a public dinner at Bordeaux the Prince President of the French republic delivered a speech, in which he made the declaration that "The empire is peace."

Nov. 4. The French senate received a message from the prince president recommending the re-establishment of the empire.

Nov. 11. The Queen opened parliament in person. The earl of Derby stated that he was prepared to bow to the decision of the country in favour of free-trade, as indicated by the result of the elections for the present parliament.

Dec. 1. The French Corps Législatif proclaimed the definitive result of the voting on the *plebiscite* respecting the re-establishment of the empire, as follows :—Ayes, 7,864,189; Noes, 253,145; Null, 63,326. The prince president, in accepting the imperial dignity, took the title of Napoleon III.

Dec. 6. Ministers announced in both Houses

of Parliament that the government had recognized the re-establishment of the empire in France, and Napoleon III. as Emperor.

Dec. 16. On the debate on the ministerial budget, which continued through four sittings of the House of Commons, the government was left in a minority of 19—the votes in favour of ministers being 286, against, 305. In consequence of this vote, the earl of Derby's ministry resigned office on the 17th, and the earl of Aberdeen accepted the Premiership. The new Cabinet was composed as follows :—earl of Aberdeen, First Lord of the Treasury; earl Granville, President of the Council; lord Cranworth, Lord High Chancellor; duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; viscount Palmerston, Secretary of State for Home Affairs; earl of Clarendon, Foreign Secretary; duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary; sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control; Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War; sir W. Molesworth, Commissioner of Parks and Public Buildings; marquess of Lansdowne, and lord John Russell, without office.

Dec. 20. Proclamation issued by the Governor-General of India, annexing Pegu as a province to the British territory in India.

Dec. 31. The amount of gold exported from the Colony of New South Wales during 1852 was 2,660,946*l.*

LEGISLATION. SESSION 15 & 16 VICTORIAE.

Cap. 12. *Copyright Amendment Act*, for carrying into effect a convention with France on the subject of copyright, by which the right of translation is mutually reserved on publishing a notice to that effect with the work.

Cap. 31. *To legalise the formation of Industrial and Provident Societies*,—enabling them to pay officers, sue for subscriptions, to carry on trades, &c., on being registered. This is the Act under which Co-operative Societies are formed.

Cap. 51. *Enfranchisement of Copyholds*. By this Act any lord of the manor or tenant may compel or require enfranchisement on certain defined terms.

Cap. 56. *For regulating the Qualifications of Pharmaceutical Chemists*,—enabling examiners appointed by the Pharmaceutical Society to grant certificates to persons who have satisfactorily passed an examination, who may then assume the title of Pharmaceutical Chemists;—a penalty of 5*l.* is imposed on any one assuming the title without having a certificate.

Cap. 76. *To amend the Process, Practice, and Mode of Pleading in the Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster, and in the Superior Courts of the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Durham*. An important Act, making great alterations in and simplifying the proceedings in the Common Law Courts.

Cap. 83. *For amending the Law for granting Patents for Inventions*.—Reducing the

payment of fees on the first grant of a patent, and regulating the periods of payment for lengthened terms of years.

Revenue, gross receipts, 56,576,840*l.*; Expenditure—Army and Ordnance, 9,023,940*l.*; Navy, 5,849,917*l.*; for all objects, 53,850,445*l.*; Debt, 780,869,382*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 78,076,854*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 32,873; to the United States, 244,261; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 87,881; to all other places, 3,749: total, 368,764.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 7,336; number of passengers, 89,135,729; traffic receipts, 15,710,554*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,080,953.

1853.

Jan. 30. The emperor Napoleon III. married to Mdle. de Montijo, duchess of Teba.

Feb. 17. The duke of Newcastle stated in the House of Lords that the transportation of convicts to the Australian Colonies would no longer be resorted to, except in the case of Western Australia.—Termination of the Kafir War by the submission of the Chiefs Macomo, Sandilli, and Kreili.

Mar. 4. Inauguration of general Pierce as President of the United States of North America.

Mar. 22. A Treasury Minute issued authorizing the establishment of mints in Australia.

April 1. Manchester constituted a city by royal charter.

April 8. The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his plans for a modification of the form of the National Debt, the object being to lay the foundation of a permanent irredeemable $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock. The resolutions embodying this plan were adopted by the House of Commons.

April 18. The Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his budget, in which he proposed to repeal the duties leviable on 105 articles, of which the principal item was soap; and to make important reductions in the duties leviable on 126 articles, including the stamp duties on receipts and life assurance policies, and the duties on advertisements and on tea. He proposed also to extend the income-tax to Ireland, and to widen its range, so as to include incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.*, and to bring real property within the operation of the legacy duty.

May 12. The Great Exhibition of Industry of Ireland opened in Dublin by the lord-lieutenant.

June 20. Peace with Birmah proclaimed by the governor-general of India.

Nov. 7. Thirty-three persons tried at Paris for plotting to assassinate the emperor Napoleon. Ten received sentence of transportation

for life; the others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Nov. 15. Death of Donna Maria II., queen of Portugal. She was succeeded by her eldest son, Don Pedro VIII.

Dec. 31. The amount of gold exported from New South Wales in 1853 was 1,781,172*l.*

The following events are preliminary to the War with Russia in 1854-5:—

On the 3rd of May prince Menzikoff, the Russian ambassador to the Porte, presented the *ultimatum* of the Russian government on certain matters in dispute between the Czar and the Sultan. On the 22nd prince Menzikoff left Constantinople. On the 4th of June orders were transmitted by the English and French governments to the commanders of their Mediterranean fleets to approach the Dardanelles without delay. On the 16th of June the Porte finally rejected the Russian *ultimatum*. On the 26th the emperor of Russia issued a manifesto against the Porte, in which he announced the marching of Russian armies upon the Danubian provinces of Turkey. On the 2nd of July the Russian army crossed the Pruth, thus invading the Turkish territory. On the 27th of September the Porte declared war against Russia; and on the 1st of October, appealed to France and England for material aid in the war. The English and French fleets entered the Bosphorus on the 22nd October. On the 3rd of November the Russians placed Moldavia and Wallachia under martial law. On the 4th the Turks were attacked at Oltenitza by general Dannenberg, with 9000 Russians, when the Russians were repulsed with a loss of 1206 men. On the 30th the Turkish fleet lying in the harbour of Sinope, with the citadel and town of Sinope, were destroyed by the Russian admiral, Nachimoff. On the 3rd of December the combined fleets of England and France entered the Black Sea, on the demand of the Porte, on which the Russian fleet retired within the harbour of Sebastopol. On the 5th a protocol was signed at Vienna by the representatives of France, England, Austria, and Prussia, for the re-establishment of peace between Russia and Turkey, and for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman empire as an essential condition of the balance of European power.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 16 & 17 VICTORIA.

Cap. 15. *An Act to limit the time of taking the Poll in Counties at contested Elections for Knights of the Shire to serve in Parliament in England and Wales to one day.*

Cap. 51. *For granting to her Majesty Duties on Succession to Property, and for altering certain Provisions of the Acts charging Duties on Legacies and Shares of Personal Estates.* Succession duties are laid on real estates by this Act, the rate varying according to the nearness of consanguinity.

Cap. 73. *For the Establishment of a Body*

of Naval Coast Volunteers, and for the temporary transfer to the Navy in case of need, of seafaring men employed in other Services. Enables volunteers to enter for a period of five years, during which period they are to be trained to the navy for a time not exceeding 28 days in each year, and in case of imminent danger to be called into actual service, but not to be sent more than 100 leagues from the coast during exercise and actual service. They are to receive the same allowances as able seamen. While volunteers they are exempt from serving in the navy or militia, and a regulated bounty is given, which is not to exceed 6*l.*

Cap. 99. *To substitute, in certain Cases, other Punishment in lieu of Transportation.*—Penal imprisonment is substituted by this Act.

Cap. 137. *For the better Administration of Charitable Trusts.* Commissioners are appointed, with powers to investigate the affairs of any charitable trusts, and authorize legal proceedings to enforce the proper fulfilment of the trust if it should be necessary.

Revenue, 57,535,215*l.*; Expenditure—Army and Ordnance, 9,876,962*l.*; Navy, 6,625,944*l.*; for all objects, 51,044,986*l.*; Debt, 770,923,001*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 98,933,781*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 34,522; to the United States, 230,885; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 61,401; to all other places, 3,129; total, 829,937.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 7,686; number of passengers, 102,286,660; traffic receipts, 18,035,879*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,016,081.

1854.

[The principal events of the War with Russia, which will fill so large a space in the History of the years 1854 and 1855, will be given separately from other events in our Annals of those two years.]

Jan. 31. In opening parliament queen Victoria, in the speech from the throne, expressed her regret that the endeavours made by her in conjunction with the emperor of the French, had failed to procure an amicable settlement of the differences which had arisen between Russia and Turkey. On the 6th of February the Russian ambassador withdrew from Paris, and on the 8th baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador at the British court, left England. On the 20th the Grenadier and Coldstream Guards embarked at Southampton for Turkey. Other troops followed in rapid succession. On the 11th of March the Queen reviewed at Spithead the fleet under the command of admiral sir Charles Napier, previous to its sailing for the Baltic. On the 12th a treaty of alliance between France, England, and Turkey, was signed at Constantinople. March 25. England

and France, having sent an *ultimatum* to the Russian emperor, received an answer to the effect that the Czar had no answer to send. War against Russia declared on the 27th by France, and on the 28th by Great Britain. On the 21st of April Odessa was bombarded by the French and English fleets. On the 10th of May the "Tiger" war-steamer ran ashore near Odessa in a dense fog; in this position she was attacked by the Russians who disabled her, and took her crew of two hundred men prisoners. On the 17th Silistria was invested by the Russians, who, after a siege of forty days, abandoned their operations against the place. Two British officers, captain Butler and lieutenant Nasmyth, encouraged and directed the Turks in their heroic defence. On the 29th of May the allied troops disembarked at Varna, where, during the period of their encampment, they suffered greatly from disease and insufficient accommodation. On the 29th of June the Russian batteries at the Sulina mouth of the Danube were destroyed by two British steamers. In the Baltic the fortress of Gustafsvaern was bombarded by the British fleet on the 22nd of May. The British force was reinforced by ten thousand French troops, who left Boulogne on the 15th of July in British ships of war. On the 16th of August the fort of Bomarsund, with a garrison of 2000 men, surrendered to the allied fleet, after three days' bombardment. On the 15th of September the Russians evacuated Moldavia, after which the Danubian provinces were garrisoned by the Austrians. On the 14th of September the allied forces landed in the Crimea, on the western shore, near 45° N. lat., without opposition. The army included 23,000 French, 25,000 British, and 8000 Turks. On the 20th the first conflict with the Russians in the Crimea took place in the battle of the Alma, in which the Russians were completely worsted. On the 26th, after a forced march of fourteen hours, the allied forces occupied Balaklava, and subsequently encamped before Sebastopol. On the 29th marshal St. Arnaud, the commander-in-chief of the French forces, fell a victim to disease after having transferred his command to general Canrobert. On the 17th of October the bombardment of Sebastopol by the allied armies and fleets commenced. On the 25th the Russians attacked the allies at Balaklava, but were repulsed with loss. By an unhappy misreading of an order of lord Raglan, the earl of Lucan directed the light cavalry to charge the overwhelming Russian force. Of 607 men who went into the action, only 198 returned. On the 5th of November the battle of Inkerman was fought, in which the Russians, in immense numbers, attempted a surprise before daybreak, but were obliged to retire with a loss of about 10,000 killed and wounded. The struggle lasted the entire day. On the 14th a violent storm occurred in the Black Sea, which destroyed many store ships, and caused great calamities on shore. This was followed by a season of intense suffer-

ing amongst the troops; the roads were impassable; the weather was bitterly cold; men and horses, ill supplied with food and shelter, perished in large numbers, whilst medical attention and hospital accommodation were woefully deficient. This being known at home from the reports of the correspondents of the newspapers, gave rise to great dissatisfaction with the management of affairs, and private subscriptions to a large amount were speedily raised to mitigate the distress. Miss Nightingale organised a numerous staff of nurses, and proceeded with them to Constantinople, to superintend the hospitals, which were principally at Scutari, and to attend the sick and wounded, by which attention the lives of many hundreds were saved.

June 10. Crystal Palace at Sydenham opened by queen Victoria.

Sept. 1. The emperor Napoleon entertained at Boulogne the king of the Belgians, the king of Portugal, and the Prince Consort of England.

Sept. 9. The deaths from cholera in London for the week ending this day were 2050. In three months, August, September, and October, 10,500 persons died of cholera in London.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 17 & 18 VICTORIA.

Cap. 5. *An Act to admit Foreign Ships to the Coasting Trade.* Foreign vessels are admitted on paying the same duties as British ships.

Cap. 38. *For the Suppression of Gaming Houses.*

Cap. 74. *To render Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Scotland more available for the benefit of Vagrant Children.* Young persons under fourteen found begging, and without visible means of subsistence, may be sent to these schools without being charged with crime.

Cap. 114. *To extend the Rights enjoyed by the Graduates of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in respect to the Practice of Physic, to the Graduates of the University of London.* Bachelors and doctors of medicine are privileged to practise as physicians in the same manner as graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, but this privilege does not extend to surgery, pharmacy, or midwifery.

Revenue, 58,903,495*l.*; Expenditure—Army and Ordnance, 9,685,079*l.*; Navy, 6,640,596*l.*; for all purposes, 55,647,991*l.*; Debt, 771,335,801*l.**

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 97,184,726*l.*; total exports, 115,821,092*l.*; imports, 152,389,033*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 43,761; to the United States, 193,065; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 83,237; to other places, 3,366; total, 323,429.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 8,051; number of passengers, 111,206,707; traffic receipts, 20,215,724*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,004,068.

* Up to this date the financial year ended on Jan. 4; all after end on March 31.

1855.

Jan. 25. Lord John Russell retired from office in consequence of an approaching discussion in the House of Commons, on a motion of which Mr. Roebuck gave notice on the 23rd for a select committee to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of the commissariat and medical departments of the army.

Jan. 31. Resignation of lord Aberdeen's cabinet, in consequence of the defeat of the government on the 29th, in the division on Mr. Roebuck's motion; the votes being 305 against ministers and 148 in their favour. The earl of Derby was invited by the Queen to undertake the formation of a government, but declined; lord Palmerston accepted the responsibility, and the members of his cabinet were sworn into office on the 8th of February. The ministry stood thus: viscount Palmerston, First Lord of the Treasury; earl Granville, President of the Council; lord Cranworth, Lord High Chancellor; duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; sir George Grey, Secretary of State for Home Affairs; earl of Clarendon, Foreign Secretary; Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, Colonial Secretary; lord Panmure, War Secretary; Right Hon. sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Right Hon. Vernon Smith, President of the Board of Control; sir B. Hall, Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings; earl of Harrowby, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; marquess of Lansdowne, without office.

Feb. 20. Lord John Russell left London to attend the conferences of the representatives of the great powers, on the terms of peace between Russia and Turkey, as the British plenipotentiary.

Feb. 22. Withdrawal from office of Mr. Gladstone, sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, on account of the House of Commons insisting upon the appointment of a select committee in terms of Mr. Roebuck's motion. Their places in the cabinet were filled up by the appointment of sir G. C. Lewis, sir Charles Wood, and lord John Russell.

April 17. Arrival of the emperor and empress of the French at Windsor on a visit to the Queen. On the 19th they were entertained by the Lord Mayor at a splendid fête in the Guildhall of London. They took leave on their return home on the 21st.

April 20. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made his financial statement, in which he intimated that the deficiency occasioned by the Russian war was about twenty-three millions, of which he proposed to raise sixteen millions by loan, and the rest by a readjustment involving an increase of taxation.

June 13. The new Metropolitan Cattle Market opened. Prince Albert attended the opening, and in replying to the address read to him by the recorder, after remarking on the enormous growth of London, said that this growth "imperatively

requires that those establishments which are to minister to the common wants of the whole should keep pace with its growth and magnitude. This can only be undertaken by public bodies, they can only be carried out by public spirit. . . . I hail the spirit which is rising among us."

July 13. Lord John Russell resigned his office of colonial secretary, in consequence of discussions in the House of Commons in reference to the part taken by him in the Vienna Conference. He was succeeded by sir William Molesworth.

Aug. 1. Viscount Canning was entertained at a public banquet by the East India Company, previous to his departure to assume the functions of governor-general of India.

Aug. 18. Queen Victoria and prince Albert visited the emperor of the French in Paris, remaining till the 27th, when they embarked at Boulogne on their return to England.

Nov. 22. The first stone of the Birmingham and Midland Institute laid by prince Albert. At the banquet afterwards, in the Town-hall of Birmingham, in reply to the toast of his health, he dwelt on the advantages to be derived from the higher branches of education; he remarked on the error of considering scientific knowledge as antagonistic; and said, "Far be it from me to undervalue the creative power of genius, or to treat shrewd common sense as worthless without knowledge. But nobody will tell me that the same genius would not take an incomparably higher flight, if supplied with all the means which knowledge can impart, or that common sense does not become, in fact, only truly powerful when in possession of the materials upon which judgment is to be exercised."

Nov. 30. The king of Sardinia arrived at Windsor on a visit to the Queen.

RUSSIAN WAR.—On the 6th of January Conferences were opened at Vienna between the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria and Russia, with a view to the restoration of peace. These conferences continued till the 21st of April, when they were suspended without any practical result. On the 10th of January Victor Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, joined the Allies, and undertook to send 15,000 men to the Crimea to aid in the war against Russia. On the 12th of February an imperial ukase ordered the organization and arming of the entire militia of the Russian empire for the defence of the "orthodox faith." On the 17th the Russians attacked Eupatoria, but were repulsed by the Turks who formed the garrison of the place. On the 2nd of March Nicholas, emperor of Russia, died, and was succeeded by his son Alexander II. The event was announced to the British Houses of Parliament within five hours of the emperor's decease, the intelligence being transmitted by telegraph. On the 4th of April the British fleet, under rear-admiral Dundas, sailed for the Baltic. The Baltic coast was blockaded from the 19th of April. The French

fleet in the Baltic was under the command of admiral Pénard. On the 9th of April the second bombardment of Sebastopol commenced, and was continued, with little effect, till the 28th. On the 16th of May general Canrobert resigned the chief command of the French army in the Crimea to general Pelissier, but continued to serve as a general of division. On the 24th of May Kertch was occupied by the Allies, whose fleets swept the sea of Azoff, captured and garrisoned Yenikali, and bombarded Taganrog, Mariapol, Gheisk, and other towns, destroying public buildings, government magazines and provision stores. On the 7th of June, at Sebastopol, the French troops captured the Mamelon, two redoubts, and 62 guns, and took 130 officers and 400 men prisoners. On the 18th the French attacked the Malakhoff and the English the Redan, but were repulsed by the Russians with considerable loss. On the 28th lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief in the Crimea, died of cholera, in his 68th year; he was succeeded by general Simpson, as next in command. On the 11th of July, in the Baltic, the fortifications of Sweaborg were bombarded by the allied fleets of England and France. On the 16th of August the battle of the Tchernaya, near Sebastopol, took place, in which the Russians were defeated by the French and the Sardinians. On the 5th of September the third bombardment of Sebastopol commenced, and on the 8th the French took the Malakhoff; the English who attempted to take the Redan, were repulsed. The Russians, who had suffered to a frightful extent from the effects of the shot and shells which had been poured upon the city and its defences—about 17,000 officers and privates having been killed, wounded, and missing in three days—evacuated the south side of Sebastopol at night, after sinking their ships and blowing up the defences. On the 9th the Allies took possession of the place, which they found in a ruinous condition. On the 17th of October Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper, surrendered to the Allies. On the 18th the Russians blew up the fortress of Oczakoff. On the 10th of November the emperor Alexander visited his army near Sebastopol. On the 11th of November general sir William Codrington assumed the command of the British army in the Crimea. On the 26th the fortress of Kars surrendered to the Russians, after a protracted and gallant defence, continued for several months amidst severe privations; general Williams and the other English officers, his companions, who became prisoners of war, were treated with great kindness by the Russian general. On the 16th of December Austria sent proposals for peace, the terms of which had been sanctioned by the Allies, to the emperor Alexander at St. Petersburg. On the 19th the united kingdom of Sweden and Norway joined the alliance of the Western Powers.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 18 & 19 VICTORIE.

Cap. 27. *An Act to amend the Laws relating*

to the Stamp Duties on Newspapers, and to provide for the transmission by post of printed Periodicals and Publications. By this Act the stamp duty was removed except for purposes of transmission by post.

Cap. 88. To facilitate the Erection of Dwelling-houses for the Working Classes in Scotland. Granting powers under supervision for small associations to hold land and build houses suitable for the working classes.

Cap. 116. For the better Prevention of Diseases. In case of any endemic, epidemic, or contagious disease occurring in any part of England the Privy Council and the General Board of Health are empowered to issue rules and directions for the removal of nuisances, the speedy interment of the dead, for house to house visitation, the dispensing of medicines, &c., the expenses to be paid out of the rates or funds administered by the local authorities.

Cap. 120. For the better Local Management of the Metropolis. By this Act the construction of sewers, and such matters as cannot be effected by parishes singly, are confided to a board, the members of which are elected by the various parishes contained in the metropolitan district.

Cap. 126. For diminishing expense and delay in the Administration of Criminal Justice in certain cases. Offenders charged with simple felony where the thing stolen does not exceed 5s. in value, may be dealt with summarily by a police magistrate, if they consent; and if the value exceeds 5s. it may be so dealt with on the offender pleading guilty; if he does not, the case must go for trial.

Cap. 132. For facilitating the Erection of Dwelling-houses for the Working Classes. This, with some variation in detail, is for a similar purpose to that for Scotland, stated above.

Cap. 133. For limiting the Liability of Members of certain Joint-Stock Companies. Enables Joint-Stock Companies to be formed, of which the individual liabilities are limited, but they must be registered, and the word "limited," must form the last word of the name of the company, and must always appear where the title is given.

Revenue, 62,815,952*l.*; Expenditure—Army and Ordnance, 15,631,602*l.*; Navy, 14,490,105*l.*; for all purposes, 65,721,755*l.*; *l.* Debt, 801,978,763*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 95,688,085*l.*: total exports, 116,691,300*l.*; imports, 113,542,850*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 17,966; to the United States, 103,414; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 52,209; to all other places, 3,118: total, 176,807.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 8,280; number of passengers, 118,595,135; traffic receipts, 21,507,599*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,018,075.

1856.

Jan. 31. The Queen, in opening parliament, announced that Russia had accepted as a basis for negotiation the proposals for a general peace put forth by Austria, with the sanction of the other allied powers.

Feb. 1. Protocol signed at Vienna by the representatives of Russia, France, Great Britain, Austria, and Turkey, accepting the Austrian propositions as a basis for peace.

Feb. 1. Despatch from general Codrington announcing that the destruction of the Sebastopol docks had been completely effected.

Feb. 5. A new Order of Merit, "The Victoria Cross," instituted, the decoration of which is to be conferred upon inferior officers and privates in the army and navy for distinguished gallantry.

Feb. 7. The governor-general of India announced by a proclamation the deposition of the king of Oude, and the annexation of his territory to the British possessions in India. The king was allowed a pension of 120,000*l.* a year.

Feb. 25. The Peace Conferences opened at Paris, attended by the representatives of France, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey. Prussia was subsequently admitted.

Feb. 29. Suspension of hostilities in the Crimea.

March 16. Birth of the Prince Imperial of France. On this occasion the emperor issued an amnesty in favour of upwards of a thousand political exiles.

April 25. The Queen reviewed a fleet of more than 300 men-of-war at Portsmouth. At the commencement of the review the fleet extended in an unbroken line of anchorage for about five miles.

April 29. Peace with Russia officially proclaimed by a herald in the streets of London.

May 3. An amnesty granted to political exiles, in virtue of which Frost, Williams, Jones, and Smith O'Brien, were permitted to return to England. On the 11th of November a free pardon was granted by the queen to these political offenders.

May 29. Public celebration of the conclusion of peace. Magnificent fire-works in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. A general illumination took place.

June 1. Disastrous inundations in France. For the relief of the sufferers subscriptions were raised in England to the amount of more than 40,000*l.*

July 12. Evacuation of the Crimea by the allied troops.

Oct. 8. Seizure by the Chinese authorities of a lorch, or small trading vessel, which bore the British flag. This led to hostilities between Great Britain and China.

Oct. 13. Surrender of the city of Herat to the Persians, when the governor and his family were put to death. The Persians having thus violated a treaty to which Great Britain was a

party, war was proclaimed against Persia at Calcutta on the 1st of November.

Oct. 24. Canton attacked by the British, who bombarded it on the 3rd of November.

Oct. 27. Railway opened between Montreal and Toronto.

Nov. 22. An insurrection in Sicily suppressed by the military.

Dec. 9. Bushire, in the Persian Gulf, taken by the British expedition.

Dec. 10. Mr. Sheepshanks presented to the nation his collection of drawings and paintings. The collection has been placed in the South Kensington Museum.

Dec. 16. The Queen went to Spithead to receive from the representative of the United States government the Arctic discovery ship *Resolute*, which having been abandoned in the ice by its crew, was recovered by an American ship, and having been completely repaired by the American government, was now restored to Great Britain.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 19 & 20 VICTORIAE.

Cap. 47. *An Act for the Incorporation and Regulation of Joint-Stock Companies and other Associations.* One of the most important parts of this Act is that relating to the winding-up of companies.

Cap. 64. *To Repeal certain Statutes not in use.* 112 statutes, most of them obsolete, but hitherto unrepealed, are at once swept away.

Cap. 65. *To encourage the providing of Improved Dwellings for the Labouring Classes in Ireland.*

Cap. 69. *To render more effectual the Police in Counties and Boroughs of England and Wales.* This empowers the justices assembled in quarter sessions to adopt and enforce a more general system than had hitherto taken place; the divisional police of a county was to be consolidated, unless the secretary of state authorizes a division; and county constables are empowered to act in any borough within the county; and boroughs may be consolidated with the county for the purposes of police.

Cap. 83. *To provide for the better Defence of the Coasts of the Realm, and the more ready Manning of the Navy, and to transfer to the Admiralty the Management of the Coast Guard.* The coast guard men are to have the privilege of making allotments of wages, and of pensions, as seamen in the navy, and the officers are to have the training of the Royal Naval Coast Volunteers.

Cap. 98. *To amend the Laws relating to the Burial of the Dead in Ireland.* This establishes burial boards in Ireland as in England.

Revenue, 70,262,882*l.*; Expenditure—Army, including Ordnance, 32,006,603*l.*; Navy, 19,654,585*l.*; for all purposes, 88,453,385*l.*; Debt, 829,579,798*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 115,826,948*l.*: total exports, 139,220,353*l.*; imports, 172,544,154*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 16,378; to the United States, 111,837; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 44,584; to all other places, 3,755: total, 176,554.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 8,707; number of passengers, 129,347,592; traffic receipts, 23,165,491*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,030,823.

1857.

[This year was remarkable for the Mutiny of the Native Army in British India, which was not finally subdued till 1858. It may be convenient to give the events connected with this alarming outbreak under a separate head in each of these years, after the general Chronology.]

Feb. 3. Parliament opened by commission.

March 3. A motion proposed by Mr. Cobden censuring the government for the war with China, was carried, after four nights' discussion in the House of Commons, by 263 to 247 votes.

March 3. Treaty of peace between Great Britain and Persia, signed at Paris by lord Cowley and Ferukh-Khan.

March 3. Election of Mr. Buchanan as president of the United States of North America.

March 13. The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his budget, which contained proposals for the remission of taxation to the extent of eleven millions.

March 14. Treaty signed at Copenhagen for the abolition of the Sound dues. The share of indemnity money payable by Great Britain was 1,125,200*l.*

March 19. Prince Albert, accompanied by the prince of Wales, opened new schools in Golden Lane, Barbican. In the course of his answer to the address presented to him, he said, "You have not been content with the bare attempt to force, perhaps upon unwilling recipients, a boon, the value of which might not be appreciated, but you have wisely sought to work upon the convictions of the parents of the children you wish to benefit by extending your assistance only to those who, by a small contribution out of their hardly-won earnings, have proved that they are awake to a sense of the vast importance it is to their offspring that the means of being fitted to pass successfully through life, and, by honest industry, to better their condition, should be brought within their reach."

March 21. Parliament dissolved, and a new parliament summoned.

April 21. Departure of the earl of Elgin on a special embassy to the emperor of China at Peking.

May 5. Prince Albert opened the Exhibition of Art Treasures at Manchester. In addressing the committee, he remarked on the "generous feeling of mutual confidence and good

will between the different classes of society, of which it [the Exhibition] affords so gratifying a proof."

May 7. Parliament opened by commission. Mr. J. Evelyn Denison elected Speaker of the House of Commons.

May 21. The House of Commons agreed to grant to the Princess Royal an annuity of 8000*l.* per annum, and a dower of 40,000*l.*, on occasion of her marriage with prince Frederick William of Prussia.

June 1. A number of war-junks taken from the Chinese in the Canton river.

June 22. Educational Conference in London, at which prince Albert presided. In his speech he detailed some of the statistics of the state of education, but he said—"You will probably trace the cause of our social condition to a state of ignorance and lethargic indifference on the subject among parents generally; but the root of the evil will, I suspect, be found to extend into that field on which the political economist exercises his activity—I mean the labour market—demand and supply." He pointed out how this acted. Of the labourer he said—"His children are not only his offspring, to be reared for a future independent position, but they constitute part of his productive power, and work with him for the staff of life." He therefore exhorted the meeting to work "upon the minds and hearts of parents, to place before them the irreparable mischief which they inflict," by keeping their children from the "right of knowledge."

June 25. An order in Council conferred the title of prince Consort on prince Albert.

July 11. Failure of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable, the cable having snapped after 335 miles length had been given out.

July 25. Public meeting at the Mansion House, London, in aid of the sufferers from the Indian mutiny. In the course of three months upwards of 260,000*l.* was raised for this purpose.

Nov. 12. In consequence of a severe commercial panic, the government authorized the Bank of England to extend its issues, which had the effect of mitigating the pressure upon the money market, and restoring confidence. An estimate was made to the effect that the aggregate liabilities of commercial houses, which had fallen during the panic, amounted to about forty-five millions sterling. At this time there was great distress in the manufacturing districts.

Nov. 18. Ambassadors from the two kings of Siam received by queen Victoria at a Court held at Windsor.

Nov. 18. Great distress in Kafirland. About 30,000 destitute Kafirs brought in as servants to the Cape Colonists.

Dec. 5. Parliament opened by the Queen in person, having met at this season chiefly for the purpose of passing a bill of indemnity, exonerating the government in regard to the permission given to the Bank of England to extend its issues for the purpose of mitigating the

pressure of the recent commercial panic. On the 12th the royal assent was given to the bill of indemnity, and the Houses adjourned.

Dec. 29. Canton taken by the British forces, and Commissioner Yeh made prisoner.

INDIA.—Jan. 24. A mutinous spirit began to manifest itself among the Sepoys of the East India Company's army at Barrackpore, Berhampore, Lucknow, Meerut, and elsewhere. The origin of the disaffection was said to be the use of cartridges made up in paper, which had been greased with a mixture of cow's fat and hog's lard—a composition offensive to the Hindoo, who regards the cow with religious veneration, and also to the Mahomedan, who looks upon the hog with abhorrence. On the 10th of May the mutiny broke out at Meerut, from which place the insurgents marched to Delhi, where on the 11th being joined by several native regiments they proclaimed the king of Delhi as Emperor, and massacred many of the English residents. Lieut. Willoughby blew up the magazine, and made his escape. On the 20th general Anson arrived before Delhi with a small force of British and native troops. On the 27th general Anson died of cholera, which also struck down his successor, sir H. Barnard. General Reel, who took the command on July 5th, was obliged, from ill-health, to transfer it to general Wilson, on the 22nd. General Nicholson having arrived with reinforcements, Delhi was taken by assault on the 14th September, the fight being continued in the city till the 20th. The British lost about 1,200 killed and wounded. General Nicholson died on the 23rd. The native troops, at Lucknow, broke out in mutiny on the 31st of May. They were dispersed by the troops under sir Henry Lawrence. On the 5th of June the Europeans, at Allahabad, were besieged in the fort by the mutineers. The small British force in Cawnpore were in like manner hemmed in, and were compelled to surrender to Nana Sahib on the 26th of June, general Wheeler having died on the 21st from a wound received in making a sally on the previous day. The English were embarked in boats on the Ganges, to be conveyed to Allahabad, in accordance with the terms of surrender. They were fired upon with cannon, many boats were sunk, and those persons who got on shore were cut down. Colonel Havelock, who had arrived at Calcutta from the Persian Gulf on the 17th June, was immediately despatched, with the rank of brigadier-general, in command of the troops intended for the relief of Cawnpore. On the 1st of July general Havelock left Allahabad with a force of 2,000 Europeans; on the 16th he defeated Nana Sahib before Cawnpore; and on the 17th entered the town. On the 19th he again defeated Nana Sahib at Bithoor. At Lucknow, in a sortie against the Sepoy besiegers, on the 2nd of July sir Henry Lawrence was wounded, and died on the 4th—major Banks took the command, and held possession of the Residency and fort. On the 15th general Neill

defeated the mutineers at the Pundoo Nuddee, south of Cawnpore. On the 16th Nana Sahib murdered the women and children who were in his custody at Cawnpore, and flung their bodies into a wide and deep well. On the same day general Havelock gained his ninth victory, between Cawnpore and Lucknow. On the 25th of September he reached Lucknow with 2,500 troops, and relieved the Europeans besieged in the Residency. On the 26th he forced the mutineers to abandon their entrenchments. On the 3rd of November sir Colin Campbell, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army in India on the 11th of July, and left London for Calcutta on the 12th, arrived at Cawnpore. On the 17th of November he delivered the Europeans from their confinement in the Residency, which was evacuated by the 23rd. On the 25th of November sir Henry Havelock died, eight days after he received the tidings of his having been created a Knight Commander of the Bath. On the 6th of December sir Colin Campbell defeated the Gwalior Contingent, and on the 8th sir Hope Grant also defeated them higher up the Ganges.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 20 & 21 VICTORIÆ.

Cap. 3. *An Act to Amend the Act of the 16 & 17 Victoria, cap. 95, to substitute in certain Cases other Punishment in lieu of Transportation.* No offender in future to be sentenced to transportation, but persons under sentence of penal servitude may be sent to places beyond sea, the Privy Council appointing the places; and magistrates may commit convicts whose licences are revoked to penal servitude in any convict prison.

Cap. 14. *An Act to amend the Joint Stock Companies' Act, 1856.* Much of this Act relates to the duties of officials, but it also enacts that where more than 20 persons are engaged in partnership, and are not registered, each is declared separately liable for the debts of the firm. When a winding-up order has been obtained against any company, the liquidator may obtain a warrant for the arrest of any shareholder whom he may have reason to suspect of being about to abscond or to conceal his property, and his books, papers, moneys, and other property may be seized.

Cap. 48. *To make better Provision for the Care and Education of Vagrant, Destitute and Disorderly Children, and for the Extension of Industrial Schools.* Parents may be compelled to pay towards the support of their child a sum of not more than 3s. per week.

Cap. 54. *To make better Provision for the Punishment of Frauds committed by Trustees, Bankers, and other Persons intrusted with Property.* After detailing the various frauds enacted against; as appropriating property, making false statements with intent to deceive; keeping fraudulent accounts, &c., the offender is declared liable to penal imprisonment for three, or by imprisonment with or without hard labour for two, years, or by fine as the court shall direct.

Cap. 71. *For the Regulation of the Cure and Treatment of Lunatics, and for the Provision, Maintenance, and Regulation of Lunatic Asylums in Scotland.* Private asylums are to be licensed; district asylums are to be provided in the large towns, and Commissioners to be appointed who are to inspect and make an annual report.

Cap. 72. *To render more effectual the Police in Counties and Burghs in Scotland.* This Act in effect is for organizing a general police in Scotland, which had previously been only local.

Cap. 77. *To amend the Laws relating to Probate and Letters of Administration in England.* This important Act removes the jurisdiction in all such matters, from the Ecclesiastical Courts to a Special Court instituted by this Act; cap. 79, was a similar Act for Ireland.

Cap. 83. *An Act for more effectually Preventing the Sale of Obscene Books, Pictures, Prints, and other Articles.* On information given upon oath, magistrates may issue search warrants, authorizing the use of force in the day time, in order to search the suspected premises.

Cap. 85. *To amend the Law relating to Divorce and Matrimonial Causes in England.* This, like cap. 77, removes all such matters from the Ecclesiastical Courts to a Court especially appointed, of which the Judge holds the same office in the Probate Court, the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Judges, and the senior Puisne Judges of the Law Courts, may sit with him; and in suits for annulling marriage, applications for new trials, &c., they must be heard by three or more Judges, the Judge of the Probate Court being always one.

Revenue, 72,334,062*l.*; Expenditure — Army, 20,811,242*l.*; Navy, 13,459,012*l.*; for all objects, 71,371,533*l.*; Debt, 834,722,963*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 122,066,107*l.*: total of exports, 146,174,301*l.*; imports, 187,844,441*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 21,001; to the United States, 126,905; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 61,248; to all other places, 3,721: total, 212,875.

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 9,094; number of passengers, 139,008,883; traffic receipts, 24,174,610*l.*

Number of Paupers, 979,117.

1858.

Jan. 14. An attempt was made to assassinate the Emperor and Empress of the French by an explosion of hand grenades. The Emperor and Empress escaped unhurt, but five persons were killed and about sixty wounded. For this attempt five persons were tried and convicted, of whom two, Orsini and Pieri, were guillotined at Paris.

Jan. 25. Marriage of the Princess Royal of England with prince Frederick William of Prussia, in the Chapel of St. James's Palace.

Jan. 31. Completion of the launch of the Great Eastern steam-ship, the commencement having been made about three months previously.

Feb. 10. The blockade of Canton raised.

Feb. 22. Lord Palmerston's Cabinet resigned, in consequence of an adverse vote (234 to 215) of the House of Commons, proposed by Mr. Milner Gibson, expressing regret that her Majesty's government, previously to inviting the House to amend the law of conspiracy, had not made some reply to the despatch received from the French government dated Jan. 20th, 1858. On the retirement of viscount Palmerston the earl of Derby was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry. The new Cabinet was constituted as follows:—Earl of Derby, First Lord of the Treasury; marquess of Salisbury, President of the Council; lord Chelmsford, Lord High Chancellor; earl of Hardwicke, Lord Privy Seal; Rt. Hon. B. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Rt. Hon. Spencer Walpole, Secretary of State for Home Affairs; earl of Malmesbury, Foreign Secretary; Rt. Hon. sir E. B. Lytton, Colonial Secretary; major-general Peel, Secretary for War; earl of Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control; Rt. Hon. sir J. S. Pakington, First Lord of the Admiralty; Rt. Hon. J. W. Henley, President of the Board of Trade; lord John Manners, President of the Board of Works.

March 14. A proclamation was issued by the Governor-General of India to the people of Oude, threatening confiscation of the lands of such talookdhars as do not submit to the government. This proclamation was disapproved by lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, and the publication in this country of his despatch to the governor-general upon the subject led to lord Ellenborough's withdrawal from the Cabinet.

March 15. Lord Malmesbury, the Foreign Secretary, laid on the table of the House of Lords the correspondence that had taken place between her Majesty's government since its accession to office and the French government, and said that the correspondence had concluded in all honour and good feeling on both sides.

March 30. Conference at Shanghai of the representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States. The reply of the Chinese government to the communications of the ambassadors being considered unsatisfactory, it was resolved to proceed to Tien-tsin.

May 15. Massacre of the English and French Consuls, and about 20 other Europeans, at Jeddah, the port of Mecca.

May 20. Arrival of the British and French expedition at Tien-tsin, after having captured the Pei-ho forts.

May 26. Treaty of Tien-tsin concluded between the Chinese government and Great Britain, represented by the earl of Elgin. Separate treaties with the Chinese were made by France, Russia, and America.

July 23. Jeddah bombarded by the British ship Cyclops, and again on the 5th of August.

Aug. 5. The Queen and Prince Consort visited the emperor Napoleon at Cherbourg on occasion of the opening of the Napoleon Docks.

Aug. 12. The earl of Elgin landed at Jeddo, the capital of Japan, and negotiated a favourable treaty with the Emperor, which was signed on the 26th.

Aug. 22. Congratulatory message sent by queen Victoria to president Buchanan by the Atlantic Telegraph and responded to in a friendly manner by the president. The telegraph soon ceased to transmit messages, and the efforts made to effect a communication by telegraph between the opposite shores of the Atlantic have been unsuccessful.

Sept. 1. The East India Company's government transferred to the Crown by Act of Parliament, which was announced throughout India by a royal proclamation on the 1st of November.

INDIA.—On the 2nd of January, sir Colin Campbell defeated the rebels at Futteghur, and established an artillery depôt there. On the 9th the first party of ladies and children, and of sick and wounded officers from Lucknow, arrived at Calcutta. They landed under a royal salute amid the cheering of several hundreds of Europeans. On the 29th Saugor, in Central India, which had been invested by the rebels for upwards of six months, was relieved by sir Hugh Rose. March 2. Sir Colin Campbell commenced the siege of Lucknow, taking possession of the Dilkoosha palace and park. On the 19th Lucknow fell into the hands of the British, the rebels, to the number of 50,000, seeking safety in flight. On the 13th of April the garrison of Azimghur was relieved by sir E. Lugard. On the 13th of May sir Hope Grant defeated the rebels at Nawabgunge, near Lucknow, and on the 23rd the strong fortress of Calpee was taken by sir Hugh Rose. On the 19th of June sir Hugh Rose re-took Gwalior from the rebels, and reinstated the Maharaja Sindia in his capital and possessions.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 21 & 22 VICTORIA.

Cap. 26. *An Act to abolish the Property Qualifications of Members of Parliament.* Repealing all the Acts requiring a property qualification for a member of Parliament.

Cap. 48. *To substitute one Oath for the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration; and for the Relief of her Majesty's Subjects professing the Jewish Religion.* Preserves the form of oath, allows Quakers to "affirm" instead of "swear;" and Jews to omit the words, "on the faith of a Christian."

Cap. 49. *To provide for the Relief of her Majesty's Subjects professing the Jewish Religion.* This Act admits Jews to sit in Parliament, but they are restricted from presenting to any ecclesiastical benefice, and from holding the offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Lieutenant

of Ireland, or High Commissioner of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Cap. 90. *To regulate the Qualifications of Practitioners in Medicine and Surgery.* Councils are appointed to examine applicants as to qualifications, and on approval they receive certificates entitling them to practise. The Act also regulates the Royal College of Physicians, and the College of Surgeons in London, and other medical colleges.

Cap. 91. *To enable Joint-Stock Banking Companies to be formed on the Principle of Limited Liability.* Repeals so much of a former Act as prevented the formation of such Companies; but only on condition of not issuing notes in the United Kingdom.

Cap. 99. *To provide for the Government of British Columbia.* By this Act British Columbia was constituted a distinct colony.

Cap. 106. *For the better Government of India.* This Act transferred the Government of India from the Board of Directors to her Majesty with a new secretary of state for its management.

Revenue, 67,881,513*l.*; Expenditure—Army, 14,405,850*l.*; Navy, 10,590,000*l.*; for all objects, 68,128,859*l.*; Debt, 826,134,640*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 116,608,756*l.*: total exports, 139,782,779*l.*; imports, 164,583,832*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 9,704; to the United States, 59,716; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 39,295; to all other places, 5,257: total, 113,972.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia, 9,064,763*l.*; total imported, 22,793,126*l.**

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 9,542; number of passengers, 139,193,699; traffic receipts, 23,956,749*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,037,967.

1859.

Jan. 9. The Governor-General of India published decrees constituting the Punjab a lieutenant-governorship, and ordering the general disarming of Upper India.

Jan. 25. At this date the entire pacification of Oude was reported.

Jan. 30. Prince Napoleon, cousin of the emperor, married at Turin to Princess Clothilde, daughter of the king of Sardinia.

Feb. 3. Parliament opened by the Queen in person.

Mar. 1. Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley stated to the House of Commons their reasons for withdrawing from lord Derby's government on account of some of the provisions of the Reform Bill proposed by the Government.

Mar. 31. The debate in the House of Commons on the government Reform Bill, which had continued for several days, terminated in the defeat of ministers by a majority of 330 against 291 votes.

April 18. Tantia Topee, one of the leaders of the Indian Mutiny, executed at Seepree by sentence of a court-martial.

* The imports of bullion were not registered at the Custom House until Nov., 1857.

April 19. Parliament dissolved.

June 7. Queen Victoria opened Parliament in person. On the address in answer to the Queen's Speech the ministers were left in a minority of 13—the votes being 323 to 310—and in consequence resigned the office. Viscount Palmerston was entrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet. The ministry, as arranged by him, was as follows:—Viscount Palmerston, First Lord of the Treasury; earl Granville, President of the Council; lord Campbell, Lord High Chancellor; duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; right hon. W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; right hon. Sir G. C. Lewis, Secretary of State for Home Affairs; lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary; duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary; right hon. Sidney Herbert, Secretary for War; right hon. sir C. Wood, Secretary for India; duke of Somerset, First Lord of the Admiralty; right hon. E. Cardwell, Chief Secretary for Ireland; earl of Elgin, Postmaster-General; right hon. T. M. Gibson, President of Board of Trade; right hon. C. P. Villiers, President of Poor Law Board; right hon. sir George Grey, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

June 25. The allied forces accompanying the English and French ambassadors to the Chinese court, being obstructed in their passage up the Pei-ho river, on their way to Peking, attempted to force their way, but were repulsed with the loss of about 450 men.

Aug. 13. Parliament prorogued by commission.

Oct. 30. For several months a large proportion of the workmen employed in the Building trades of the metropolis continued on strike, their demand being chiefly for the establishment of nine hours as the time of a working day: much distress prevailed in the families of the workmen. Many of the employers having adopted the rule of payment by the hour, the men gradually returned to work.

ITALY.—On the 1st of January, the Emperor of the French at his new year's day reception of the foreign ambassadors, said to M. de Hubner, the Austrian representative;—"I regret that our relations with your government are not so good as they were, but I request you to tell the emperor that my personal feelings for him have not changed." These words reported in the newspapers caused a great sensation throughout Europe. On the 10th the king of Sardinia, in opening the Piedmontese Chambers in Turin, said: "The horizon in which the new year rises is not perfectly serene. . . . While we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of grief which reaches us from so many parts of Italy." On the 11th of February, Count Cavour, the Piedmontese Prime Minister, in a speech to the Turin Chamber of Deputies, charged Austria with assuming an offensive attitude towards Sardinia by placing large bodies of troops along the frontier. On the 27th lord Cowley arrived at Vienna, as an envoy from the British government, with

a view to mediate between the Austrian government on the one hand, and France and Sardinia on the other. This mission was unsuccessful. On the 1st of April the French government decided to send an army of 60,000 men to the Sardinian frontier. On the 19th the Austrian government sent an *ultimatum* to the Court of Turin, requiring Sardinia to disarm immediately, and to disband the Italian volunteers. Three days were allowed for an answer. Sardinia rejected this *ultimatum*, and Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, protested against the conduct of Austria. France proceeded to prepare for war. Peaceful revolutions took place on the 27th in Tuscany, and on the 31st at Parma, provisional governments being formed in both cases. On the 29th the Austrian army crossed the Ticino. On the 20th of May the French and Piedmontese, under the command of the emperor Napoleon and Victor-Emmanuel, defeated the Austrians at Montebello. On the 27th Garibaldi, at the head of the Italian Volunteers, took possession of the city of Como, after defeating the Austrians in several engagements. On the 30th the emperor of Austria put himself at the head of his army at Verona. On the 31st the Austrian army was defeated by the Sardinians at Palestro. On the 1st of June the French troops occupied Novara. On the 4th was fought the battle of Magenta, in which the Emperor of the French commanded the Imperial Guard and the Zouaves. The Austrians were defeated with immense loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 5th, Milan and on the 7th Pavia, were evacuated by the Austrians. On the 8th the emperor Napoleon and Victor-Emmanuel entered Milan in triumph. On the 22nd the Austrian army retreated across the Mincio. On the 24th the battle of Solferino took place, in which the Austrians, 170,000 in number, were commanded by the emperor Francis-Joseph, and the allied French and Sardinians, numbering about 150,000, by the emperor Napoleon. The battle, which lasted from five o'clock in the morning till eight at night, was attended with enormous slaughter. An armistice was agreed to on the 8th of July, and on the 11th a personal interview took place at Villafranca, between the emperors of France and Austria, who came to an agreement as to the terms of peace. The Treaty of Peace was signed at Zurich, on the 11th November, by the representatives of Austria, France, and Sardinia. On the 18th of November General Garibaldi published a proclamation to the Italians, intimating his withdrawal from the service in consequence of the obstacles placed in his path by the demands of a crafty policy, but exhorting the Italians to rally round Victor-Emmanuel.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 22 & 23 VICTORIA.

Cap. 27. *An Act to facilitate Grants of Land to be made near Populous Places for the Use of regulated Recreation for Adults, and as Play-grounds for Children.* Enabling

lands given for such purposes to be held by trustees, empowering corporations and parishes to grant lands, for the purchase or maintenance of which personal property of not more than 1000*l.* in value may be bequeathed.

Cap. 34. *To amend and explain the Act of the 6 Geo. IV. cap. 129, to repeal the Laws relating to the Combination of Workmen, and to make other Provision in lieu thereof.* Allows workmen to unite for the purpose of regulating their wages or other matters, peaceably and in a reasonable manner, and without threat or intimidation, direct or indirect, but not to break or to induce another to break any contract.

Cap. 56. *To amend the Act 5 & 6 Wm. IV. cap. 63, relating to Weights and Measures.* Imperial standards are to be furnished, and inspectors appointed in counties and towns, who are to examine beams, scales, weights, and measures; false ones being subject to forfeiture and fine. Owners of markets are to provide such articles for general use, and to have their accuracy tested at least twice a year.

Cap. 66. *For regulating Measures used in the Sale of Gas.* A general Act by which inspectors are appointed, and meters are to be examined and stamped, and no meter to be considered legal unless stamped.

Revenue, 65,477,234*l.*; Expenditure—Army, 13,294,814*l.*; Navy, 9,215,487*l.*; for all objects, 60,147,914*l.*; Debt, 823,934,880*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 130,411,529*l.*; total exports, 155,692,795*l.*; imports, 179,182,355*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 6,689; to United States, 70,303; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 31,013; to all other places, 12,427; total, 120,432.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia, 8,624,566*l.*; total imported, 22,297,698*l.*; exported, 18,081,139*l.*

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 10,002; number of passengers, 140,807,148; traffic receipts, 25,743,502*l.*

Number of Paupers, 933,837.

1860.

Jan. 24. Parliament opened by the Queen in person. The speech stated that a conference of the great powers of Europe had been proposed with reference to the affairs of Italy, but the conference had been postponed;—whether in congress or in separate negotiation, her majesty would “endeavour to obtain for the people of Italy freedom from foreign interference by force of arms in their internal concerns.”

Feb. 10. The chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his budget, which included, among other measures, an extension of the licence system to refreshment houses for the sale of wines, the abolition of the duties on paper and numerous other articles, with the income-tax at sevenpence in the pound on incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.*, and ten-

pence in the pound on incomes above 150*l.* a year.

March 1. Lord John Russell introduced a bill to amend the representation of the people of England and Wales. Similar Reform bills were introduced for Scotland and Ireland.

Feb. 12. By votes recorded on the 11th and 12th, the people of Tuscany and the Romagna decided on annexation to Sardinia.

Feb. 15. General rising of the people of Sicily against the Neapolitan government.

Feb. 24. Treaty between France and Sardinia signed at Turin, by which Savoy and Nice were annexed to France.

May 1. War between the Maoris of New Zealand and the British, in consequence of a dispute about the sale of some lands.

May 3. Lord John Russell's Reform bill was read a second time in the House of Commons, after being debated for four nights.

May 16. Garibaldi's troops defeated those of the king of Naples at Lioppo. On the 17th Garibaldi issued a proclamation announcing that he had assumed the responsibility of the dictatorship of Sicily.

May 21. In the House of Lords, on the motion of lord Monteagle, the Paper Duties Repeal Bill was thrown out by 193 votes to 104.

May 22. Garibaldi defeated the Neapolitan forces, and on the 27th entered Palermo. On the 29th the ministers of the king of Naples resigned their functions.

June 1. Armistice agreed to between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan troops in Sicily.

June 11. Lord John Russell stated in the House of Commons that, in consequence of the large number of amendments on the proposed Reform bill of which notice had been given, and the lateness of the session, the government had resolved to withdraw the bill.

June 23. The Queen reviewed 18,000 volunteers in Hyde Park.

July 5. The House of Commons, on the motion of lord Palmerston, passed three resolutions in vindication of the privileges of the House against the recent aggression of the Lords, in throwing out the Paper Duties Repeal Bill, the rejecting of which, being a money bill, was not within the province of the Lords.

July 9. The prince of Wales, accompanied by the duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, embarked at Plymouth on a visit to Canada and the United States. On the 18th of August the prince was at Quebec. On the 20th of September he entered the United States on his way to Washington to visit the president, travelling under the title of baron Renfrew. On the 15th of November he landed at Plymouth on his return home.

July 16. Opening of the fourth annual congress of the International Statistical Congress in London, when the Prince Consort, as president, delivered an address.

July 21. England, France, and other Euro-

pean powers, united in sending an expedition to Syria to protect the life and property of Europeans, and arrest the effusion of blood, in the conflicts which might occur and were still threatened between the Druses and the Maronites.

Aug. 7. The Queen reviewed about 20,000 volunteers in the Queen's Park, Edinburgh.

Aug. 20. Fuad Pasha, the commissioner sent to Syria by the sultan, caused 167 persons implicated in the massacres in Syria to be executed in Damascus, and many others to be sent to Constantinople to be imprisoned and put to hard labour.

Aug. 21. The Taku forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho river taken by the British and French troops, after a determined resistance by the Tartars forming the garrison. The allies proceeded to occupy Tien-tsin, the ambassadors and the main body of the army going on towards Peking.

Aug. 28. Parliament closed by commission.

Sept. 7. The king of Naples left his capital in a Spanish ship for Gaeta. Garibaldi entered Naples on the 8th, accompanied only by his staff, and immediately organized a government. On the 9th he proclaimed Victor-Emmanuel king of Italy, and on the 11th handed over the Neapolitan fleet to the Sardinian admiral.

Sept. 29. Ancona capitulated to the Sardinians. The papal army, with their commander, general Lamoricière, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Oct. 1. Garibaldi defeated the Neapolitans in the battle of the Volturno.

Oct. 24. Peace concluded between Great Britain and France on the one hand, and China on the other. The allies were represented by the earl of Elgin and baron Gros; China was represented by prince Kung, brother of the emperor. On the 5th of November the allied forces left Peking.

Nov. 7. The king of Sardinia entered Naples, and was received with general enthusiasm. On the 9th Garibaldi retired to his small property on the little island of Caprera.

Dec. 13. Death of the earl of Aberdeen, aged 77.

Dec. 14. Message of president Buchanan to the United States' congress, deprecating the threatened secession of the Southern states.

Dec. 20. Secession of South Carolina from the United States of North America.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 23 & 24 VICTORIA.

Cap. 8. *An Act to amend the Law relating to the unlawful Administering of Poisons.* Administering poisons or noxious substances with intent to injure, aggrieve, or annoy, is made punishable as a misdemeanor for three years, with or without hard labour; if endangering life or causing bodily harm, by penal servitude for not more than ten nor less than three years. Persons indicted for the felony may be convicted of the misdemeanor.

Cap. 11. *To amend the Law relating to Endowed Schools.* Provides for the admis-

sion of children of parents not in communion with the Church of England, where not expressly required by the endowment.

Cap. 27. *For granting to Her Majesty certain Duties on Wine Licences and Refreshment Houses, and for regulating the licensing of Refreshment Houses, and the granting of Wine Licences.* Licences for the retailing of foreign wine to be drunk on the premises to be granted by the commissioners of inland revenue, within certain limited hours, and under certain regulations.

Cap. 78. *To place the Employment of Women, young Persons, and Children in Bleaching Works and Dyeing Works, under the Regulations of the Factory Acts.*

Cap. 84. *For preventing the Adulteration of Articles of Food or Drink.* Articles of food adulterated with anything prejudicial to health, subjects the seller, if aware of it, to a penalty of 5*l.* Chemical analysers are to be appointed, and purchasers may have a suspected article analysed on payment of a fee varying from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* 6*d.*

Cap. 151. *For the Regulation and Inspection of Mines.* Forbids the employment of boys under the age of twelve, or not under ten, with a certificate of having attended school for a certain period. Penalties are imposed for giving false certificates, and inspectors are appointed.

Cap. 154. *To consolidate and amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland.* Several acts are repealed, and fixtures of trade and agriculture erected by a tenant at his own expense are made removeable, if not injuring the freehold. Compensation is to be made for the crops or manuring the land on the removal of the tenant.

Revenue, 71,089,669*l.*; Expenditure—Army, 14,915,243*l.*; Navy, 11,823,859*l.*; for all objects, 69,502,289*l.*; Debt, 819,079,310*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 9,786; to United States, 87,500; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 24,302; to all other places, 6,881: total, 128,469.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia, 6,719,000*l.*: total imported, 12,584,684*l.*; exported, 10,393,512*l.*

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 10,433; number of passengers, 163,483,572; traffic receipts, 27,766,622*l.*

Number of Paupers, 973,255.

1861.

Jan 1. The French government abolished the passport system in respect of British subjects travelling in France.

Jan. 3. President Buchanan received commissioners from South Carolina, who requested that the troops should be removed from the forts of the United States in Charleston Harbour. The President, in accordance with the views of the majority of his Cabinet, refused to withdraw the troops.

Jan. 12. Famine in north-western India,

owing to want of rain. Besides money granted by the government, and raised by subscription in Calcutta, upwards of 100,000*l.* was transmitted from London and Liverpool, the contributions of the people of Great Britain for the relief of the starving millions of the Indian rice country.

Feb. 4. The emperor Napoleon, in opening the French Legislative Chambers, invited free discussion on the topics submitted to their consideration, and intimated that the newspapers would now be permitted to publish the debates.

Feb. 5. Parliament opened by the Queen in person, who, in the Royal speech, expressed her concern at the unhappy differences which had arisen between the States composing the North American Union, and her heartfelt wish that these differences might be susceptible of a satisfactory adjustment.

Feb. 14. Gaeta surrendered to the Piedmontese general, Cialdini, after suffering severely from the prolonged siege and bombardment. The ex-king and queen of Naples left the harbour on board the French ship *Monette*.

Feb. 26. Mr. Bruce took up his residence at Peking as British plenipotentiary at the Chinese Court.

April 8. The decennial census of Great Britain and Ireland taken this day.

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

Total 29,334,788

The males and females numbered in each case as follows: (1) 9,758,852 males and 10,302,873 females; (2) 1,447,015 m. and 1,614,314 f.; (3) 2,804,961 m. and 2,959,582 f.; and (4) 66,394 m. and 77,335 f.; the total consists of 14,380,634 of the one sex, and 14,954,154 of the other.

April 8. Disturbances in Warsaw, in which in a few days about a thousand persons were killed and wounded by the Russian troops.

April 15. The chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his budget, in which he proposed to reduce the rate of income-tax from 10*d.* to 9*d.* in the pound, to abolish the paper duties, and to re-enact the existing duties on tea and sugar for one year.

April 15. Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, the new president of the United States, calling out the militia of the several states, and summoning an early session of congress, to meet on July 4th.

April 18. At Harper's Ferry the commissioners of the Federal government, being pressed by a superior force, destroyed the armoury, the arsenal, and 15,000 stand of arms, and retired to Pennsylvania.

April 29. In the House of Lords it was stated by lord Wodehouse that her majesty's government had decided not to intrude advice or counsel on the government of the United

States; but that lord Lyons, the British ambassador at Washington, had been instructed to express on every fitting occasion the earnest desire of her majesty's government that the differences between the North and the South might be amicably arranged.

April 29. Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederate States, sent a message to the Confederate congress respecting the war with the Federal States. In this message he announced that a permanent constitution of the Confederate States had been ratified.

May 3. Messages from the Queen to both Houses of Parliament intimated her majesty's sanction to a marriage between the princess Alice and prince Louis of Hesse. On the 6th, Parliament voted to the princess Alice a dowry of 30,000*l.*, and an annuity of 6,000*l.*

June 1. Death of Count Cavour, prime minister of Victor-Emmanuel, king of Italy.

June 10. Repulse of the Federal American troops by the Confederates at Great Bethel, between James river and York river.

July 4. The Federal American Congress, in extraordinary session, authorized the employment of 500,000 Volunteers, and voted a supply of 500 million dollars to carry on the war.

July 21. The Federal army beaten by the Confederates at Bull's Run, near Manassas Junction, after nine hours' severe fighting.

Aug. 6. Parliament prorogued.

Oct. 25. Death of sir James R. G. Graham, Bart., aged 69.

Nov. 8. The "Trent," West India mail steamer, which left Havannah on the 7th, was boarded by the "San Jacinto," United States man-of-war, commanded by captain Wilkes, and four passengers—Messrs. Slidell and Mason, Confederate commissioners to London and Paris, with their secretaries—were forcibly abducted, the commander of the "Trent" and the Admiralty agent in charge of the mail energetically protesting against the outrage, which they had no power to prevent.

Nov. 30. Earl Russell, secretary of state for foreign affairs—having received information on the 27th of the seizure of the Confederate commissioners on board the "Trent,"—despatched instructions to lord Lyons to demand the restoration of the four passengers taken from the "Trent" by captain Wilkes. On the 13th of December the first draft of troops was sent off from this country for Canada, followed by several detachments in the next ten days. On the 27th of December, Mr. Seward, the American secretary of state, informed lord Lyons that the four prisoners would be cheerfully given up by the United States government, which had not authorized or sanctioned the act of captain Wilkes in capturing them. They were accordingly given up to lord Lyons on the 2nd of January, 1862, and sent by him immediately to England.

Dec. 14. Death of the Prince Consort at Windsor Castle, in his 43rd year.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 24 & 25 VICTORIA.

Cap. 14. *An Act to grant additional facilities for depositing Small Savings at Interest, with the security of the Government for the due Repayment thereof.* This Act enables a depositor of any amount not less than a shilling to deposit his savings in any money-order office, which he may withdraw from any other office, and which, while it remains, receives an interest of 2½ per cent. per annum.

Cap. 47. *To facilitate the Construction and Improvement of Harbours, by authorizing Loans to Harbour authorities, to abolish Passing Tolls, and for other purposes.* The chief purposes are to abolish tolls, unless facilities are afforded to equalize the dues on foreign ships with those of British, and to abolish passing tolls.

Cap. 55. *To amend the Laws regarding the Removal of the Poor, and the Contribution of Parishes to the common Funds in Unions.* Reduces the power of removing poor persons to a residence of three years without receiving parish relief. The contribution of parishes to the common fund is to be computed on the rental, and not on the payment to its own poor. A similar Act was passed for Ireland. (Cap. 76.)

Cap. 109. *To amend the Laws relating to Fisheries of Salmon in England.* This ensures the preservation of salmon in English rivers by many detailed precautions.

Cap. 117. *To place the Employment of Women, young Persons, Youths, and Children in Lace Factories under the Regulation of the Factory Acts.*

Cap. 133. *To amend the Law relating to Agricultural Drainage.* Enables parties to join in effecting drainage that could not be accomplished by individuals.

Cap. 134. *To amend the Law relating to Bankruptcy and Insolvency.* Abolishes the Courts of the Commissioners of Bankruptcy and the Court of Insolvency, and enacts the course of procedure before new judicatures.

Revenue, 70,283,674*l.*; Expenditure—Army, 18,013,896*l.*; Navy, 13,331,668*l.*; for all objects, 72,792,059*l.*; Debt, 818,048,896*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 125,102,814*l.*: total exports, 159,632,498*l.*; imports, 217,485,024*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 12,707; to United States, 49,764; to Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 23,738; to all other places, 5,561: total, 91,770.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia, 6,331,225*l.*: total imported, 12,163,937*l.*; exported, 11,233,372*l.*

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 10,869; number of passengers, 173,773,218; traffic receipts, 28,565,355*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,019,539.

1862.

Jan. 5. Garibaldi accepted the presidency of the Rifle Association of Genoa, and advised the members, in a letter, "to hasten to prepare themselves to take up arms, for the moment was approaching when they would have to give fresh proofs of their valour."

Feb. 23. The Greek insurgents, who had for some time held possession of Nauplia, capitulated to the Greek Government.

March 1. The earl of Elgin arrived at Calcutta to succeed earl Canning as Governor-General of India.

March 4. President Lincoln, in a message to the Federal Congress, proposed a plan for co-operation with the Slave States for the gradual emancipation of slaves by means of pecuniary compensation. It was approved of by the House of Representatives on March 10, by 88 votes to 31, and by the Senate, on April 3, by 32 votes to 10.

March 8. The Merrimac, Confederate iron-clad war-steamer, attacked the Federal fleet at Newport News, and disabled and sunk several vessels. The Monitor, Federal iron-clad steamer, arrived in the evening, and on the following day maintained a close fight with the Merrimac for several hours, the contest ending in a drawn battle.

March 9. A meeting of 300 Italian delegates held at Genoa, at which Garibaldi presided. On the 12th the Provisional Committee received a warning from the Government to be calmer in tone, or the authorities might find it necessary to suppress the association.

March 21. Garibaldi received at Milan with enthusiastic cries of "Rome and Venice."

March 25. The Pope pronounced an allocation in favour of the temporal power of the papacy. At the same time the canonization commenced of twenty-three martyrs, who had been put to death in the Philippine Islands in the sixteenth century. It lasted till June 8, and was attended by upwards of 200 prelates and about 6000 other ecclesiastics.

March 25. The Italian Government ordered the amalgamation of the southern army, consisting principally of Garibaldi's volunteers, with the regular troops.

March 27. The prince of Wales arrived at Cairo. He subsequently visited Jerusalem and other places in the Holy Land.

April 6. Battle between the Federals and Confederates at Pittsburg Landing.

May 3. The Tae-ping rebels in China defeated with great loss. On the 21st Ningpo was taken by the Imperialists.

May 25. The Federal American troops, under general Banks, defeated at Winchester by the Confederates, who, however, had to abandon Corinth on the 29th.

June 19. The Federal House of Representatives passed a bill confiscating the slaves of rebels.

July 1. Marriage of the princess Alice to prince Louis of Hesse-Darmstadt.

July 10. Freedom of the city of London presented to Mr. Peabody, for his munificent gift of £150,000 for the benefit of the poor of London.

August 3. A proclamation issued by Garibaldi, addressed to the young men in his army, exhorted them to be ready for an approaching combat against "arrogant foreign oppressors." A proclamation from Victor Emmanuel followed, warning the young men of Italy against being led into a dangerous and disloyal course of action by illusions, "forgetful of the duty of gratitude due to our best allies."

August 20. Garibaldi took possession of the town of Catania in Sicily. On the 21st the Italian Government proclaimed Sicily in a state of siege.

August 25. Garibaldi landed in Calabria. The royal troops were marched against him, and on the 29th, after a skirmish at Aspromonte, in which he and his son Menotti were wounded, both were taken prisoners, and conveyed to Spezia.

August 30. The Federal American army under general Pope defeated a second time at Bull's Run by the Confederates. General Pope retired, and took up a position on Arlington Heights, near Washington.

Sept. 8. At this date, in 24 Poor-Law Unions in the cotton districts, there were 140,165 persons receiving out-door relief, at a cost of 7922*l.* per week. The pauperism in these districts amounted to 7·3 per cent. of the entire population.

Sept. 17. The Confederate army defeated by General McClellan at Antietam, after several previous encounters in which it had been worsted, and forced to evacuate Maryland, into which it had advanced.

Sept. 22. President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring all slaves to be free after Jan. 1, 1863, whose owners may be in insurrection against the Federal Government at that date.

Oct. 5. Riot in Hyde Park between the adherents of the Pope and the sympathisers with Garibaldi. Several persons were severely injured.

Oct. 6. The King of Italy publishes a decree of amnesty for Garibaldi and his associates in the recent rising, except such as had deserted from the royal army.

Oct. 13. The Prussian Representative Chamber closed by the king in consequence of its refusal to vote a large estimate for military expenditure proposed by the military.

Oct. 23. The Tae-pings, in China, driven out of Kah-sing by the Imperialists.

Oct. 24. Peaceful revolution in Greece. King Otho had to quit the kingdom, and a provisional government was appointed.

Nov. 7. The financial estimates of Austria for 1863 were laid before the Chamber of Deputies, thus practically acknowledging the right of the representatives of the people to control the finances of the empire.

Nov. 9. An address sent to the Pope, signed

by 8943 members of the Italian clergy, praying him to give up Rome as the capital of the new kingdom, and to restore peace to Italy.

Nov. 23. Prince Alfred proclaimed King of Greece at Athens, but the choice declined by the British Government, as all the protecting powers had agreed that none of their families should accept the crown. He received 230,000 votes on Feb. 3, 1863.

Dec. 20. From this date the distress in the cotton districts began slowly to decrease. Up to this time 407,830*l.* had been raised for its relief by the Central Relief Fund, and 236,926*l.* by the London Mansion House Fund. The number of persons on the relief books was 275,000 at the time.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 25 & 26 VICTORIÆ.

Cap. 8. *To prevent the Employment of Women and Children during the night in certain operations connected with Bleaching by the open-air process.* They are not to be employed in any of the operations of dyeing, bleaching, or finishing, between eight in the evening and six in the morning, of yarn or cotton cloth, silk, wool, or flax, or any mixture of them, in any building where steam, water, or other mechanical power is used.

Cap. 18. *To amend the Law as to Whipping of Juvenile or other Offenders.* The number of strokes is to be specified, and if the offender be not more than fourteen years old, they are not to exceed twelve, to be inflicted with a birch rod. In Scotland no one above sixteen is to be whipped for theft or offences against property.

Cap. 40. *To carry into effect the treaty between her Majesty and the United States of America for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade.* A mutual right of search is given within certain limits, the slaves captured are to be freed, mixed courts of justice are to be appointed, the captains and crews of condemned vessels are to be given up to the Government to which they belong, as also any other subjects found on board.

Cap. 43. *To provide for the Education and Maintenance of Paupers' Children in certain Schools and Institutions.* Guardians are empowered to send children from the Union to any properly certified school, and to pay for them; but no child to be sent without the consent of its parent, unless it has been deserted or is an orphan, and no child to be kept against its will beyond the age of fourteen.

Cap. 53. *To facilitate the proof of Title to, and the Conveyance of, Real Estates.* This Act is almost entirely professional, but it establishes a registry, and the registration is a warranty of the title, except in cases of fraud.

Cap. 61. *For the better Management of Highways in England.* This long Act gives permission to districts to form a Board for the management of the road, and to levy a rate on the occupiers.

Cap. 66. *For the safe keeping of Petroleum.* Not more than forty gallons may be kept within fifty yards of a dwelling-house without

a licence. The penalty for transgressing the law is 20*l.* a day.

Cap. 68. *For amending the law relating to Copyright in Works of the Fine Arts, and for repressing the commission of Fraud in the production and sale of such works.* The Act mainly aims at repressing the reproduction of such works by means of photography, in violation of the rights of the possessors of the originals.

Cap. 79. *To amend the laws relating to Coal Mines.* No new mine is to be opened from the passing of this Act, and no existing mine to be worked after Jan. 1, 1865, with less than two shafts, well separated by natural strata.

Cap. 86. *To amend the law relating to Fraudulent Marking of Merchandise.* Every person selling merchandise with forged trade marks is liable to a penalty not exceeding 5*l.* or less than 10*s.* on each article so sold, besides the value of the article itself.

Cap. 93. *For Embanking the north side of the river Thames from Westminster-bridge to Blackfriars-bridge, and for making new streets in and near thereto.* This marks the commencement of the great improvements that have been made and are making on the banks of the Thames.

Cap. 114. *For the Prevention of Poaching.* Constables or police officers are empowered to search any person suspected of coming from any land where he may have been in quest of game, or of having game in his possession, or of having a gun or nets for the taking of game. If any such are found, the offender to be taken before justices, where he may be fined 5*l.*, with the forfeiture of the game or such instruments for procuring game as may be found in his possession.

Revenue, 69,674,479*l.*; Expenditure, Army (including ordnance), 16,854,290*l.*; Navy, 12,598,042*l.*; for all purposes, 72,792,059*l.* In this year commenced an expenditure for fortifications which is not included, as it was provided for by the creation of terminable annuities.

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 123,992,264*l.* Total of Exports, 166,168,134*l.* Imports, 225,716,976*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 15,522; to the United States, 58,706; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 41,843; to other places, 5146: total, 121,214.

Gold imported from Australia, 6,704,753*l.*; total imported, 19,903,704*l.*; exported 16,011,963*l.*

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 11,551; number of passengers, 180,485,727; traffic receipts, 29,128,558*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,084,651.

1863.

Jan. 9. The British Legation at Rio Janeiro having demanded in vain an indemnity for the plunder of a British vessel wrecked on the

coast of Brazil, and also an apology for the imprisonment of some naval officers who were taken not in uniform, and accused of a riot, caused five Brazilian merchant vessels to be seized. They were given up on an undertaking to pay the indemnity to be settled in London; the other question was referred to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians.

Jan. 14. The Prussian Chambers opened their session at Berlin. The King's message stated that their sanction would be asked for expenses incurred without their previous sanction, and hoped that a mutual good understanding might be arrived at. On the 22nd an address was prepared and carried after several days' debate, complaining that "the ministers had carried on the administration against the constitution, and without a legal budget." During the debate the Prime Minister, count von Bismark, said, "the Prussian ministry is quite different from the English. The latter, call it what you will, is only the ministry of the parliament, but we are the ministers of the King."

Jan. 22. The insurrection in Poland commenced, in consequence, it is said, of its being discovered that the conscription taking place in Warsaw, instead of being carried out on the usual plan, was used to remove all the young men of education suspected of liberal tendencies. The young men withdrew to the woods, provided themselves with arms, and prepared for resistance. The insurrection rapidly spread: detached parties of Russian soldiers were killed; the railways were broken up, the telegraph wires cut; and dividing themselves into small parties, the insurgents were frequently successful in defeating detachments of Russian troops sent against them.

Feb. 3. The King of Prussia replied to the address of the Lower Chamber, refusing to acknowledge the right of the people to control the financial expenditure through their representatives.

March 7. The princess Alexandra landed at Gravesend, and was married to the prince of Wales on the 10th.

March 18. Langiewicz, the principal leader of the Polish insurgents, who had been proclaimed dictator on the 10th, after two successful encounters with the Russians on the 16th and 17th, was attacked by them at Zagoseie, and defeated after a desperate contest. The insurgent force was dispersed, but Langiewicz and some of his adherents escaped across the Austrian frontier into Galicia. They were there disarmed and imprisoned at Cracow.

March 18. Prince William George of Denmark was elected King of Greece by the National Assembly, and proclaimed under the title of George the First, France and England approving of the choice.

March 31. The French entered Puebla after a bombardment of four days. The citadel, with the whole town, surrendered on May 17.

April 3. The Sultan of Turkey left Constantinople on a visit to Egypt. He arrived

at Alexandria on the 8th, when he declared that he came but as a guest, but he had previously declared his disapproval at the large grant of land to the Suez Canal Company, and had forbidden forced labour.

April 7. Great Britain, France, and Austria sent separate notes to St. Petersburg, remonstrating against the cruelties practised by Russia in Poland. On the 14th Prince Gortschakoff replied, ascribing the revolt to the revolutionary principles with which Europe was infested, and that in England was organized the conspiracy which was armed abroad to keep up disorder in the empire.

April 16. The German Federal Diet debated on the ordinance of the King of Denmark of March 30, by which he gave a constitution to all his European dominions exclusive of the members of the Confederation, and by which Holstein was to have an independent army, and to share with the rest of the kingdom in the general burdens. The Diet would not recognize it, and protested against the assumption of the King that the Diet had no right to interfere in the question of the Duchies.

April 22. Prince Christian of Denmark announced that he accepted the crown of Greece for his son George; and the King of Denmark informed the Rigsraad that the ordinance of March 30 had been opposed by the Great Powers of Germany, but that he should persist in his adoption of it.

April 22. An earthquake at Rhodes by which 2000 houses were destroyed, killing and injuring some thousands of its inhabitants.

May 12. Radama, King of Madagascar, assassinated, and his widow proclaimed Queen.

May 26. Herat captured by Dost Mohammed Khan of Afghanistan, who died on June 9, after which the succession was contested by his sons.

June 10. General Forey with the French army entered the city of Mexico; they were received, as was stated, with great enthusiasm. The President, Juarez, retired to San Juan Potosi.

June 18. The King of the Belgians, by his award in the case of the imprisonment of the British naval officers, declared that there was no intentional offence given by the Brazilians.

June 24. After a trial in the Court of Exchequer lasting three days, the case of the Alexandria, seized on behalf of the United States for an infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Acts, was decided in favour of the defendants and against the seizure.

July 1, 2, and 3. Battle of Gettysburg, in which the Confederates failed to defeat the Federals, and were forced to retire on the 4th. On the same day Fort Hudson, on the Mississippi, after a long siege was surrendered to the Federals.

July 15. An insurrection broke out in New Zealand, near Auckland. On the 17th general Cameron had an action with a large force of the natives, who, availing themselves of rifle pits, fought desperately, but were defeated with

great loss. On the 22nd the native settlement of Kiri-Kiri was attacked, and taken after a vigorous defence. From this time the natives would not meet the British in the field, but through July and August continued to ravage the province. The colonists rose in their own defence, and within a few weeks had 4000 volunteers and militia under arms.

July 20. Mexico proclaimed as an empire by an Assembly of Notables, with the archduke Maximilian as Emperor. A deputation was appointed to wait on him and tender the crown.

Aug. 15. In September, 1862, Mr. Richardson had been murdered in Japan by the attendants of the prince of Satsuma, and as no satisfaction could be obtained from any of the Japanese authorities, admiral Kuper had been sent with a British squadron to reduce the prince's fortified port of Kagosima. On this day the bombardment commenced, which was vigorously replied to; but in two days the fort, the palace, the arsenal, and a great part of the town were reduced to ruins, and three steam-vessels destroyed. The British loss was two captains and eleven seamen killed, and thirty-nine wounded.

Aug. 17. The Frankfort Congress of Princes assembled at the desire of the emperor of Austria to consider of a plan for the reformation of the federal constitution of Germany. Prussia declined to appear. On Sept. 1 it was terminated without any result, although the emperor hoped that a second Congress would be more satisfactory.

Sept. 3. A body of 700 Poles under Lelewel attacked a much superior force of the Russian army, who were compelled to retreat, although the Poles had 100 men killed. On the 6th another battle was fought, Lelewel was killed, and the insurgents, after a gallant defence, had to fly for refuge into Galicia.

Sept. 7. Prince Gortschakoff rejected the proposal of France for a conference respecting Poland, the welfare of which, he said, was, in common with all his other dominions, the object of the Czar's devoted solicitude.

Sept. 23. The Ionian Assembly voted in favour of uniting themselves to Greece, thanked Queen Victoria for surrendering the Protectorship and for the benefits conferred, and the other Powers also for their ready concurrence in the surrender, but declined the pecuniary stipulations.

Oct. 30. The King of Greece, after having visited France and England, arrived at Athens, where he was enthusiastically received.

Nov. 4. The Emperor of the French addressed the Sovereigns of Europe, proposing a general Congress for the purpose of regulating the questions now agitating their peoples, and thus avoiding war. It was declined on the part of England by earl Russell as leading to no practically good result; and by Austria, unless with a stipulation that there should be no territorial alterations adopted. The project was then abandoned. On the 5th the French

Chambers were opened by the emperor who announced the sending of the proposal for a Congress, congratulated them on the prosperity of the country, and on the success of the armies in Mexico and Cochin China, and alluded to the distressing position of Poland.

Nov. 6. Czaschkowski, who had maintained a desultory war against the Russians in the government of Radom in Poland, was defeated on this day, his force dispersed, and himself taken prisoner, but he died of his wounds within a few days.

Nov. 15. Frederic VI. King of Denmark, died aged 55, and was succeeded by Christian IX., the father of the princess of Wales and of the King of Greece, in virtue of a treaty signed in May, 1852, by which the princess Christiana and the prince of Holstein-Augustenburg resigned their claims in his favour for a pecuniary consideration, in order to avoid a separation of the kingdom. The treaty was signed on behalf of Great Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. On the 17th the young duke of Holstein-Augustenburg claimed the Duchy, announcing that his father, who was still alive, could not sell his rights, and his claim was admitted by the Frankfort Diet, but his representative was not admitted to sit.

Dec. 8. At Santiago, in Chili, on the last evening of a long festival, in honour of the Immaculate Conception, in the church de la Compania (a Jesuit church) some of the muslin drapery of the image of the Virgin caught fire. The interior of the church, with the roof, was chiefly of wood; there was but one available exit, and this was at once rendered impassable by the rushing crowd who choked the passage, and in fifteen minutes 2000 corpses, mostly females, were all that remained of the congregation inclosed within that fiery furnace. Some of the priests subsequently preached that all who there died were martyrs, but the government forbade any building to be erected on the site.

Dec. 24. The Saxon and Hanoverian troops, acting under the orders of the Frankfort Diet, marched into Altona, and took possession of it "without prejudice to the only temporarily suspended rights of the sovereign." The Danish forces withdrew without offering any opposition.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 26 & 27 VICTORIA.

Cap. 13. *For the Protection of certain Gardens in Ornamental Grounds in Cities and Boroughs.* Where land has been set apart for the use of the public, and where trustees or other authorities neglect to keep it in proper order, this Act enables the governing corporations of the place to take possession, and a rate may be imposed for its due maintenance.

Cap. 14. *To amend the Law relating to Post-office Banks.* This Act provides that money deposited in the Post-office Savings Bank at one place may be transferred at the desire of the depositor, so as to be paid at any other savings bank, and also for the trans-

ference of the deposits of the former savings banks to the Post-office Savings Banks.

Cap. 27. *To amend the Law relating to Marriages in Ireland.* The details of the forms to be observed in the civil celebration and registration of Protestant marriages in Ireland. Cap. 90 does the same for Roman Catholic marriages; and cap. 11 provides for the establishment of a registrar-general and assistants, for the registration of births and deaths in Ireland.

Cap. 41. *To amend the Law respecting the Liability of Innkeepers, and to prevent certain Frauds upon them.* No innkeeper is to be liable to any guest for the loss of property, or injury to goods (except horses or other live animals, or carriages) to a greater amount than 30*l.*, unless expressly deposited with the said innkeeper.

Cap. 44. *For the further security of the Persons of her Majesty's Subjects from Personal Violence.* In awarding punishments for robbery committed with violence, the Court may order any convicted male offender, in addition to other punishment, to be twice or thrice privately whipped; if under 16, a birch rod to be used, and the strokes not to exceed twenty-five; if above that age, the strokes not to exceed fifty, and the exact number, with the instrument to be used, to be stated in the sentence.

Cap. 52. *To further extend and make compulsory the practice of Vaccination in Ireland.* Within six months from the time of birth every child is to be vaccinated, under a penalty of 10*s.* for neglect of the parent or guardian. Registrars are appointed, and the vaccinator is to be paid. A similar Act (cap. 108) was passed for Scotland, but the penalty for neglect is here 20*s.*

Cap. 70. *To facilitate the execution of Public Works in certain manufacturing districts; to authorise for that purpose Advances of Public Money to a limited amount upon Security of Local Rates; and to shorten the period for the adoption of the Local Government Act, 1858, in certain cases.* Numbers of the labouring and manufacturing classes still remaining out of employment, the Loan Commissioners are authorised to advance sums not amounting in the whole to more than 1,200,000*l.* to such Local Boards as may wish thus to effect sanitary or other works of public improvement. No sum advanced to exceed one year's rateable value of the district to be improved.

Cap. 124. *For the more effectual condensation of Muriatic Acid Gas in Alkali Works.* All works for the manufacture of alkali are by this Act compelled to take measures for condensing and preventing the diffusion of the destructive gas that might escape. Inspectors are appointed to see that effective means are used under penalties of not exceeding 50*l.* for a first offence, and 100*l.* for every subsequent offence. The owner to be proceeded against in the first instance, but if it be proved that the offence was committed, without his knowledge, by a servant, he may be proceeded

against. No alkali works are to be opened until registered with the inspector.

Revenue, 70,003,501*l.*; Expenditure — Army, 16,204,790*l.*; Navy, 11,370,588*l.*; for all objects, 69,302,008*l.*; Debt, 817,559,322*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 146,602,342*l.*; total of exports, 196,902,409*l.*
Imports, 248,919,020*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 18,083; to the United States, 146,813; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 53,054; to other places, 5,808: total, 223,758.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia, 5,995,368*l.*; total imported, 19,142,665*l.*; exported, 15,303,279*l.*

Railway Traffic: miles open, 12,322; number of passengers, 204,699,466; traffic receipts, 31,156,397*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,329,136.

1864.

Jan. 8. The Princess of Wales gave birth to a son, who was baptized on March 10 as Albert Victor Christian Edward.

Jan. 31. The proposal of Austria and Prussia that the troops of the German Confederation should be restricted to the occupation of Holstein, and should not interfere with Schleswig, having been rejected in the Diet at Frankfort by ten votes to five, the two Powers announced that they should take the matter into their own hands, as parties to the treaty of 1852, and they summoned Denmark to annul the constitution by which Schleswig had been incorporated into the kingdom. Denmark applied for time to obtain the sanction of the Rigsraad, which was refused, and marshal Wrangel, at the head of 70,000 men, summoned general de Aleza to evacuate Schleswig, to which the reply was that he was ordered to defend it.

Feb. 12. The King of Ashantee having made war on the Fantees (an African territory under the protection of the British at Cape Coast), who had refused to give up two fugitives claimed by him, governor Pine ordered a force to be marched to repel and punish the Ashantees. The wet season set in much earlier than was anticipated, and, without seeing an enemy or firing a shot, the force of above 1200 men, chiefly coloured men officered by Europeans, were prostrated by fever. The loss by death, independent of the suffering, was fearful, and the remains of the expedition were ordered to return. The affair gave rise to a sharp discussion in Parliament on June 17.

Feb. 25. The four Italians, who were arrested on the previous Dec. 29, charged with an intention of assassinating the Emperor of the French, were this day tried in Paris. Their names were Greco, Imperatori, Trabuco, and Scaglioni. Greco and Trabuco stated that the money, the explosive bombs, and the weapons had been furnished by Mazzini (who in London denied it). The other two pleaded that they had been drawn into the conspiracy. All

were found guilty. Greco and Trabuco were sentenced to transportation; Imperatori and Scaglioni to twenty years' imprisonment.

March 10. Maximilian II., King of Bavaria, died, and was succeeded by his son, Ludwig II.

March 11. At nearly midnight the town of Sheffield and its neighbourhood was overwhelmed by the bursting of the large water reservoir at Bradford. Within the space of two or three hours 250 human beings, from the man of eighty to the baby in arms, were drowned in their beds, or in the attempt to escape, or crushed beneath the falling dwellings. The destruction of property was immense.

March 16. The King of Dahomey defeated in an attack on Abeakutah, with a loss of 1000 killed and 2000 taken prisoners.

April 3. Garibaldi landed at Southampton, where he was received with great enthusiasm. On the 11th he made his entry into London, amid an immense crowd, and took up his abode with the duke of Sutherland at Stafford House.

April 14. The Chincha Islands, of which the guano had been pledged for the security of the Peruvian public debt, seized by a Spanish squadron.

April 18. The Prussians captured Dybbøl by assault, after a siege of nearly two months. The Danes in their resistance lost nearly 5000 men, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; but they succeeded in removing the greater part of their force to the neighbouring isle of Alsen, after which the bridge was destroyed. The loss of the Prussians was estimated at 2000 killed and wounded.

April 25. A conference on Danish affairs commenced in London, attended by the representatives of France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and the German Confederation. The representatives of Great Britain were the earl of Clarendon and earl Russell.

April 27. Three tribes of Caucasians, having been subdued by Russia, commenced leaving the country to the number of 300,000, to take refuge in Turkey. Through the want of means of conveyance to Trebizond, numbers perished on the shores of the Black Sea; others arriving at Trebizond in crowded ships, in greater crowds than were expected, and insufficient means having been provided for their transport to places of permanent settlement, fever and small-pox broke out, and occasioned an enormous loss of life before their removal could be effected.

May 6 to 10. General Grant having advanced to attack general Lee, preparatory to the further advance upon Richmond, the fighting was continued from the Friday till Tuesday, the struggle on the last day having lasted for fourteen hours. General Lee maintained his position, but the loss on both sides was terrific. On Thursday the 12th, the Federals again attacked general Lee at Spottsylvania, where he had taken up a strong position. Here the Federals claimed the advantage, as they cap-

tured some cannon and took some prisoners, but the loss of life was great, "the men on both sides falling like grain." On the 20th, having been strongly reinforced, finding he could not dislodge general Lee from his position, general Grant made a flank movement, and gained a position south of the North Anna river, where he was furiously attacked by the Confederates, but maintained his ground.

June 19. The Alabama, a Confederate steamer which had inflicted enormous loss on the Federal commerce, was on this day met, on leaving Cherbourg, by the Federal turret-armed frigate, the Kearsage. After an engagement lasting for about an hour, the Alabama, in a sinking state, made for the French coast, which she was unable to reach. Captain Semmes, with a portion of the crew, was picked up by an English steam-yacht, and landed at Southampton.

June 25. William, King of Württemberg, died, aged 83, and was succeeded by his son Charles.

June 25. The London Conference on Danish affairs held its last sitting, Denmark and the German Powers alike rejecting the proposals of the neutral mediators.

June 26. The Prussians attacked and took the isle of Alsen.

July 19. Nanking stormed and captured by the Imperialists, aided by a disciplined force under major Gordon. The two chief leaders of the Taepings surrendered to major Gordon, stipulating that their lives should be spared; but as soon as the Imperialists obtained possession of them they were executed; upon which major Gordon withdrew from the service.

July 31. At Petersburg, near Richmond, a mine containing seven tons of gunpowder was sprung, a breach was made, and about 500 of the Confederate garrison killed. The Federals then made an assault with 18,000 men, but after a contest of some hours were forced to retire.

Aug. 6. The Maori war in New Zealand brought to a conclusion by the unconditional submission of most of the tribes: the revolt was punished only by the forfeiture of a small portion of their lands.

Aug. 8. The statue of Daniel O'Connell installed in Dublin; on the same day his effigy was burnt by the Orangemen in Belfast, and the ashes were buried with mock solemnity on the following day. The Roman Catholics assembled and attacked the procession, and from this day to the 19th the rioting was almost incessant. The two factions fought in large bands. The police were powerless; they were pelted with stones and driven away. Additional policemen and a military force were sent for, but 3000 soldiers and 1000 policemen were unable to suppress the rioting. Chapels and houses were wrecked; and the windows were broken throughout whole streets. The military had to fire on the crowd, and many of the ringleaders on both sides were captured. Before the riots were ended there were nine

persons killed, and 176 wounded were attended to in the General Hospital, besides many who received surgical assistance in their own houses.

Sept. 4. General Sherman, the commander of the Federal army of the Potomac, having beaten the Confederates in several encounters, had at length cut off the communications of general Hood with the South; and on this day took possession of Atlanta in Georgia, which general Hood had felt himself compelled to abandon. This was a most serious loss to the Confederates as it contained the arsenals, the foundries, and the manufactories, which had chiefly supplied the Confederate armies during the contest. General Hood retreated towards Virginia.

Sept. 15. A treaty concluded between France and Italy, by which it was agreed that the French troops should be withdrawn from Rome within two years, the Italian government undertaking to protect the Pope against any attacks from without, and that Florence should be the seat of the Italian government. On this arrangement becoming known at Turin, a riot broke out, which was promptly quelled by the military, but an immediate change of ministry was the consequence.

Oct. 30. A treaty of peace between Denmark, Prussia, and Austria, signed at Vienna, by which Denmark consented to surrender the Duchies to the two powers, to pay a large sum of money, and to submit to a rectification of the frontiers of Jutland.

Nov. 1. A violent cyclone in the Bay of Bengal, which extended along the coast from Calcutta to very near Madras. The waters of the Ganges were driven back by the wind, and submerged a large portion of the Sunderbunds; the island of Saugor was inundated, and 7000 persons out of a population of 8500 were drowned. At Masulipatam the sea broke into the land, along a distance of more than 80 miles, and in some instances penetrated inland for 17 miles, destroying villages, their inhabitants, crops, and cattle, and filling up the wells. The total loss of life during this terrible night was estimated at not less than from 70,000 to 80,000 souls. On the flood returning the number of bodies of men and animals left behind was so great, that but for the exertions of the English authorities in burying and burning them, and providing food and shelter for the unfortunate survivors, an infectious fever would have followed close on the previous calamity.

Dec. 6. Abraham Lincoln elected President of the United States for a second time, and Andrew Johnson elected Vice-President.

Dec. 21. General Sherman, having marched from Atlanta in Georgia to Savannah in South Carolina, took possession of that town without any resistance being made, general Hardee, the commander of the Confederates, retreating, as not being strong enough to resist.

Dec. 24, 25. The Federal fleet attacked Wilmington in North Carolina, which had been the great depot for the blockade-running

vessels from the Bahamas. After having ineffectually exploded on the 24th a vessel with 215 tons of gunpowder under the walls of Fort Fisher, the outer fort which guarded the harbour, and bombarding it on the 25th, a party of men were landed to storm it, but they were repulsed with considerable loss, and the fleet retired.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 27 & 28 VICTORIÆ.

Cap. 44. *To amend the Act relating to Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, 20 & 21 Vict. cap. 85.* Where a wife has obtained a protecting order from one magistrate, and the husband or a creditor may have applied for the discharge of such order, the cause may be heard, and the order discharged, by the successor of the magistrate who made the order, should he have died or been removed.

Cap. 47. *To amend the Penal Servitude Act.* No convict to be sentenced to a less period than five years, and where any previous conviction has taken place, for not less than seven years. Corporal punishment may be inflicted for offences within the prison. Licences are to be granted in a prescribed form; the holder must report himself within three days to the police of the locality where he intends to reside, and once in every three months afterwards the licence to be produced whenever called for by a magistrate or police-officer. Any constable or police-officer may apprehend, without a warrant, any licensed holder reasonably suspected of a breach of the conditions endorsed on the licence, and the breach forfeits the licence.

Cap. 48. *For the extension of the Factory Acts.* With some modifications, the provisions of previous Acts are extended to the manufacture of earthenware (except bricks and tiles, not being ornamental tiles), lucifer matches, percussion caps and cartridges, the employments of paper-staining and fustian-cutting.

Cap. 108. *To explain the Statutes of her present Majesty for amending the Laws relating to the Removal of the Poor.* The period of settlement within which a person likely to become chargeable to the parish or union may be removed, is altered from five years to three.

Cap. 113. *To amend the Laws relating to the Conservancy of the River Thames, and for the Purposes relating thereto.* Six additional conservators are to be elected. The right of taking ballast from the Thames is taken from the Trinity House, and given to the Conservators. The privileges of the Watermen's Company are restricted, and certificates are to be granted by the Conservators to persons above twenty years of age, who upon examination are found capable of navigating lighters or steam-boats. Barges navigated from above Teddington Lock, and not descending below London Bridge, are exempt from having a licensed waterman on board. The Conservators are empowered to regulate the tolls for steam-boats, and to provide rules for fishing-boats as to their nets and lines. No gravel,

stones, mud, or earth, or other refuse may be thrown, or so placed as to be carried by floods, into the Thames, nor any substance produced in making gas, nor any other offensive matter, is to flow into the Thames, under a penalty not exceeding 20*l.* for each offence.

Cap. 116. *For making provision for distributing the Charge of Relief of certain classes of Poor Persons over the whole of the Metropolis.* The expense of providing a refuge for the houseless poor is by this Act ordered to be divided in certain proportions among all the unions and parishes within the metropolitan district; and proper wards, or places of reception, are to be provided, to be approved of by the Poor-Law Board, at the mutual expense.

Cap. 117. *To render permissive the use of the Metric System of Weights and Measures.* Legalises contracts made under the French decimal system.

Revenue, 70,208,964*l.*; Expenditure—Army, 14,723,976*l.*; Navy, 10,821,596*l.*; for all objects, 67,056,286*l.*; National Debt, 813,230,152*l.*

Exports of British and Irish Produce, 160,449,053*l.*; total of exports, 212,619,614*l.*
Imports, 274,952,172*l.*

Emigration—to North American Colonies, 12,721; to United States, 147,042; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 40,942; to all other places, 8,195: total, 208,900.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia, 2,656,971*l.*; total imported, 16,900,951*l.*; exported, 13,279,739*l.*

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 12,789; number of passengers, 229,348,664; traffic receipts, 33,911,547*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,193,129.

1865.

Jan. 13. On this day the attack on Fort Fisher, the advanced fort of Wilmington Harbour, was renewed, and a bombardment continued until Sunday, the 15th, when the works were stormed, and the garrison, amounting to 1200 men, were compelled to surrender. The resistance was obstinate, and the Federal loss severe. Within a day or two of the capture, the powder magazine of the fort exploded, and 300 of the Federal troops perished.

Feb. 15. The emperor of the French opened the session of the Legislature with a speech, in which he congratulated them on the increased probability of a continued peace, with its accompanying prosperity; spoke of the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome; promised further progress in free trade by a removal of the French navigation laws; an extension of the powers of communes and departments to manage their local affairs without the intervention of the State; to give the right of provisional release, even in criminal cases, with or without bail; and to suppress altogether personal arrest in civil or commercial matters.

Feb. 17. The Confederates were forced to

evacuate Charleston. Preparations had been made for several days preceding; all the wealthy inhabitants had removed; the guns were spiked, military stores destroyed, and the troops, about 14,000, retreated northwards. The Federals on entering the town found about 200 pieces of cannon, and the fortifications uninjured. After they had obtained possession, a fire broke out, which destroyed 5000 bales of cotton, and the explosion of a depôt occurred, by which several hundred lives were lost.

March 11. A strike of the iron-workers in North Staffordshire against a reduction of wages, rendered necessary by a fall in the price of iron, had taken place. An endeavour was made to obtain the means of resistance by those on strike by allowing the workers in other districts to accept the terms of the masters on condition of subscribing to their support; upon which the ironmasters throughout the kingdom agreed to lock out all the men unless those of North Staffordshire accepted the offered terms. They were refused, and on this day the lock-out commenced. It continued till April 5, when the men of South Staffordshire submitted to the condition of not subscribing, and the works were opened. It was calculated that the total weekly wages amounted to 120,000*l.*, the withdrawal of which occasioned extreme general distress, while the foreign trade was interrupted, and to some extent thrown into other channels.

March 13. The president of Paraguay, F. S. Lopez, addressing his council and deputies, stated that Brazil and the Argentine Confederation, by their armed interference in the domestic affairs of Uruguay and their claims as to the right of navigation on the Parana and the Paraguay, justified the commencement of hostilities against them. He had been preparing an army and a fleet for some time, and he had fortified Humayitá on the Paraguay river. Early in April he invaded the province of San Pedro in Brazil and Corrientes, a State of the Argentine Confederation. As the attack was unexpected, he carried all before him for a time.

March 20. On the appeal of Dr. Colenso, bishop of Natal, against the sentence of Dr. Grey, the bishop of Cape Town, who had deposed him from his bishopric, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided that the bishop of Cape Town had no jurisdiction over the bishop of Natal, and had, therefore, no power to remove him from his office, and that the proceedings against Dr. Colenso were null and void in law.

April 2. The Federals under general Grant having broken through the Confederate defences around Petersburg, general Lee evacuated both Petersburg and Richmond, retreating northwards towards Lynchburg. Thus ended a siege which, with some interruptions, had lasted for three years. On the 9th, general Lee, with his army, surrendered to general Grant.

April 14. President Lincoln was shot through

the head by an assassin while sitting in his private box in the theatre at Washington. The ruderer leaped upon the stage, exclaiming, "Sic semper tyrannis," and succeeded for the time in making his escape. President Lincoln died early on the following morning. On the same evening a murderous attack was made on Mr. Seward in his own house, the assassin stabbing him in several places, killing one of his servants, and fracturing the skull of Mr. Frederic Seward, who endeavoured to save his father. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, succeeded to Mr. Lincoln's office.

April 26. Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln, having been tracked to a barn near Port Royal, on the Rappahannock, Maryland, was summoned to surrender by a troop of horse; he refused, fired at the sergeant of the troop, who returned the fire, and shot him through the head, of which wound he died in about three hours. His companion named Harrold was taken prisoner.

May 1. Addresses of condolence for and of horror at the crime of the assassination of President Lincoln, voted in the Houses of Lords and Commons. On the immediately following days similar addresses were voted in public meetings in every considerable town in the United Kingdom.

May 10. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, with his wife, sister, brother, and some members of his staff, captured at Irwinstown, in Georgia, by a detachment of Federal cavalry. The troops were divided into two parties, the more effectually to surround the place, and prevent the escape of Davis; but when meeting they mistook each other for hostile troops, and before the mistake was rectified two men were killed and several wounded. Mr. Davis was placed in close confinement.

May 22. President Johnson issued a proclamation for opening the blockaded ports of the United States from and after July 1, except those in the State of Texas; and on June 2 Earl Russell, in a letter to the Admiralty Board, announced that the Confederates would no longer be recognised as belligerents in British ports.

June 11. War having been declared against Paraguay by Brazil and the Argentine Confederation, an army and a fleet had been dispatched to repel the attack of the Paraguayans, and to carry the war into their own country. The fleet ascended the Paraná river, and on this day were attacked by the Paraguayan steamers. They were repulsed, five out of eight were destroyed, and five heavily-armed gun-boats were taken.

June 17. The Prussian Parliament was prorogued. During the sitting the financial and military proposals of the government had been rejected, and in dismissing them, the minister, Von Bismarck, accused them of placing difficulties in the way of the ministry, which were detrimental to the welfare of the country; told them that the government would be car-

ried on in the way indicated by itself, and trusted that ultimately the house and the nation would approve and thank the king for the course pursued. The President of the House, Von Grabow, addressing the assembled representatives, said that the effort to transform a constitutional government into an absolute police and military despotism had been carried to the utmost limit, and would be wrecked on the loyalty of the people, manifested by their choice of constitutional representatives.

July 7. Mrs. Surratt, Messrs. Payne, Azetroth, and Harrold, were hung at New York, after a trial before a court-martial which lasted for many days, as guilty accomplices and conspirators with Booth in the murder of the late President Lincoln.

July 22. Instructions were issued by the Privy Council for taking precautions against the introduction of cholera at the seaports. Hospitals were formed at several of them, to which seamen suffering from the disorder might be immediately removed on their arrival.

August 2. An order was issued by the Privy Council, including regulations for guarding against the cattle plague, which had begun to spread rapidly and fatally, in consequence of which another order was issued on the 11th, commanding the destruction of infected beasts, and imposing a penalty of 20*l.* for infractions of the regulations. This was followed by other orders appointing inspectors at the ports to examine foreign cattle, and in country districts, to insure the carrying out of the orders in Council. On Sept. 22, in consequence of the plague having extended widely to sheep, a new order was issued, by which the previous orders were made to apply to all infected animals, the word animal to include "any cow, heifer, bull, bullock, ox, calf, sheep, lamb, goat, or swine." In October a Government Commission was appointed to investigate the cause and the means of repressing the disease.

August 11. An insurrection of the negroes in Jamaica broke out in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, near Morant Bay. The outbreak was accompanied by some atrocious murders, burning of property, and plunder. Military force was rapidly forwarded. Governor Eyre took very decided steps for its repression, and the insurrection was extinguished, but accompanied by some circumstances that excited much discussion in England. The negro troops behaved with great faithfulness and courage.

August 16. A navigation treaty with Prussia was signed.

August 26. Austria and Prussia communicate to the Diet at Frankfort the results of the interview at Gastein: they were—that the duke of Angustenburg-Holstein had no right to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein; that the King of Denmark was the legal possessor; and that he had resigned his claim to the two

Powers by the treaty of Vienna. They would therefore hold them jointly for the present.

August 29. The French fleet arrived at Portsmouth in return for the visit of the English fleet to Cherbourg, and the officers were magnificently entertained by the English officers and the mayor and corporation of the town.

Sept. 2. A deputation of upwards of 2000 inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein visited Copenhagen, and were received with great enthusiasm by the Danes.

Sept. 15. The Dublin police took possession of the office of the *Irish People* newspaper, and seized the persons found on the premises, charged with being members of the Fenian Brotherhood and engaged in treasonable attempts against the Government. On the same day numerous arrests were made in Cork, the persons arrested being charged with the like offence; but in their cases bail was taken for their appearance at a subsequent investigation, while at Dublin the persons charged were remanded to prison till another hearing. Other arrests followed, and on Sept. 20 some persons were apprehended in Manchester and Sheffield and conveyed to Dublin charged with complicity in the conspiracy. On Nov. 10, Stephens, *alias* Power, the reputed Chief Centre for Ireland, was apprehended, examined, and committed for trial.

Sept. 21. Valparaiso and other ports of Chili blockaded by a Spanish fleet under Admiral Pareja, upon the refusal of the Chilian Government to consent to the claims of the Spanish Government, on a summons of only four days; the said claims having been previously arranged by the Spanish ambassador, but who had been withdrawn and his arrangements repudiated.

Oct. 18. Viscount Palmerston, First Lord of the Treasury, died, aged 81. His lordship had been at the head of the Cabinet from February, 1855, with the exception of the short interval of the Derby-Disraeli Ministry in 1858, until his death. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. Earl Russell was his successor as chief of the Cabinet.

Nov. 6. The Shenandoah, Confederate frigate, which had been active and successful in inflicting damage on the commercial vessels of the United States, arrived in the Mersey, and was surrendered to the British Government on the 9th. The captain and crew having been set at large, the ship was delivered over to the consul of the United States.

Nov. 9. The Irish International Exhibition, which the prince of Wales had opened, was closed on this day.

Nov. 23. Stephens, the head-centre of the Fenians, who had been committed for trial to Richmond jail, made his escape. On the 28th, the trial of the other conspirators commenced in Dublin; and on Dec. 1, Luby, the first tried, was convicted, and sentenced to twenty years penal servitude. Other trials followed with similar results.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 28 & 29 VICTORIA.

Cap. 18. *For amending the Law of Evidence and Practice on Criminal Trials.* In trials for felony or misdemeanor, if evidence on the part of the accused be not called, the accused or his counsel have the right of addressing the jury last. If witnesses are called, and are adverse, it may be proved that they had made other statements previously.

Cap. 75. *For facilitating the more useful application of Sewage in Great Britain and Ireland.* Enables places not governed under the Public Health Act, or the Local Government Act, to form themselves into districts, levy rates, construct works for draining and cleansing, prevent the pollution of streams within their limits, and make contracts for the use of the sewage.

Cap. 79. *To provide for the better distribution of the Charge for the Relief of the Poor in Unions.* The burial of the poor by the guardians, and all charges for vaccination and registration fees, are to be charged on the common fund of the union, and not on the parish; and the period of residence required for a settlement is further reduced from three years to one year.

Cap. 83. *For further regulating the use of Locomotives on Turnpike and other Roads for agricultural and other purposes.* When a locomotive is passing along any road, one person must precede it on foot, displaying a red flag, to warn drivers of carriages of its approach; it is not to go at a greater rate than four miles an hour along a highway, or than two miles through any town or village; towns of above 5000 inhabitants may regulate the speed and the hours at which locomotives may pass along the highways under their jurisdiction.

Cap. 90. *For the establishment of a Fire Brigade within the Metropolis.* Under the Metropolitan Board of Works a Fire Brigade is established, to be supported by a rate, to which the Fire Insurance offices also contribute.

Cap. 99. *To confer on the County Courts a limited jurisdiction in Equity.* To the County Courts are given the powers and jurisdiction of the higher Chancery Courts in suits which do not involve an amount in value above £500. Evidence to be taken by word of mouth, and complaints to be heard in open court.

Revenue, 70,313,437*l.* Expenditure — Army, 14,382,672*l.*; Navy, 10,898,253*l.*; for all objects, 66,462,207*l.*; National Debt, 868,289,398*l.*

Exports of British and Irish produce, 165,835,725*l.*; total exports, 218,831,576*l.*

Imports, 271,072,235*l.*

Emigration to North American Colonies, 17,211; to the United States, 147,258; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 37,283; to all other places, 8,049: total, 209,801.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia,

5,051,170*l.*; total imported, 14,485,570*l.*; exported, 8,493,332*l.*

Railway Traffic: Miles open, 13,289; number of passengers, 251,959,862; traffic receipts, 35,751,655*l.*

Number of Paupers, 1,157,884.

1866.

Jan. 2. The Gazette appointment appeared of sir H. R. Storks, and a Commission to inquire into the disturbances in Jamaica and the means taken for their suppression.

Jan. 16. The county and city of Dublin, in consequence of the discovery of quantities of concealed arms, came under the operation of a Government proclamation, by which no person was allowed to appear with fire-arms, and empowering the police to search for arms in houses where they have reason to think they are concealed.

Jan. 23. General Prim, who had headed an abortive insurrection in Spain on the 3rd of January, on this day crossed the frontier into Portugal. He had been pursued by several columns of Spanish troops, but all failed either to intercept him or bring him to action.

Jan. 29. Mr. George Peabody, the American merchant, in addition to the 150,000*l.* previously given, makes a second magnificent donation of 100,000*l.* for the relief of the poor in London. The trustees of the former gift had expended 80,000*l.* in erecting dwellings for the poor, in which very superior accommodation was afforded at rents below what they usually paid, but which gave an interest of 3 per cent. on the capital sunk. In four blocks of buildings accommodation had been provided for 850 persons. The Queen wrote a letter of thanks to Mr. Peabody, and regretted that he had not deemed it compatible with his position as an American citizen to accept the honours which she would have been glad to bestow.

Feb. 2. The Special Commission appointed to try the Fenian conspirators in Ireland finished its task this day. Forty-one persons had been tried, either in Dublin or in Cork, and of these, thirty-six had been convicted or pleaded guilty, three were acquitted, and in one case the jury disagreed and were discharged. The sentences were for various terms of penal imprisonment.

Feb. 20. Prince Couza, the Hospodar of the Danubian Principalities, deposed, and the throne offered to the Count of Flanders, who at once declined.

March 31. The Spanish fleet, under admiral Mendez Nunez, in spite of the remonstrances of the European consuls and the commanders of the English, French, and United States vessels, bombarded the unprotected Chilian port of Valparaiso. For seven hours the ships fired upon the town without a shot in opposition. At the end of that time they withdrew, leaving the town in flames. The inhabitants, of whom only three lost their lives, were then at liberty to extinguish the fire, in which they were

assisted by the fire-engines and crews of the foreign vessels. The damage done by this useless and barbarous attack was estimated at 20,000 dollars.

April 7. Mr. Johnson, the President of the United States, having passed his veto on the Civil Rights Bill, for conferring on the coloured population equal rights with the whites, the Senate by 33 votes to 15 overruled his veto.

April 16. Alexander II., Emperor of Russia, while entering his carriage at St. Petersburg, was shot at by a Russian named Karakosoff. The pistol was fortunately turned aside by a workman named Kommissaroff, who was ennobled for the act; the assassin was seized, and a military commission appointed to try the criminal and investigate the cause of the attempt. It was found that there was a secret society who had been conspiring against the safety of the state; and numerous arrests were made. Karakosoff was hung on the 16th of September; and 34 persons were convicted of having belonged to the secret society, of whom one was sentenced to be hung, and the others to imprisonment for life or for definite periods; but the emperor commuted the punishment of death for that of imprisonment, and reduced the terms of imprisonment of the rest.

May 10. The old-established discount house of Gurney, Overend, and Co. (limited) suspended payment, with liabilities to the amount of 10,000,000*l.* This was followed on the 11th by the suspension of several other great firms, among them Peto, Betts, and Co., the railway contractors, the English Joint-Stock Bank, and a number of minor ones. This was what became known as the Black Friday, and produced a panic which lasted (although the Bank of England discounted securities to the amount of 4,000,000*l.* at advanced rates of discount) until the Bank was authorised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to increase the issue of bank-notes at a minimum rate of 10 per cent. for discount. This to some extent allayed the panic, but the consequences, immediate and remote, were long felt in all the commercial relations of the country.

May 31. An armed party of Fenians crossed the Niagara river from near Buffalo, possessed themselves of an empty mill called Fort Erie, and cut the telegraph wires. As soon as the fact became known, the Canadian volunteers were marched against them, attacked them on the 2nd of June, but were not successful in capturing them. In the meantime, the government of the United States had given directions to general Grant to employ military force to prevent reinforcements crossing, as it was known a large number of Fenians had assembled on the United States frontier, and this was effectually done. The Canadian force having been strengthened, again advanced on Fort Erie, which the Fenians abandoned, leaving 32 men as a picket, who were captured, and six of them were tried by drum-head court-martial and shot. The main-body, about 400, in recrossing the Niagara river, were seized by

the Federal gunboats, disarmed, and after a few days' confinement, discharged on recognizances to appear when called on. On the 7th of June President Johnson issued a proclamation against the Fenians, forbidding any assistance being given to them; on the previous day general Sweeney, the organizer of the raid, had been arrested at St. Alban's; on the 7th, Roberts, the Fenian civil chief, was arrested in New York; and warrants were issued for the arrest of some of the prominent members of the party.

June 5. The proposed Conference at Paris abandoned in consequence of the refusal of Austria to assent to the programme for the settlement of disputes without hostilities, she demanding as a previous stipulation that no territorial addition should be made to any of the contending states.

June 15. The Prussian armies enter Saxony and Hanover, after a proclamation of war against Austria, and all states allied with her, had been issued by the King of Prussia. On the 17th, one division took possession of Stade, in Hanover, and on the 18th, the other entered Dresden.

June 18. Earl Russell's ministry were beaten by a majority of 315, against 304, on the rating clause of the Franchise Bill. On the 26th it was announced to the two Houses that they had resigned, and that the Earl of Derby was to form a new ministry.

June 22. A military insurrection broke out in Madrid, but was repressed after 200 of the insurgents had been killed. Order was not restored until the next day with a total loss of 1000 lives, and 1750 prisoners thrown into gaol, many of whom were subsequently executed.

June 23. The Italian army numbering between 80,000 and 90,000 men, crossed the Mincio, advancing against the Austrians; they were met at Custoza, defeated after a battle of many hours, and forced to retreat across the Mincio with great loss.

June 27 and 28. The Austrians were defeated by the Prussians at Nachod, in Bohemia.

July 3. The main army of the Austrians defeated at Sadowa, near Königgrätz, with great loss. On the 4th, the Emperor of Austria applied to the Prussians for an armistice, which was refused. He immediately ceded Venice and the dependent Italian territory to the Emperor of the French; and desired his mediation for the conclusion of a peace with all the belligerents.

July 5. The princess Helena married to his royal highness prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg.

July 7. The shore end of the new Atlantic Cable was fixed at Foilhummer Bay, near Valencia, and paid out for thirty miles to be spliced on to the main cable on board the Great Eastern, lying ready to receive it. On the 15th it was successfully spliced, and the steamer proceeded to deposit the main cable. On the 27th, the shore end was safely landed

in Newfoundland, messages were sent, and the cable to connect it with the American continent about seventy miles, was at once commenced. Messages passed between Queen Victoria and President Johnson on the 29th and 30th.

July 23. A popular meeting in Hyde Park, London, having been forbidden by sir R. Mayne, an immense crowd gathered in the evening, and, the gates being closed, the railings were torn down and the crowd entered, greatly damaging the flower-beds and shrubberies. Some forty or fifty persons were captured for rioting and assaults on the police, and on the following days were fined or sentenced to short terms of imprisonment by the police magistrate.

July 26. An armistice and preliminaries of peace agreed upon between Austria and Prussia, and on Aug. 2, an armistice between Prussia and Bavaria. A truce was also agreed upon between Austria and Italy on July 25.

Aug. 2. Peace signed at Prague between Austria and Prussia; it contained also a provision for the cession of Venetia to Italy. On the 30th, the treaty was ratified. Austria consented to be entirely excluded from the German Confederation, and to pay 20,000,000 Prussian thalers towards the expenses of the war.

Sept. 2. The sunken end of the Atlantic Cable of 1865 recovered by the Great Eastern, spliced, and found to be in good working order. Communications were made to Valencia, and eventually was continued on to Newfoundland.

Sept. 6. The King of Prussia announces to the Legislature the annexation of Hanover, Hesse Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort, with a part of Hesse-Darmstadt, which has also to pay 300,000*l.* towards the expenses of the war. Schleswig-Holstein had been previously appropriated.

Sept. 21. Treaty between Saxony and Prussia signed, by which Saxony enters the Northern Confederation. On the 26th, the king and queen of Saxony returned to Pillnitz.

Oct. 21. After much opposition and a long negotiation, prince Charles of Hohenzollern, who had been elected Hospodar of the Danubian Provinces, now united under the name of Roumania, was received at Constantinople by the Sultan on this day with distinguished honours; a palace was assigned for his residence, he paid homage, and received the investiture.

Nov. 13. A remarkable shower of meteors occurred, lasting from 11 p.m. to 3 or 4 a.m. of the following morning.

Dec. 3. President Johnson, in his message to Congress, recommended conciliation towards the Southern states, and their re-admission into the Union; stated that the differences with Great Britain respecting the Alabama were not settled; that he had caused the prosecution of the Fenians to be abandoned, considering their offence political; adding that strict neutrality must be preserved and raids prevented; that the French had consented to withdraw from

Mexico; and that the finances were entirely satisfactory.

Dec. 11. The French troops evacuated Rome according to the convention of Sept. 18, and the Papal standard replaced that of France on the castle of St. Angelo.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 29 & 30 VICTORIAE.

Cap. 19. *To amend the Law relating to Parliamentary Oaths.* The oath now prescribed only contains a declaration of allegiance to the reigning sovereign, with an engagement to maintain the succession, and the rights and liberties of the subject.

Cap. 28. *To enable the Public Works Loan Commissioners to make advances towards the erection of Dwellings for the Labouring Classes.* Loans may be made for this purpose, with the approval of the Treasury Commissioners, to any local or other authority invested with town or local government; to any Railway, Dock, or Harbour Company, or to a society or association established for the like purpose. Where such bodies are authorised to purchase lands, if not already a corporate body they are to be deemed such for the purposes of this Act. A similar Act (cap. 44) was passed for Ireland.

Cap. 32. *To amend the Procedure and Powers of the Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes.* On a decree for dissolution of marriage, if the husband has no property on which a gross annual payment can be secured, the Court may order a weekly or monthly payment.

Cap. 37. *To amend an Act of the 54 Geo. III. cap. 123, to prevent Frauds and Abuses in the trade of Hops.* Heavy fines are imposed for not marking correctly the pockets or bags with the name of the grower, the place where grown, the date, and the weight; for mixing hops of different growths or dates; for packing foreign hops in British marked bags; or for wilfully defacing or altering the marks or symbols on any packages. Vendors, if required, are to give full information from whom the hops were received.

Cap. 65. *To enable her Majesty to declare Gold Coins to be issued from her Majesty's Colonial Branch Mints as legal tender for payments.* The title explains itself, and the coinage of the Australian mints has been declared a legal tender. A charge for coining may be made.

Cap. 67. *For the union of the colony of Vancouver Island with the colony of British Columbia.* The separate government of Vancouver Island is abolished, and it is to send representatives to the legislature of British Columbia.

Cap. 69. *For the amendment of the Law with respect to the Carriage and Deposit of Dangerous Goods.* Nitro-glycerine or Glonoino oil, and other substances as may be determined by an Order in Council, are to be distinctly marked "specially dangerous" on the outside of each package, under heavy penalties for

omission; and no warehouse owner or carrier is bound to receive any such package.

Cap. 85. *To facilitate the establishment, improvement, and maintenance of Oyster and Mussel Fisheries in Great Britain.* Under the sanction of the Board of Trade owners or occupiers of the sea or river shores may lay down an oyster-bed, within prescribed limits, supply it with oysters or spawn from any natural public oyster-bed, which are then to become private property. Within the limits no one to fish except with a line or a net fitted to catch floating fish only.

Cap. 89. *For vesting in the Conservators of the River Thames the Conservancy of the Thames and Iris, from Staines in Middlesex to Cricklade in Wiltshire.* This Act abolishes the powers of the Upper Navigation Commissioners, transfers all their rights and property in locks, canals, &c., to the Thames Conservators, to whom five new members were added, and to them is given the power to make regulations for the navigation, to collect tolls, to repair and maintain the banks, weirs, and locks, to prevent the pollution of the water, and to receive payment for water taken within their limits for the supply of the public.

Cap. 90. *To amend the Law relating to the Public Health.* This important Act is divided into four parts. Part I. empowers the formation in any district of a committee for the formation and due management of the sewers, with power to levy a rate for that purpose; to compel persons to drain into the public sewer or to form a cesspool; to furnish the district with water; to take charge of all wells, pumps, or fountains from which the public supply is furnished; and to dispose of the sewerage. Part II. is for the prevention of nuisances arising from over-crowded or ill-ventilated houses; to prevent nuisances from smoke; to disinfect houses where contagious diseases have prevailed; to empower the local authorities to provide a carriage for the conveyance of persons suffering from contagious disease to the hospital or elsewhere (who may not ride in a public conveyance without notice to the driver). Ships in harbour are subjected to the like regulations. Part III. is miscellaneous, and contains a number of regulations for the purpose of securing or procuring cleanliness, a supply of water, and other details. Part IV. extends the Act to Ireland, with certain modifications.

Cap. 114. *To amend the Public Libraries Act.* A library or museum may now be established in any town or parish, without taking proceedings under the former Acts. A majority of assents at a meeting duly called being sufficient.

Cap. 122. *To make provision for the Improvement, Protection, and Management of Commons near the Metropolis.* All commons within the Metropolitan District are no longer liable to inclosure; and, providing compensation for pecuniary rights, a scheme may be furnished to the Inclosure Commissioners for

transferring their care to the local authorities or to the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Revenue, 67,812,202*l.*; Expenditure — Army, 14,569,279*l.*; Navy, 10,259,788*l.*; for all objects, 65,914,357*l.*; National Debt, 802,842,949*l.*

Exports of English and Irish produce, 188,917,536*l.*; total of exports, 238,905,082*l.*
Imports, 295,290,274*l.*

Emigration—to the North American Colonies, 13,225; to the United States, 161,000; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 24,097; to all other places, 6530: total, 204,882.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia, 6,839,674*l.*; total imported, 23,509,641*l.*; exported, 12,742,639*l.*

Railways: Miles open, 13,854; number of passengers, 274,403,895; traffic receipts, 38,164,354*l.*

Number of paupers, 1,111,009.

1867.

Feb. 11. Alarm of an attempt of the Fenians to attack the Castle of Chester. The plot had been disclosed by an accomplice, and prompt measures were taken for its defeat, which were effectual. Some 1400 or 1500 suspected persons assembled in the streets of Chester, but the swearing in of special constables, and the arrival of 500 of the Scotch Fusiliers, compelled them to disperse in scattered groups, without disturbing the public peace.

Feb. 13. On this day another party of Fenians, about 800 in number, assembled at Cahirciveen, in the county of Kerry. They sacked a coastguard station at Kells, seized the arms, and shot a mounted policeman bearing dispatches, robbing him of his horse and arms. They then cut the telegraph wires, interrupting the messages by the Atlantic cable for about five hours, by which time they were restored. Troops were immediately sent from Cork to Killarney, and on the 14th the insurgents withdrew into the Toomes mountains by the Gap of Dunlo, whither they were pursued by a strong military force on the 15th. A large number of arrests was made in the next few days, at Dublin and elsewhere, of persons coming by sea, chiefly from the United States.

Feb. 17. The first ship, the *Primo*, a vessel of eighty tons burthen, passed through the Suez Canal, and by a temporary freshwater canal from the Mediterranean into the Red Sea.

Feb. 24. The first Parliament of the North German Confederation was opened at Berlin.

March 5. The Fenians again commenced a rising in several parts of Ireland. The mail-train from Cork to Dublin was sent off the line, and the telegraph wires were cut, destroying the communication with all Munster. The Government had been informed of the intention, and were fully prepared. At Tallaght, near Dublin, a party of twelve policemen met about 200 Fenians, and summoned them to

surrender, but they fired on the police, who returned the fire, wounding five, and ultimately capturing eighty-three. At Drogheda 1000 Fenians had a combat with the police for the possession of the market-house, and here forty prisoners were taken. At Kilmallock a party attacked the police-station, which was defended; three of the assailants were killed, and fourteen taken prisoners. Dromore police-barrack was burnt down, a coastguard station near Kilrush was plundered of the arms, as also were the police-barracks and several houses at Holy Cross, by different parties of Fenians.

March 23. A secret treaty was laid before the different legislatures, between Prussia and the Southern States of Germany, by which the military contingents of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, &c., are placed at the disposal of Prussia, thus, in fact, incorporating all Germany into one entire empire for defensive military purposes. The treaty had been concluded in the previous July.

April 1. The French great International Exhibition opened in a very incomplete state. By the early part of May it was most effectively completed.

April 10. Commencement of the trial, at the Central Criminal Court, of colonel Nelson and lieutenant Braud for the murder of Mr. Gordon, in Jamaica. The charge of the Lord Chief Justice to the grand jury occupied six hours, in which he laid it down as a principle that martial law could not override civil law. The grand jury threw out both the bills of indictment on the following day.

April 27. The trial of general Burke and Patrick Doran, the first two of the Fenians accused of being concerned in the late outbreak, commenced at Dublin. Both were found guilty of high treason on May 1, and sentenced to be executed on the 29th. The sitting of the commission terminated on May 24. A number of prisoners had been found guilty of treason-felony, and sentenced to various periods of imprisonment. Doran, after some delay, had his sentence commuted to penal servitude; Burke was left for execution until the 27th, when, in compliance with numerous petitions, his sentence was also commuted.

May 6. A popular demonstration in Hyde Park in favour of reform, which had been at first forbidden by the Government, but at the last moment permitted, was held without the slightest disturbance of the public peace.

June 6. Attempt made by a young Pole in Paris to assassinate the Emperor of Russia, while seated in a carriage with his two sons and the Emperor of the French. The pistol burst, blew off the hand of the assassin, without damaging any of the persons in the carriage. He was subsequently tried and sentenced to death, but not executed, in compliance with a desire of the Emperor of Russia.

June 7. The Conference for the settlement of the Luxemburg question met in London; it consisted of the representatives of England, Russia, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands, Bel-

gium, France, and Prussia. On the 11th the terms were agreed upon: Luxemburg to remain subject to the King of the Netherlands; the fortress to be evacuated by Prussia, and to be demolished as quickly as possible; the neutrality of the whole territory to be guaranteed by the subscribing powers.

June 8. The Emperor of Austria crowned King of Hungary, with great ceremony, swearing to preserve the old Hungarian constitution, which had been a source of contest between the nation and the sovereigns for many years.

June 13. Jefferson Davis, late President of the Southern Confederacy, was admitted to bail at Richmond, U.S., and took his departure a few days afterwards, for Montreal, in Canada.

June 19. On this day the Commission sitting to inquire into the outrages committed against non-union men at Sheffield, were first able to obtain any evidence directly implicating any individual. A man named Hallam, who had been committed to prison for refusing to answer, declared himself willing to disclose all he knew. He then acknowledged the crimes of having been a party to the blowing-up of several places, and to the shooting, twice, at a man named Linley, who died in consequence, and in whose case a verdict of wilful murder had been found. His evidence was confirmed by a confederate named Crookes, and they said they were hired and paid by one Broadhead, the secretary of the Saw Grinders' Union, and the treasurer of the Amalgamated Unions. On a subsequent day this man acknowledged the truth of these accusations, and stated that for nineteen years he had been the instigator and the rewarder of most of the offences of rattening and personal outrage committed in Sheffield, but persisted in saying that the unions knew nothing about this; they only knew they were committed, and purposely left the whole management in his hands, and never examined his accounts. These discoveries were made after the announcement that truthful avowal would absolve even the most guilty participators from all personal punishment. On July 8 the investigation closed, and certificates of indemnity were granted to Broadhead, Crookes, and the other witnesses who had made the disclosures.

July 6. The Viceroy of Egypt arrived in London on a visit; and on the 12th the Sultan of Turkey. Both were received by the Queen, and entertained with great hospitality by the corporation of London and other public bodies and private persons. The Sultan was lodged in Buckingham Palace, the Viceroy at Dudley House, the residence of Lord Ward.

July 10. On an invitation to attend the rifle-shooting at Wimbledon, 2000 Belgian volunteers were brought over in the Government steamer *Scrapis*, and were warmly welcomed by the British riflemen, the London corporation, &c.

July 17. A grand naval review at Spithead took place, in the presence of the Sultan of Turkey and Viceroy of Egypt, who were received by the Queen on board her yacht. She

decorated the Sultan with the Order of the Garter, but the review was somewhat marred by stormy weather.

Aug. 17. An insurrection broke out in Spain; the provinces of Catalonia and Aragon were entered from France by a few armed men, under generals Contreras and Pierrad, who were immediately joined by others. General Prim was expected to join them, but did not. Madrid, and nearly the whole of Spain, were in a few days declared to be under martial law. It was suppressed with little difficulty.

Aug. 26. The first engine and train passed over the Mont Cenis Railway, the summit elevation being 6700 feet above the sea level. The train was worked on the centre-rail system, and the trip was completely successful.

Sept. 10. The sitting of the North German parliament was opened with a speech from the King of Prussia, in which a variety of measures were promised to be introduced, most of them tending to a closer unity of the various states.

Sept. 14. Some of the transports sailed from London and Liverpool, conveying stores and ammunition for the Abyssinian expedition, for the purpose of coercing the Emperor Theodore to deliver the British captives. The military force was to be forwarded from India.

Sept. 18. A most daring attack made at Manchester on the police van which was conveying to jail two men, named Kelly and Deasy, charged with being Fenians. Between forty and fifty men had assembled, armed with revolvers and other weapons. They intercepted the van, shot the horses, knocked the driver from his seat, dispersed the few policemen who guarded it, with much difficulty broke it open, and shot the policeman inside, who refused to give up the keys of the separate cells. Ultimately the two Fenians were liberated, and although handcuffed made their escape, with fifteen other prisoners who were being conveyed to prison. This was about four P.M. Before the following morning, William O'Meara Allen, the man who shot the policeman in the van, and Michael Larkin, were in custody, charged with wilful murder, and several others charged with riot and murder, who were examined before the magistrates, and remanded. On the 26th the examination was resumed, and on the 5th of October twenty-three were committed for trial. On Oct. 29 a special commission was opened at Manchester, before which W. O'Meara Allen, M. Larkin, W. Gould, T. Maguire, and E. Shore, were indicted for the murder of Charles Brett. On Nov. 1 they were all found guilty, and sentenced to death. On Nov. 23, Allen, Gould, and Larkin were hung. Shore's punishment was commuted, and Maguire was pardoned, as there seemed to have been a mistake as to his identity.

Sept. 23. General Garibaldi was arrested at Sinigaglia, in order to prevent his heading an intended insurrection at Rome, and placed in confinement at Alessandria. A number of

persons were also apprehended at Rome as participators in the projected revolt. He was sent, a few days later, to his island of Caprera in a Government vessel.

Oct. 20. From the time of the arrest of Garibaldi to this date continual irruptions of insurgents into the Papal States were made with varying success; anarchy was prevailing, and it seemed that the Italian Government could not prevent the hostilities. France threatened to interfere, and troops were embarked at Toulon; but on the 19th Rattazzi, the Italian minister, resigned, and general Cialdini was nominated in his place. He announced that stringent measures would be adopted. The insurgents, headed by Menotti Garibaldi, withdrew from the Papal territories, and the French preparations for intervention were abandoned.

Oct. 28. General Garibaldi having escaped from Caprera, joined the insurgents in attacking the Papal troops, and closely approached Rome; the attempt of Victor Emmanuel to form a ministry under Cialdini having likewise failed, although another under general Menabrea had been named, the Emperor of the French had dispatched an expedition from Toulon to support the Pope, and on this day the first division landed at Civita Vecchia. On Oct. 30 a portion of the French troops entered Rome; on the same day a part of the Italian royal army crossed the Papal frontier for the purpose of preserving order; and Garibaldi, with his volunteers, retired from the immediate neighbourhood of Rome to Monte Rotondo.

Nov. 1. After a trial at Dublin, colonel John Warren, the first Fenian prisoner indicted at this Commission, was found guilty. He had come from the United States, and, with several others, landed near Youghal. He claimed to be a citizen of the United States, but, born in Ireland, the claim was disallowed; and his counsel by his direction, withdrew. He had other counsel assigned, and was convicted partly on the evidence of an accomplice.

Nov. 3. Garibaldi was attacked by the Papal and French troops at Mentana. After a sharp fight, his band was scattered, and he fled to Terni, within the Italian territory, where he was arrested by the royal authorities, and, with his two sons, who had also been taken, was placed in confinement.

Nov. 4. A part of the expedition against Abyssinia arrived at Suez from India.

Dec. 13. A daring attempt made to effect the escape of two prisoners, remanded on a charge of having been parties to the murder of Brett, the police-constable, at Manchester, by blowing up the wall of the House of Detention, in Clerkenwell, London. A barrel of gunpowder was placed against the wall, and exploded. About 60 feet of the wall was thrown down between 3 and 4 o'clock P.M., the usual time for exercising the prisoners; but the hour had been changed, and the prisoners were in their cells. The effect, however, was terrible. Six persons were killed, and nearly

50 men, women, and children, were more or less injured. Several persons were apprehended on suspicion of having been engaged in the crime. Six were tried at the Criminal Court in April, but only one, named Barrett, was found guilty, and he was hung on May 26.

LEGISLATION. SESSION 30 & 31 VICTORIAE.

Cap. 3. *For the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the government thereof, and for purposes connected therewith.* The governments are united into one, under a Viceroy, with a general parliament held at Ottawa, now the seat of government. Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, have each a Lieutenant-Governor, with a Provincial Legislature.

Cap. 6. *For the establishment in the Metropolis of Asylums for the Sick, Insane, and other classes of the Poor, and of Dispensaries; and for the Distribution over the Metropolis of portions of the Charge for Poor Relief; and for other purposes relating to the Poor Relief in the Metropolis.*

Cap. 29. *To amend the Law in respect of the Sale and Purchase of Shares in Joint Stock Banking Companies.* Contracts for sale or purchase of such shares are declared to be void, unless the shares to be sold are clearly designated in writing, either by their number or by the name of the holder.

Cap. 35. *To remove some defects in the Administration of the Criminal Law.* Persons acquitted, in certain cases may be allowed their costs; persons accused are allowed to summon witnesses, who may have their expenses allowed by the Court. Additional powers are given for taking the depositions of persons dangerously ill; and jailers are to bring up persons indicted, without a writ of *habeas corpus*, upon an order of the Court.

Cap. 48. *For amending the Law of Auction of Estates.* In sales of land by auction it is to be stated in the conditions of sale whether it is to be sold with or without reserve; if it be sold without reserve no one is allowed to bid on behalf of the owner; in sales under orders from the Court of Chancery, the practice of opening biddings after a sale is to be discontinued.

Cap. 75. *To remove certain Religious Disabilities affecting some of her Majesty's Subjects, and to amend the Law relating to Oaths of Office.* The restriction as to the religion of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland is removed; judicial or corporate officers may attend their places of worship in their official robes without incurring any penalty; and a form of oath is provided to supersede the former ones of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration.

Cap. 102. *Further to amend the Laws relating to the Representation of the People in England and Wales.* This is the Reform Act of 1867. The Act is long, but its details have been made widely known.

Cap. 103. *For the Extension of the Factory Acts.* The provisions of previous Acts are

extended to females and young persons employed in blast-furnaces, copper-mills, forges, foundries, or in the manufacture of machinery, or of any article of metal, or of India-rubber, or gutta percha; and to any premises in which is carried on the manufacture of paper, glass, tobacco, letter-press printing, bookbinding, and any other premises in which fifty or more persons are employed, with exceptions as to nightwork in blast-furnaces, iron-mills, and printing-offices; but so as no one is to be employed more than sixty hours in any one week.

Cap. 105. *To establish equitable Councils of Conciliation to adjust Differences between Masters and Workmen.* Masters and workmen, in any locality, may call a meeting, and agree to form a council of conciliation, and petition the Secretary of State for a licence; the council may not consist of less than two nor more than ten masters and workmen; they have power to determine questions submitted to them and to enforce their awards; a rate of wages or price of labour may not be established by them; no counsel or attorneys to be heard before the courts unless by consent of both parties.

Cap. 127. *To amend the Law relating to Railway Companies.* The rolling stock of a railway is protected from seizure by creditors by this Act; the remedy is by petition to the Court of Chancery, who may appoint a receiver or manager of the railway.

Cap. 130. *For the regulation of Agricultural Gangs.* No child under eight years of age to be employed; licences to gang-masters are to be granted by magistrates; no female to be employed in the same gang with males, or without a female licensed as gang-master being present; and the magistrates are to fix the distances within which children are to be allowed to travel to their work.

Cap. 134. *For regulating the Traffic in the Metropolis, and for making provision for the greater security of persons passing through the streets.* This is the Act now in operation.

Cap. 141. *To amend the Statute Law as between Master and Servant.* Compensation for breach of contract may be awarded on either side, which, with any fines imposed, are to be recovered by distress, and in default of payment to be punished by imprisonment.

Cap. 146. *For regulating the Hours of Labour for Children, Young Persons and Women employed in Workshops.* No child under eight is to be employed in any handicraft; no child to be employed more than six hours and a half on any one day, and such employment to be between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m.; no young person or female to be so employed for more than twelve hours, with time for meals; no person to be employed in any handicraft on Sunday or after two o'clock on Saturday afternoon. There are also regulations for the children attending schools.

Revenue, 69,434,508*l.*; Expenditure—Army, 14,675,540*l.*; Navy, 10,676,101*l.*; for all objects, 66,780,396*l.*; National Debt, 800,848,847*l.*

Exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures, 181,183,971*l.*; total exports, 226,057,136*l.*

Imports, 275,249,853*l.*

Emigration—To the North American Colonies, 15,503; to the United States, 159,275; to the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, 14,466; to all other places, 6,709: total, 195,953.

Amount of Gold imported from Australia, 5,801,207*l.*; total imported, 15,800,159*l.*; exported, 7,889,030*l.*

Number of paupers, 1,148,643.

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