GLADSTONE

AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

FIFTY YEARS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS

RICHARD COBDEN.

FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT

WILLIAM EWART
GLADSTONE
AND HIS
CONTEMPORARIES:
FIFTY YEARS
OF
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

BY

THOMAS ARCHER, F.R.H.S.,

AUTHOR OF "PICTURES AND ROYAL PORTRAITS," "DECISIVE EVENTS OF HISTORY,"
"THE TERRIBLE SIGHTS OF LONDON," ETC.

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GLADSTONE

AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

CHAPTER V.

THE COMING OF "FREE-TRADE."

Our Foreign Relations—Italy—France—Egypt—India—The Colonies—New Zealand—*Punch*—Popular Sympathy—The Truck System—Flogging in the Army—Capital Punishment—Temperance—Sanitary Legislation—Education—The Corn Laws—The Sliding Scale—Children of Rebecca—O'Connell's Conviction—Agricultural Distress—Maynooth—Mr. Gladstone's Resignation—The Anti-Corn-law League—The Bazaars in Manchester and London—Cobden—Bright—Chartism—Repeal of the Corn Laws—Mr Gladstone in Office—His Altered Views—Disraeli's Attacks on Peel—The Royal Family.

We shall be better able to understand the condition of the country during the period in which the repeal of the Corn Laws was the central political event in England, if we again take a brief glance at our foreign relations. The sensation which was caused by the fate of those Italians who died for what they believed to be the cause of national freedom, continued to be felt for a long time in this country, where there were not wanting active supporters of the claims of "Young Italy." As it happened, however, all Europe was alive with horror of the cruelties perpetrated in Italian prisons and elsewhere under the name of public order: the fate of Ruffini[1] was fresh in everybody's mind; and the shocking episode of the brothers Bandiera shed a too sanguinary light upon what were held to be the unnecessary compliances of our ministers.

The subject of Italian freedom and the sufferings of the prisoners in Naples is in more ways than one connected with the name of Gladstone. The general topic awaits us all but instantly, but it may be said here that the general sympathy with Mazzini was at this time intense. *Punch,* then a new power, entered vigorously into the fray. Mr. Carlyle, himself a very strong anti-revolutionist, and a never-ceasing opponent of Mazzini, came forward with this very strong testimony in his favour:—"I have had the honour to know Mr. Mazzini for a term of years, and whatever I may think of his practical skill and insight in worldly matters, I can with great freedom testify to all men that he, if I have ever seen one such, is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity; one of those rare men, numbering unfortunately but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr-souls." Mr. Duncombe, Mr. Wakley, his colleague in the representation of Finsbury, Mr. Hume, and some other Liberal members, were at this time the object of as much enthusiastic admiration as Aberdeen and Graham of hatred.

There is something so unspeakably pathetic in Mazzini's account of a particular hour of his own sufferings during these years that it may well receive a place here, if only for the deep and awful colouring it throws upon what the best of the "conspiring patriots" of that time went through. The sufferings of the gentle Daniel Manin of Venice were certainly not less. "I felt myself," says Mazzini, "not

[1] Ruffini, being in prison, was threatened with the torture, in order that he might be compelled to give up the names of his comrades. Being also shown a confession, purporting to be signed by his dearest friend Mazzini, but in reality forged by the government, he destroyed himself in his cell.

only unutterably and supremely wretched; I felt myself a criminal—conscious of guilt, yet incapable of expiation. The forms of those shot at Alexandria and Chambery rose up before me like the phantom of a crime and its unavailing remorse. I could not recall them to life. How many mothers had I caused to weep! How many more must learn to weep should I persist in the attempt to rouse the youth of Italy to noble action—to awaken in them the yearning for a common country! And if that country were indeed an illusion—if Italy, exhausted by two epochs of civilization, were condemned by Providence henceforth to remain subject to younger and more vigorous nations, without a name or a mission of her own, whence had I derived the right of judging the future, and urging hundreds, thousands of men to the sacrifice of themselves and of all that they held most dear? I suffered so much as to be driven to the confines of madness. At times I started from my sleep at night and ran to the window in delirium, believing that I heard the voice of Jacopo Ruffini calling to me. At times I felt myself irresistibly compelled to arise and go trembling into the room next my own, fancying that I should see there some friends who I really knew were at that time in prison, or hundreds of miles away. The slightest incident—a word, a tone—moved me to tears. Nature, covered with snow as it then was about Gretchen, appeared to me to wear a funereal shroud, beneath which it invited me to shrink. I fancied I traced in the faces of those who surrounded me looks, sometimes of pity, but more often of reproach. Had that state of mind lasted but a little longer I must either have gone mad or ended it with the selfish death of the suicide. While I was struggling and sinking beneath my cross I heard a friend, whose room was a few doors distant from mine, answer a young girl, who, having some suspicion of my unhappy condition, was urging him to break in upon my solitude, by saying, '*Leave him alone; he is in his element—conspiring, and happy.*' Ah! how little men guess the state of mind of others, unless they regard it—and this is rarely done—by the light of a deep affection!"

The subject of the opening of letters in the post-office at that date may be dismissed with the remark that the advocates of Sir James Graham always maintained that he had used the common privilege of a secretary of state with much moderation, and was not responsible for the unhappy result to the Italian patriots. The whole discussion led to an amendment of the Alien Act, which was generally welcomed and approved.

In order to estimate our attitude with regard to other foreign relations, we will once more refer to the position of affairs in France.

The war between Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, and his master, the Sultan of Turkey, combined with the sinister policy of Russia, in the attempt to become possessed of Constantinople, made a combination which long occupied the attention of European statesmen, and France was compelled to take a prominent part in the dispute. It required great talent, and experience, and remarkable tact in any ministry to avoid a serious collision with some other power, and yet to maintain the national dignity. For such qualifications the cabinet of Guizot was not distinguished. Its dissolution was eagerly expected, and was consummated quickly, not by the vote on Egyptian affairs, but in consequence of a request from his majesty for the settlement of 500,000 francs a year on the Duc de Némours (his second son), in addition to 500,000 francs already voted for the expenses of his marriage to the Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg. It was an inopportune time for such a demand. The opposition was powerful and unrelenting. Without any debate the votes against the dotation made a majority of twenty-six, and the ministry at once resigned.

To refuse to support his family interests was deeply to offend Louis Philippe, and the adverse vote of the chamber, followed by the resignation of the ministry, was a severe blow to him, especially as it had been caused by the very men to whom he could alone look for the formation of a new cabinet. It was with some exhibition of distaste, that on the 1st of March, 1840, he was compelled to send for M. Thiers, and request him to take office and constitute a ministry. The task was not

an easy one, especially as the rivalry of Guizot was likely to weaken the new minister, who at the same time could not afford to lose his co-operation. M. Thiers adroitly completed his work, however, by making M. Guizot ambassador to London.

The ministry was by no means popular, nor was it agreeable to the king. The Democrats disliked M. Thiers, because of his persistence in maintaining the laws of September, which he refused even to modify; the king was still chafing under the necessity of accepting a cabinet which had attained power by the opposition to his wishes displayed by its chiefs. Still, the tact and ability of M. Thiers enabled him to retain the government, and pressing "foreign affairs" rendered it necessary for a statesman of experience to hold office as head of the cabinet, while political events at home were of a grave and even an alarming character.

England stipulated that Mehemet Ali (the viceroy) should give up Syria, of which he had taken possession; France was in favour of his retaining it; Russia was ready to send troops and ships for the protection of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The Sultan mistrusted both the latter powers, and was almost helpless since his fleet had revolted and joined the pasha. To recover this fleet Lord Palmerston, then prime minister of England, proposed to send a naval force, but again France would not consent. The extreme "opposition" in the French chamber went so far as to demand that France should herself take possession of Turkey.

It was at this juncture that the dissolution of the ministry brought M. Thiers back to the control of affairs.

Voluminous notes and perpetual negotiations had failed to secure unanimity between the great powers. England maintained her demand that Mehemet Ali should abandon Syria, and that demand was not opposed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. France, however, continued to protest against it. At last, after much discussion, a treaty was signed between the four powers for compelling the pasha to resign the territory upon which he had seized and to restore the Turkish fleet. France was not included in this agreement, and the whole nation was excited to such a pitch of indignation that war in Europe seemed imminent.

The king, the ministers, and the opposition were alike angry. M. Guizot was amazed at the affront; M. Thiers declared that he had been deceived, and that the insult to the French national honour demanded vengeance. Louis Philippe spoke with unusual anger of the necessity for vindicating that honour by immediate preparations for war. Meanwhile, Mehemet Ali, seeing France in this temper, and hearing also that the mutual distrust of the powers who had signed the treaty would prevent either of them from commencing actual hostilities against him, not only refused to give up an inch of territory, but swore that should they make war on him he would overturn the Turkish empire if he buried himself in its ruins.

He was in possession of an army of nearly 300,000 men; and, besides the Turkish fleet of nine vessels of the line and eleven frigates, he had in his own navy eleven line ships, seven frigates, five corvettes, and nine brigs. The season too was in his favour. Before any European naval force would be completed by the agreement of the powers, the African coast would be too dangerous for their operations.

There was some reason for his looking to France for effectual aid, if the war preparations were indications not only of the public spirit but of the policy of the ministry and the determination of the king. Ordinances were published for mobilizing the National Guard and at once greatly increasing the navy. To effect the latter object a government credit was opened to add 10,000 sailors and twenty-seven vessels to the existing force, and the measure was passed through the chamber with the acclamation of the Republican representatives.

But there was another proposition. In the event of war, Paris was unprotected against an invader. The occupation of the capital of France by foreign troops was but a recent event, and had followed the brilliant achievements of the imperial armies when the empire

itself was overthrown. The king proposed to construct fortifications round Paris, and another credit was opened for one hundred million francs for the commencement of this work without delay. It was suspected that these forts and batteries, by which the city was to be surrounded, were designed less for protection against a foreign invader than as ready means for securing the royal family and the government against the dangers of insurrection, and for overawing the populace in times of political excitement.

The demands for war were probably maintained at this time by the successes which were reported from Algeria, where a victory had been obtained over the Emir Abd-el-Kader, who was driven out of Milianah by the French troops, and being compelled to leave that strong position, retreated to a rocky fortress beyond Mascara, whence he maintained an ineffectual opposition to the armies under the command of the royal dukes, till his camp was surprised by the Duc d'Aumale and General Changarnier, with his chasseurs d'Afrique, in the spring of 1843.

The English government had agreed to the removal of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon from St. Helena, that they might be conveyed to Paris, to the Hôpital des Invalides. A frigate and a corvette, named respectively *La Belle Poule* and *La Favorite*, were placed under the command of Prince Joinville, third son of Louis Philippe, for the purpose. The British authorities were waiting to receive the expedition with respect. The coffin of the emperor was disinterred in the presence of the French commissioners, and on being opened, the body which it contained was found to be so little injured, that the pale brow and regular features appeared like marble.

The remains were placed on board the *Belle Poule*, and both vessels set sail to return. On the voyage, a merchant ship reported that war had been declared between France and England, and it was represented that the *Belle Poule* and the *Favorite* were in danger of being attacked by English cruisers. No such danger presented itself, however, and the body of the emperor was conveyed to Paris, and solemnly deposited in the tomb that had been prepared for its reception.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, still claiming to represent the imperial dynasty, had, since his retirement from Switzerland, continued to reside in London. He had there, with the aid of M. de Persigny, published various letters and pamphlets (*Lettres de Londres*), in one of which his uncle is compared to Julius Cæsar and himself to Octavius Cæsar. Hopeless as his position had seemed after the absurd attempt at Strasburg, he fancied he saw in the excitement of the French people at the prospect of war, and in the general agitation that prevailed, an opportunity for some fresh adventure. The work which he published just before this extraordinary enterprise was entitled *Idées Napoléoniennes*, and in it, amidst a variety of essays on various subjects, he seemed at the same time to embrace the principles of a republic, and to show how necessary it was that those principles should be organized and their executive represented by an imperial ruler, with the control of military power, for the purpose of protecting public liberties and maintaining order. What effect this manifesto might have had under different circumstances cannot easily be determined, but it is certain that the time for a successful appeal in favour of the restoration of the Bonapartes had not arrived when, on the 6th of July, 1840, he contrived, by means of one of his agents, to hire a steamboat from a London company. It was represented that this vessel, named the *Edinburgh Castle*, was intended for a pleasure party desiring to take a month's cruise. The price was £100 per week, and on the 4th of August horses, carriages, provisions, and arms were sent on board, after which a few of the confederates themselves embarked, others of their number joining them at Gravesend and at Margate. Their destination was Boulogne; and one of the remarkable preparations by which it was sought to influence the soldiers on landing is said to have been a tame eagle, the sight of which might kindle their enthusiasm. To many persons this strange adjunct (the existence of which has been asserted by those

whose evidence can scarcely be impugned) seemed but a part of the absurdity that was to end with disaster. It was regarded as a burlesque of imperial claims, and the adventurer was laughed at as a kind of mountebank.

There were many who knew him, and knew the peculiar temperament of the common soldiers and of the lower class of the French people, who were not so easily disposed to laugh.

There could be no doubt that Louis Napoleon was in earnest. He had become remarkable, even in society, for the grave and brooding expression which he habitually wore; for the reticent and almost foreboding tone of his remarks, on the rare occasions when he conversed with any but intimate companions.

Always pre-occupied, and professing the sort of fatalism which leads some men to regard themselves as the special instruments of divine providence for achieving great ends, he yet displayed a shrewdness and sagacity not altogether in accordance with the character of a fanatic. Those who knew him best shook their heads, but not with merriment, and he had succeeded in impressing many thoughtful people with a conviction that he had a mission to fulfil in France, which would one day be accomplished.

Such a conviction was rudely shaken when he and his followers landed near Boulogne, attired in the uniform of the 40th Regiment of the line. They were at once joined by Lieutenaut Aladenize, of the 42d Regiment, who accompanied them to the town barracks, and ordered out this regiment to the parade ground, to salute the nephew of the emperor, and march with him upon Paris. There was some consternation among the men — they were evidently not very enthusiastic, and the few followers of "Prince Louis," by which name they hailed him, were not likely to inspire them with confidence, although among those followers was Count Montholon, one of the attendants of the emperor in his exile. At that critical moment the officers of the regiment entered the barracks, and, sword in hand, attempted to force their way. The captain was at once seized and overpowered amidst cries of, "Vive Prince Louis!" to which he replied, "Where is Prince Louis? Let me see him." Louis Napoleon then came forward, and endeavoured to induce him to join the enterprise, but the captain refused to recognize in him any one but a conspirator, declaring that he was personally unknown to him. By that time other soldiers had appeared on the scene, and several of the officers at once assumed the command, crying, "They are deceiving you! Vive le roi!" Recalled to their duty, the troops drove the prince and his followers from the barracks. They retreated to the heights behind the town, and took up their position round the Napoleon Column, upon the top of which they contrived to plant a flag, but by that time the soldiers had been joined by the National Guard, and, advancing with fixed bayonets, drove the invaders before them. The latter endeavoured to escape in their boats, but the National Guard opened fire upon them; the boat was capsized, and the greater number of the party were taken prisoners. Louis Napoleon was tried by the Chamber of Peers, and sentenced to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Ham. Count Montholon shared his captivity.

The treaty which had been effected between the four European powers was put in execution, and Mehemet Ali was offered the choice of retaining Egypt as an hereditary pashalik, with the government of Acre during his own lifetime, on condition of his submitting within ten days. A delay of more than ten days would leave him no option but to retain Egypt alone, while, after twenty days, hostilities would at once be commenced against him. The pasha was obstinate to the last, and refused all terms; but the western powers had no intention to temporize, and when the time had expired the British commodore, Napier, with a large naval force, not only took possession of his fleet, but proceeded to bombard Beyrout, the French fleet having been ordered away from those waters. Paris was frantic at this intelligence. The ministry was denounced; the *Marseillaise* was called for and sung at the theatres at the command of the audience.

Even the men of the National Guard were disaffected, and drew up a protest, which was published in the journals. The king became alarmed; the ministry took measures that appeared to be warlike; large additions to the regular army were called for by an ordinance of the 29th September. These new forces would increase the strength of the regular troops to 636,000 men, and the defences of Paris were hastened with increasing alacrity. Still the people doubted, and the republican opposition treated these preparations with contempt. Few Parisians believed that the government intended to vindicate French claims. His majesty continued to depend on the ability and judgment of M. Thiers, on whom he believed all the popular censure would fall, as he had taken the initiative. He was mistaken, however, and the mistake nearly cost him his life, for, as he was driving from the Tuileries to St. Cloud, a man named Darmes fired at him with a carbine. The weapon burst; but the bullet with which it was charged struck a saw which was held by a stone-cutter on the other side of the street. The king began to believe that there was a widely organized system of secret societies which threatened both his throne and his life, and that repressive measures should be still more strenuously put in force. To this M. Thiers was averse; and to the suspicion and dislike of the revolutionists, who disbelieved in his intention to go to war, was added the opposition and reproaches of the court. It became necessary for him to resign his office, and the cabinet was once more dissolved. It was not easy to form another ministry. Having got rid of M. Thiers, the king was compelled to rely on one whom he disliked still more, and who had exhibited a more persistent opposition. On the 29th October, 1840, M. Guizot became minister of foreign affairs, with Marshal Soult still president of the council and minister of war, because of his influence with the army. It was a great opportunity for the exhibition of the statesmanship, oratory, and power of debate which Guizot undoubtedly possessed, and the time had come for him who had been regarded more as an historical professor and a theorist than a practical legislator to try his strength after others had failed. He remained minister of France until the revolution of 1848 brought the monarchy itself to an end.

His policy was pacific; and he at once set about conciliating the great powers by a more temperate course, and adopted a friendly relation towards England, in place of the menacing demonstrations which would have been more popular with the war party, which formed the opposition in the chamber. These demonstrations had injured the financial position of French securities, and new credits had been opened to the detriment of the exchequer. Guizot openly declared that he should accept the decision of the four other powers against the Viceroy of Egypt, without any material opposition from France. By that time hostilities had proceeded so far that both Beyrout and Saint Jean d'Acre were taken, and the British fleet was threatening to open fire on Alexandria. On the 27th of November Mehemet Ali signed a convention, by which he restored the Turkish fleet and relinquished possession of Syria on condition that the pashalik of Egypt should be guaranteed to him and his hereditary successors.

The question of the Paris fortifications was discussed with increased asperity. The workmen of the city and the inhabitants of the revolutionary faubourgs regarded the batteries, which were increasing day by day, as means for repressing their demonstrations and overawing the population in any attempt to assert their liberties. The shopkeeping class, the friends of order, who were sure to be injured by insurrection, were jealous of manifestations which would tend to make their support less valuable by placing the protecting power in the hands of the army, instead of the civilian volunteer force.

The majority of the people of France, however, were anxious to protect the capital from all probability of an attack from a foreign army; and the desire for war once aroused, found expression in demanding that the fortifications be completed. The king was eager to take the people at their word; the first minister was not averse to this kind of de-

monstration, which he would have been powerless effectually to oppose, and the fortifications were erected at a cost to the nation of about six milliards of francs.

The policy adopted by Guizot contributed so largely to the national prosperity, that in 1842 he found himself supported by the country as a popular minister, occupying an established position. Probably this was greatly due to a certain freedom of debate and the display of admirable oratory in the chamber, which was to some extent represented by a greater freedom of discussion and a better understanding of the political situation. Guizot was deeply interested in certain necessary measures for improving the internal condition of the country; but he seemed unable to recognize the general demand for parliamentary reform which then began to be earnestly expressed.[1]

We have already seen what were some of our complications in the East, and we may now for a moment return to them.

Ibrahim Pasha is a name which has nearly passed out of living memory; but in a former generation he was "a lively bird," and did plenty of both good and harm. When he was ill once his father sent him a large case of medicines; but this arriving just as Ibrahim felt a little better, he rejected it with disgust, and sent word, in the teeth of the Prophet, that he should like a case of champagne instead. He was somewhat of a favourite with the English. In 1839 began the fresh quarrels between Mehemet Ali and his ostensible master the Sultan of Turkey. Mehemet Ali, who, as we have seen, was not the man to stand any nonsense, declared himself for open fight, the battle-ground of the then present question being Syria. The old sultan responded by deposing the white-bearded but terrible pasha; and as the latter was just the man to make short work with his master and the Turkish empire when once his blood was up, he was closely watched by the governments of Western Europe. There still, the old superstition of the balance of power was as strong as that of the divine right of kings formerly used to be; and Turkey especially was thought of, as some people still think of it, as the great barrier to the advance of Russia, as it was called. Lord Palmerston was especially strong upon this point. The "five great powers," England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France, combined to try to keep Turkey on its legs. But Ibrahim Pasha defeated the old sultan; the latter died, and Abdul Medjid (a very intelligent and good-natured young man, who afterwards died nominally of consumption, really of dissipation as was believed) seemed placable; so that peace appeared not far off. Without going into detail it may be said that it was a dispute concerning the handing over of those Turkish ships which had been treacherously carried to Alexandria that led to an open and decided rupture. It was then that the "powers," or at least four of them as already mentioned (France being out of it), required Mehemet Ali to give up Syria and the ships. Mehemet Ali, the "bloody tyrant," temporized; Ibrahim Pasha was preparing vigorously for war; and in short, the Turkish empire seemed likely to have a good deal of work on its hands between Ali in Egypt and Ibrahim in Syria. Then it was that the British fleet, under the command of Sir Robert Stopford, was set to blockade Alexandria and the ports of Syria and bombard Beyrout. Lastly, Commodore Napier, with four steamships among others, bombarded the so-called impregnable fort of St. Jean d'Acre, and took it, or rather blew it up, in two days and something over. One of our shells fell upon a powder-magazine, and 2000 of the enemy were killed. Though the total loss in this senseless war was about 100,000 men, our own damage in the siege of St. Jean d'Acre was only 60 in killed and wounded. Turkey has cost Europe, and especially England, so much that she certainly ought to be a "barrier" against something or other.

Returning to our operations in India, we draw near to one of the most terrible episodes in the history of British warfare —one which burned itself into the memory

[1] *De Bonnechose* (Appendix).

of the generation during whose lifetime it occurred, and which bequeathed to our own a legacy of more or less confusion and disaster. We had set up Shah Sujah, who was no concern of ours, occupied the territory of Cabul as far as we could, and taken possession of the city bearing the same name. The Afghan chieftain, Dost Mohammed, had sought refuge in Bokhara, but, being there received with treachery, gave himself up to the British. But this did not improve our position with his people, and the other chiefs would neither be bought nor fought into submission. Then happened the death of Runjeet Singh, the "lion," and our army was in danger from the fury of the Sikhs. Major-general Elphinstone was old, and was wanting in the qualities of decision and promptitude which were necessary for a crisis of extreme danger. Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed, was intriguing and conspiring against us in the dark. Sir William Macnaghten, the civil envoy, was desirous to return to the British territory proper. Sir Alexander Burnes, upon whom the main responsibility of the Cabul enterprise has been laid, was not awake to the danger of the situation. And the officers, who had their wives and families with them, and were pretty comfortable in their Cabul cantonments, were not anxious for new adventures. As far as can now be judged, it seems as if the common soldiers took the most accurate measure of the difficulties of the case.

In October, 1841, General Sir Robert Sale started from Cabul in order to reach Jellalabad, on the road to our own territory; but between Cabul and Jellalabad there were mountain passes to be threaded, and the winter was upon them. The tribes had risen, under the command of Akbar Khan, and early in November there was a rising in Cabul itself. Burnes, Macnaghten, and some other officers were treacherously murdered—Macnaghten by the hand of Akbar Khan. Desperate indeed was the position of our troops, at a distance from their cantonments now, badly fortified, and without any store of provisions. Applications for help were despatched to General Sale, who had, after much fighting with the Afghans, reached Jellalabad, and to General Nott, who was at Candahar; but neither could reach out a hand to their brethren.

After negotiations with Akbar Khan, in which the British lost some prestige and wasted time, it was resolved to force the Khyber Pass and to carry away the women and children; but large sums were paid to the treacherous Akbar for escort or promises of escort. On the 6th of January, 1842, began this terrible retreat. Including 2800 native soldiers there were about 4500 fighting men, with six guns, and a terrible train of about 12,000 camp-followers, including women. It was the depth of winter; the troops were in every way ill furnished; the way lay across a river, which had to be bridged, along wild heaths and rugged mountains. The promises of escort were broken, and the march was harassed by hostile tribes who guessed only too well what would be most gratifying to Akbar Khan. It was said among the troops that he had sworn that only one British soldier should get through the Khyber Pass alive, and that that one would be set down on our territory with his hands chopped off, and a letter in his teeth warning the infidel never again to enter the Afghan territory.

In the first day of this dreadful march through the snow only five weary miles were got through. Looking back towards Cabul, our troops could see the flames of the burning cantonments behind them, in which there was only too much reason to believe the sick, who had been left behind, were consumed. When the retreating multitude bivouacked in the snow for the first night there was not food for more than a third of their number. The tents were mere rags of canvas, and the scene of confusion—white men, dark men, and camels huddled together, with children crying, women moaning, and the wounded crying out—was indescribably horrible. When morning broke it was found that large numbers were dead, and there, on the snow, their dead bodies were left. Lady Sale, Lady Macnaghten, and other ladies were no better off than the rest; one of them was near her confinement, and one had an infant at the breast.

The next day only four miles of progress were made, but at nightfall Akbar made his appearance, and again opened negotiations with the too easy Elphinstone, with fresh promises of safe-conduct, and stipulations of the most wily kind. On the third day the Pass of Khoord-Cabul was entered for the Khyber Pass. Here were two ranges of mountains from 6000 to 8000 feet high, between which, for six miles, were half-frozen torrents to be forded. The snow lay three feet deep; the pass or gorge that lay between these mountains was about six miles long; and behind every peak or ledge lurked a native sharp-shooter, who picked out at leisure the wretched harassed soldiers of the remnant of our troops—three or four thousand of whom had already perished. To fire back again was idle, and there was scarcely an able-bodied man now in the whole mass; some were frost-bitten, some were badly wounded; all were half-starved; but all behaved well, including the native troops.

No sooner had the advanced portion of this unlucky band got fairly into the defile than the firing from the crags above became swift and murderous. Lady Sale—whose husband was, as we have seen, in Jellalabad—pushed forward as fast as she could, and urged others to follow her example. She was saved; but the hail of rifle-balls became swifter and sharper, and as the mass moved forward through these narrow gorges, men, women, and children fell down wounded, to die, till at last the mouth of the pass in front was nearly choked with the doomed or the dead. The stream was fairly blocked with them, the blood-stained water overflowing the bank. The wife of an officer, who had a baby in her arms, missed her horse, and had to stumble on foot along the perilous way, the icicles hanging from her wretched rags, and Afghan bullets whistling around her and her child like hailstones. She escaped. The efforts of our men to hit back had but little result; and when the devoted procession drew near to the end of the pass, and the British territory lay near at hand, one regiment of 600 men had been reduced to about 90, and numbers of the starving, freezing, wounded fugitives lay down to die.

In the meanwhile the treacherous Akbar had again shown himself, and had again made proposals. Lady Sale was wounded, and she, with the other women, the children, and Elphinstone were taken back to Cabul in the custody of Akbar. By the end of the fourth day of this retreat only twelve men out of 26,000 were left alive. On the seventh day, the 13th of January, 1842, the sole survivor, Dr. Brydon, rode half dead on a half dead pony into Jellalabad. It was a happy thing for Elphinstone that he died. His mistake was not pushing forward as fast as possible to Jellalabad, and this was so keenly understood in the army of Cabul that some of our men had deserted and made off for themselves.

The news that the army of Cabul had practically disappeared from the face of the earth came like a thunderbolt on Lord Auckland, whose successor, Lord Ellenborough, was at hand. Lord Auckland had hoped to signalize the close of his administration by the conquest of Afghanistan, and the disappointment was indeed heavy. His last act was the appointment of General Pollock to the command of an expedition whose object was to retrieve this disaster, punish the Afghans, and force the Khyber Pass in order to relieve General Sale, who still held Jellalabad, though against fearful odds. But—and here, for some details, we will be indebted to a contemporary record—Lord Auckland, unwilling to commit his successor to a task which had already proved too strong for his own energies, was inclined to listen to the advocates of retreat, and though the news of the annihilation of the army of Cabul roused him for the moment into a proclamation that the awful calamity was but "a new occasion for displaying the stability and vigour of the British power, and the admirable spirit and valour of the British-Indian army," he quickly followed it by an intimation that when Sale and Nott had been relieved it were better that the British troops should withdraw to Peshawur. Still fresh forces were to be raised, and a fine soldier was to head them. The offer had been first made to Major-general Lumley, adjutant-general in India; but Lumley's health forbade him to accept so important a post, and Lord Auck-

land's choice—a choice as popular as it was judicious—finally fell upon Pollock, a distinguished officer of the Company's service, who had seen fighting under Lake and Wellington, and wherever, indeed, it was to be seen since the year 1803, when he had first landed in India, a young lieutenant of artillery. Pollock hastened up to his command without a moment's delay, but before he could reach Peshawur our troops had suffered yet another repulse.

Mr. Robertson, lieutenant-governor of the north-western frontier, and George Clerk, had counselled from the first prompt measures, not of retreat, but of reprisal. At their earnest request Colonel Wild had been moved up to Peshawur with four native Indian regiments, the 30th, 53d, 60th, and 64th, but without guns. It was supposed he could procure them from the Sikhs, and with a great deal of trouble he did manage to procure four rickety guns, which seemed likely to do as much harm to his own men as to the enemy, and one of which broke down the next day on trial. Reinforcements were coming up, which it was probable would contain artillery; but Wild did not dare to wait. His sepoys were anxious to advance; the loyalty of the Sikhs was doubtful, and he feared the contamination might spread. On January 15th he commenced operations.

The key of the Khyber Pass is the fortress of Ali Musjid, occupying a strong position some five miles down the pass, and about twenty-five from Peshawur. It had been recently held by some loyal natives under an English officer, but, straitened for provisions, and hard pressed by the Khyberees, it was doubtful whether the brave little garrison could hold out much longer, and on the night of the 15th two regiments were despatched with a goodly supply of bullocks to its relief. The fort was occupied without loss, but the bullocks, save some fifty or sixty, had meanwhile disappeared, and there were now more mouths to feed and less wherewith to feed them. Wild was to have followed with the other two regiments, his Sikh guns and Sikh allies, on the 19th; but when the time came the latter turned their backs on the Khyber, and to a man marched back to Peshawur. The sepoys met the enemy at the mouth of the pass, but the spirit of disaffection seemed to have spread. After an irresolute and aimless volley they halted in confusion; in vain Wild and his officers called on them to advance, not a man moved, the guns broke down, and one of them, despite the gallant efforts of Henry Lawrence, had to be abandoned. One of our officers was killed, and Wild himself, with several more, were wounded; the retreat was sounded, and the column fell back on Jumrood. The brave men who held the fort had soon to follow their example, for they had no provisions, and the water was poisonous. On the 23rd they evacuated their position, and after a short struggle made their way back to their comrades. Such was the state of affairs Pollock found on his arrival at Peshawur.

Despite urgent appeals from Sale at Jellalabad, the general saw that an immediate advance was impossible. The *morale* of the defeated sepoys had fallen very low; the hospitals were crowded with sick and wounded, and there was still an insufficiency of guns. Reinforcements of British dragoons and British artillery were pressing up from the Punjab, and Pollock decided to wait till he could make certain of success. He decided well; and in the meantime visited the hospitals daily, cheering the sick, and reanimating the wavering and disheartened sepoys. On March 30th the reinforcements arrived, and orders were issued for the advance.

The narrative of Mr. Mowbray Morris, which we are adopting for the moment, is so clear, and, while brief, so full of detail upon these passages in the story that it will be well to follow it a little farther still. At three o'clock in the morning of the 5th of April, then, the army moved off from Jumrood for the mouth of the pass. It was divided into three columns, two of which were to crown the heights on either side, while the third, when the hills had been sufficiently cleared, was to advance through the gorge; each column was composed of a mixed force of Europeans and sepoys. Four squadrons of dragoons and eleven pieces of artillery accom-

panied the centre column. A huge barricade of mud, stones, and trunks of trees had been thrown across the mouth of the pass by the enemy, while the heights on both sides swarmed with the wild hill-tribes. So quietly, however, did our flanking column advance, that they were half-way up the heights before the enemy became aware of the movement. From peak to peak our men, English as well as sepoys, clambered, as agile as the mountaineers themselves, pouring from every spot of vantage a steady and well-directed fire on the disconcerted Khyberees, who had never dreamed that "the white-faced infidels" could prove more than a match for them in their own fastnesses. Then Pollock with the main column advanced. The Afghans, finding themselves out-flanked on either side, gradually withdrew; the barricade at the mouth of the pass was removed without loss, and the huge line of soldiers, camp-followers, and baggage-wagons passed unopposed on its victorious way to Jellalabad. The dreaded Khyber Pass had been forced with but little loss of life, and the Afghans beaten at their own tactics. On the 16th Jellalabad was reached. With what intense delight Sale's noble brigade descried once more from their walls the advancing colours of a friendly force may be imagined. For five months that little band had resisted every invitation to surrender, and had beaten back every assault. In February the fortifications that had been raised and strengthened by Broadfoot with infinite labour were destroyed by an earthquake; and at that very time they learned that Akbar Khan was advancing on them. The works, however, were restored, and in a dashing sortie the Afghan chief, with the flower of the Barukzye horse, was driven from his position without the loss of a single man to the garrison.

All this is refreshing after the terrible and wasteful slaughter of which we have just been reading, but the narrative is not finished yet: "A few days before Pollock arrived a still more daring enterprise had been attempted. On April 5th another sortie in force was sent out under Dennie, Monteith, and Havelock, which bore down on the Afghan camp, and sent Akbar Khan flying with his six thousand men far away in the direction of Lughman—a dashing exploit, and a complete victory, but dearly won, for it was won at the cost of the gallant Dennie. The meeting between the two armies was, wrote Pollock, "a sight worth seeing;" according to Mr. Gleig, the band of the 13th went out to play the relieving force in, and the entry was performed to the tune of, "Oh, but ye've been lang o' coming."

The name of Lord Ellenborough is associated in living memory with a few speeches of an order of eloquence which was hardly parliamentary; and also with "the Gates of Somnauth" business, which was the subject of endless ridicule at the time. When his lordship first reached India, as the successor of Lord Auckland, it is said that his mind was not clearly made up as to the policy he should pursue. To wipe out the humiliation of our reverses at Cabul, and restore to the full the prestige of our arms, was naturally an object of ambition with him; but Shah Sujah had been murdered, and there were reasons why the return of Dost Mohammed to his old position might seem desirable. The force that had been sent to relieve Nott at Candahar had failed to reach the place, and Ghuznee had fallen. In this case it was not the governor-general, but Outram, Pollock, and Nott, whose influence carried the day. These military authorities were all for a forward movement, and they were left pretty much to their own judgment. The result proved that they were right so far as success to our arms was concerned. General Nott had now been relieved at Candahar, and he resolved to make his way back to India proper by way of Ghuznee and Cabul. Meanwhile General Pollock, with about 8000 men, set forward from Jellalabad for the Khoord-Cabul Pass and was victorious. His method of warfare was similar to that which had been so successful in clearing the Khyber heights and gorges, and he now forced the Khoord-Cabul Pass with but little difficulty. After this Akbar Khan made a desperate stand with 16,000 men, but was routed. General Sale led the first column, and the work was done almost entirely at the bayonet's point. Akbar Khan fled; our flag was planted on the heights, and

on the 15th of September Pollock reached Cabul. Here in a day or two he was joined by General Nott, and Ghuznee was taken. Before evacuating Cabul the British blew up, unnecessarily, the citadel and some portions of the city which were said to have been built in the reign of Aurungzebe; while, to please Lord Ellenborough, who insisted upon it, the great sandal-wood gates of Somnauth, which had been carried to Ghuznee by Mohammed nearly a thousand years before, were carried off as a trophy. Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation congratulating the Hindus on the recovery of these sacred gates, and while the inflated tone of this proclamation gave offence to sober men of all classes at home, it was regarded by large numbers of "the religious bodies" as indirectly flattering the idolatrous superstitions of the "natives." For a long while it was a standing topic of caricature in this country.

The effect upon the surrounding tribes of seeing the British troops in large numbers in possession of the Afghan capital was very marked. But there were still our hostages to be looked after—Elphinstone, Lady Sale, the others, whom Akbar Khan had undertaken to hold harmless when he promised that safe-conduct which came to nothing. These hostages had been sent off by Akbar Khan from Cabul in charge of one Saleh Mohammed, whose instructions were to carry them into Turkestan and dispose of them as slaves. For a large bribe, promised by Lawrence and Pottinger, the excellent Saleh Mohammed set them free; and it was not long before, after nine months of terror, Lady Sale and most of the other captives entered the camp of General Sale, not altogether fresh, but well enough not to be knocked down by the welcoming cheers of the soldiers and the thunder of the saluting guns. Lady Sale brought with her one new thing—a little baby that had not been in existence when she was intrusted to the Afghan chieftain. Elphinstone had died.

Before the British evacuated Cabul, in which the corpse of poor Macnaghten, mutilated as it was, had been publicly exposed to the insults of his and our enemies, the bazaar which had been the scene of this horrible transaction was burned to the ground by order of Pollock.

Many striking features in this story have necessarily been omitted from this sketch, and some names which as well deserve to be remembered; on our own side as those of Conolly and Dennie; or on the other side a Ghilzye "brave," who will be remembered as having figured in the records of the time as "the Gooroo." It should be said for the unfortunate Elphinstone that he was a brave and experienced soldier, who had distinguished himself under Wellington, and wore the Waterloo medal; but he was now in very bad health, and was altogether unfit for the post he filled. It has been maintained on high authority, that of Mr. J. W. Kaye included, that jealousy, in the most restricted sense of the word, had a considerable share in the vindictive feelings manifested by the Afghans towards the British. These tribes treat their women well, and are very strict in their notions of domestic morality; but it is said that the general attractions and the gold of our officers proved too much for the Afghan ladies. Into the story of the "commercial mission" of "Bokhara Burnes," a mission which soon assumed a hybrid character, and entangled us in ways which led finally to the Dost Mohammed squabble, it would have been tedious to enter. But the end of the whole miserable business was that Dost Mohammed and Akbar Khan were in their old places almost before our army of retribution had settled down to its place in Hindostan, and that we left the Afghans just where they were, except that we left them with an unappeasable grudge against us.

We cannot yet leave the peninsula; but we have a much pleasanter subject in Scinde or Sinde and Sir Charles Napier. He was one of three very remarkable brothers (as need hardly be said), all soldiers, and all men of extraordinary bravery and administrative ability, to say nothing of other accomplishments. It has been pointed out more than once that their lineage and collateral relationships were as remarkable as the men themselves, including, as those did, Henry IV. of France, Charles II., the Duke of Richmond, Charles James Fox,

logarithm Napier, and the great Duke of Montrose. Nor is that all—the three Napiers, William, George, and Charles, were known as Wellington's colonels, and had borne more wounds than anybody could well remember, unless he was great at figures. The mother of these magnificent fellows was, when Lady Sarah Lennox, the betrothed of George III., and was understood to have been very much attached to him. There were two other brothers, also remarkable men (Henry and Richard), but our concern now is only with Charles, the conqueror and governor of Scinde.

Scinde, as a glance at the map will show, lies at the extreme west of our present territories. The population is mixed, great part of it being warlike; a few are Afghans, and most of them Mohammedans. They had had commercial relations with the British, and it was only upon the commencement of the Afghan war that the question of annexing Scinde arose. In 1838 it was thought advisable by the British to occupy a place called Shikarpoor, and perhaps two of the ameers of Scinde were not well treated. Some of the people resented our conduct, and at last struck the first blow in open war. Sir Charles James Napier then marched against them, and early in 1843 fought the decisive battle of Meanee. Scinde was conquered, and the "Devil's Brother" governed it in the most admirable way. This name was given to Charles James by certain robber tribes whom he certainly gave good reason to fear him. The whole thing was, like nearly all the Napiers did, a splendid success.

Under the influence of various causes, the extension of sound principles of commerce being among them, our treatment of our colonies began early in the reign of Queen Victoria to assume new colours. This was largely due in practice to the personal activity of the philosophical school of Liberal politicians, as has already been mentioned.

Great Britain has not a more interesting colony than New Zealand; the climate, the natural products, and the physical and mental qualities of the natives, all conspiring to make the islands conspicuous. New Zealand was discovered by Tasman as long ago as the year 1642, and, as is known to every schoolboy, was more than once visited by Captain Cook about 1770. From the time of the settlement of Port Jackson in New South Wales, the harbours of New Zealand began to be visited by British and American vessels, and eventually a trade in flax sprang up. The history of New Zealand flax is not yet ended, or likely to be. Meanwhile, events took the usual course. British adventurers of various kinds went and "squatted" on the coasts, and married native women. Then came more or less stable alliances with native chiefs, and the acquisition by Englishmen of land by processes more or less equitable, more or less definite. Of course so fine a country—a country inhabited, too, by a fine, intelligent, and teachable race of men, was not overlooked by the missionaries, who, from about 1813 onwards, laboured in their usual way among the natives, and sometimes interfered for their protection, or softened the ferocity of conflicts that arose.

It was not, however, till 1833, that the British government sent out a consul or resident officer to New Zealand, and even then no sovereignty or even suzerainty was claimed —we were still adventurers and settlers on sufferance more or less. Of course the inevitable fire-water and the inevitable firearms played a part in what went forward, and the simple though not silly natives were found willing to part with considerable tracts of land for guns, knives, hatchets, and the like. In 1840 it was thought high time for England to interfere; a lieutenant-governor was sent out; and a treaty was made with the New Zealand chiefs, by which the queen of this country was recognized as sovereign; but the chiefs were left in possession of all the unsold land; a simple preferential right of purchase being reserved to the crown.

New Zealand was now a British colony, and the seat of government was then, as it is now, at Auckland. But it was some time before all went smoothly. For some years previously the New Zealand Company had been trafficking in land with the natives, and, it was contended, with results unjust to them, and hazardous to our general rights, and the rights of

others fairly acquired. Between the years 1843 and 1847 there was much conflict between the natives, who were a most energetic and warlike race, and the British, and it was not until 1852, when the New Zealand Company ceded all their "rights" to the crown for £270,000, that something like peace was arrived at. It must be borne in mind that the Maoris were strong, brave, and keen-witted, and capable of great endurance; and they proved most intractable and unsparing foes. The trouble they gave to our troops, and the consequent discussions at home, have by no means faded out of living memory. Sir George Grey, the governor, has given to the world a most interesting account of some of his difficulties in dealing with the chiefs. One of them would never have occurred spontaneously to a stranger; it lay in the fact that, in discussions with the British, the Maoris frequently clothed their statements or arguments in forms taken from native legends to which Sir George Grey was an utter stranger. Hence one of the most delightful books in our language, the *Polynesian Mythology*. With a few of Sir George Grey's explanations much abbreviated, we will for the present pass from New Zealand. "In the year 1845," says Sir George Grey, "I was suddenly and unexpectedly required by the British government to administer the affairs of New Zealand, and shortly afterwards received the appointment of governor-in-chief of those islands. When I arrived in them I found her majesty's native subjects engaged in hostilities with the queen's troops, against whom they had up to that time contended with considerable success; so much discontent also prevailed generally amongst the native population that where disturbances had not yet taken place, there was too much reason to apprehend they would soon break out, as they shortly afterwards did in several parts of the islands.

"I soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted. In order to redress their grievances and apply remedies which would neither wound their feelings nor militate against their prejudices, it was necessary that I should be able thoroughly to understand their complaints; and to win their confidence and regard it was also requisite that I should be able at all times, and in all places, patiently to listen to the tales of their wrongs or sufferings, and even if I could not assist them, to give a kind reply, couched in such terms as should leave no doubt on their minds that I clearly understood and felt for them, and was well disposed towards them.

"Although furnished with some very able interpreters, who gave me assistance of the most friendly nature, I soon found that even with their aid I could still only imperfectly perform my duties.

"I had on several occasions reasons to believe that a native hesitated to state facts or to express feelings and wishes to an interpreter, which he would gladly have done to the governor, could he have addressed him direct.

"These reasons, and others of equal force, made me feel it to be my duty to make myself acquainted, with the least possible delay, with the language of the New Zealanders, as also with their manners, customs, and prejudices.

"Soon, however, a new and quite unexpected difficulty presented itself. On the side of the rebel party were engaged, either openly or covertly, some of the oldest, least civilized, and most influential chiefs in the islands. With them I had, either personally or by written communication, to discuss questions which involved peace or war, and on which the whole future of the islands and of the native race depended, so that it was in the highest degree essential that I should fully and entirely comprehend their thoughts and intentions, and that they should not in any way misunderstand the nature of the engagements into which I had entered with them.

"To my surprise, however, I found that these chiefs, either in their speeches to me or in their letters, frequently quoted, in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments

of ancient poems or proverbs, or made allusions which rested on an ancient system of mythology; and although it was clear that the most important parts of their communications were embodied in these figurative forms, the interpreters were quite at fault, they could then rarely (if ever) translate the poems or explain the allusions."

The publication of the *Polynesian Mythology* by Sir George Grey produced in this country an effect which was not at all to be measured by the mere circulation of the volume. The extreme beauty of many of the stories (one of which is popular all over the world, the legend of *Hine-Moa*) went to the hearts of those who obtained through newspapers or magazines even brief glimpses of them; and those Englishmen who had all along been pleading for "the salvage men," and condemned our policy among them, felt their case much strengthened.

It may be mentioned in parenthesis that in 1841 a new power, to which reference has just been made, had entered that arena of "public opinion" with which philosophers make so merry. This was *Punch*, which was then a much more democratic organ than it in later years became. Those were the days in which there was a kind of magic in the words "the people;" and Jerrold was the leading spirit of the new venture. He was, of course, an out-and-out "people" man. Poets of the stamp of Dr. Mackay ("There's a good time coming, boys!") and Eliza Cook were the lyrists of the day, and the Howitts, Southwood Smiths, Charles Knights, Arnotts, and what-not were preaching, as a final thing, that gospel of peaceful civilization which flourished till the time of the Crimean war. There was, however, one writer in *Punch* whose verse proved a real power — namely, Thomas Hood, whose "Song of the Shirt" produced an extraordinary sensation, and did more good than many a "society" for benevolent purposes has accomplished in the whole course of its existence. It proved, in fact, to be the battle-song of a new warfare. Hood was a man who really felt for and with the poor. In 1844, when his health had begun to improve, he underwent a sad relapse, partly if not mainly through what he suffered for the sake of young Gifford White, who had been sentenced to transportation for life for writing a threatening letter to the farmers at Bluntisham. In *Hood's Magazine* he wrote, on White's behalf, his "Lay of the Labourer;" and a powerful appeal to Sir James Graham for the poor convict. "I see that poor creature all night through," said Hood. It was a severe blow to Hood that Sir James Graham took no notice of his passionate pleading in this case. But probably the poet had never looked the big bold "Knight of Netherby" in the face. Scotchmen who remember, as many Scotchmen must, his high-handed dealings with them in the great kirk controversy, will not be apt to think he was a man "easy to be entreated."

One of the subjects that attracted much attention during these years, both inside the walls of St. Stephen's and outside, was the infamous truck system. The head of the Young England party, seizing upon a real incident (the death of a child in a tommy-shop rush), has put into a few graphic passages the essence of many debates and blue-books:—

The door of Mr. Diggs's tommy-shop opened. The rush was like the advance into the pit of a theatre when the drama existed; pushing, squeezing, fighting, tearing, shrieking. On a high seat guarded by rails from all contact sat Mr. Diggs, senior, with a bland smile on his sanctified countenance, a pen behind his ear, and recommending his constrained customers in honeyed tones to be patient and orderly. Behind the substantial counter, which was an impregnable fortification, was his popular son, Master Joseph, a short ill-favoured cur, with a spirit of vulgar oppression and malicious mischief stamped on his visage. His black, greasy, lank hair, his pug-nose, his coarse red face, and his projecting tusks contrasted with the mild and lengthened countenance of his father, who looked very much like a wolf in sheep's clothing.

For the first five minutes Master Joseph Diggs did nothing but blaspheme and swear

at his customers, occasionally leaning over the counter and cuffing the women in the van or lugging some girl by the hair.

"I was first, Master Joseph," said a woman eagerly.

"No, I was," said another.

"I was here," said the first, "as the clock struck four, and seated myself on the steps, because I must be home early; my husband is hurt in the knee."

"If you were first you shall be helped last," said Master Joseph, "to reward you for your pains;" and he began taking the orders of the other women.

"O! Lord have mercy on me!" said the disappointed woman; "and I got up in the middle of the night for this!"

"More fool you! And what you came for I am sure I don't know," said Master Joseph, "for you have a pretty long figure against you, I can tell you that."

"I declare most solemnly," said the woman.

"Don't make a brawling here," said Master Joseph, "or I'll jump over this here counter and knock you down, like nothing. What did you say, woman? are you deaf? What did you say? how much tea do you want?"

"I don't want any, sir."

"You never want best tea; you must take three ounces of best tea, or you sha'n't have nothing. If you say another word I'll put you down four. You tall gal what's your name, you keep back there or I'll fetch you such a cut as 'll keep you at home till next reckoning. Cuss you, you old fool, do you think I am to be kept all day while you are mumbling here? Who's pushing on there? I see you, Mrs. Page. Won't there be a black mark against you! Oh! it's Mrs. Prance, is it? Father, put down Mrs. Prance for a peck of flour, I'll have orders here. You think the last bacon a little too fat; oh! you do, ma'am, do you? I'll take care you sha'n't complain in futur'. I like to please my customers. There's a very nice flitch hanging up in the engine-room; the men wanted some rust for the machinery; you shall have a slice of that; and we'll say tenpence a pound, high-dried, and wery lean—will that satisfy you?"

"Order there, order; you cussed women, order, or I'll be among you. And if I just do jump over this here counter, won't I let fly right and left? Speak out you idiot! do you think I can hear your muttering in this babel? Cuss them, I'll keep them quiet," and so he took up a yard measure, and leaning over the counter, hit right and left.

"Oh, you little monster!" exclaimed a woman, "you have put out my babby's eye."

There was a murmur; almost a groan. "Whose baby's hurt?" asked Master Joseph in a softened tone.

"Mine, sir," said an indignant voice, "Mary Church."

"Oh! Mary Church, is it?" said the malicious imp; "then I'll put Mary Church down for half a pound of best arrowroot; that's the finest thing in the world for babbies, and will cure you of bringing your cussed monkeys here, as if you all thought our shop was a hinfant school.

"Where's your book, Susan Travers? Left at home? Then you may go and fetch it. No books, no tommy. You are Jones's wife, are you? Tickets for three and sixpence out of eighteen shillings wages. Is this the only ticket you have brought? There's your money; and you may tell your husband he need not take his coat off again to go down our shaft. He must think us cussed fools. Tell him I hope he has got plenty of money to travel into Wales, for he won't have no more work in England again, or my name ain't Diggs. Who's pushing there? I'll be among you. I'll close the shop. If I do get hold of any of you cussed women you sha'n't forget it. If anybody will tell me who is pushing there they shall have their bacon for sevenpence. Leagued together, eh? Then everybody shall have their bacon for tenpence. Two can play at that. Push again, and I'll be among you," said the infuriated little tyrant. But the waving of the multitude, impatient, and annoyed by the weather, was not to be stilled; the movement could not be regulated; the shop was in commotion; and Master Joseph Diggs, losing all patience, jumped on the counter, and amid the shrieks of the women sprang into the crowd. Two women fainted, others cried for their bonnets, others bemoaned

their aprons; nothing, however, deterred Diggs, who kicked, and cuffed, and cursed in every quarter, and gave none. At last there was a general scream of horror, and a cry of, "A boy killed!" It was the little boy who, sent to get a loaf for his mother, had complained before the shop was opened of his fainting energies. He had fallen in the fray, and was smothered.

This is only one of many scenes which Mr. Disraeli assures us were drawn from personal observation. The truck system was not confined to the manufacturing districts, but it was in those parts that it most readily lent itself to the pencil of an artist like the politician and novelist who came eventually to be Earl of Beaconsfield.

There was not an impulse of a distinctly humane order which did not derive fresh strength from this fact, that a woman, and that woman young, was now at the head of the state. There was visible a strong tendency to mitigate the severities of criminal discipline. Repeated motions were made by Liberal members of the House of Commons for abolishing flogging in the army and navy, the indefatigable Joseph Hume being one of the foremost in this work. Special attention had been called to the subject by the fact that a private soldier, whose name need not now be mentioned, but who was a man of marked ability and of great use as a writer in the Anti-corn-law movement, was, during the heat of the Reform Bill agitation, severely flogged by a Tory officer without just cause—the reason assigned being a breach of discipline, but the actual reason being beyond doubt political hatred, which was only too glad to find a pretext for inflicting an outrageously severe flogging. The subject of the abolition of the punishment of death, either entirely, or in great part, was, from the year 1830 especially, seldom allowed to sleep for any long time together. As the history of this subject has partly faded out of general recollection, a few reminiscences of it are desirable in any sketch of recent progress.

The society for bringing about the Abolition of Capital Punishment had been founded as long ago as 1828, under the patronage of the Duke of Sussex. Among the promoters were the ever-active Quaker philanthropist William Allen, Sir Fowell Buxton, and no less strenuous a jurist and moralist than Dr. Lushington. In the year 1830, a petition was presented to the House of Commons by Henry Brougham, which contained this clause: "That your petitioners find by experience that the infliction of death, or even the possibility of it, prevents the prosecution, conviction, and punishment of the criminal, and thus endangers the property which it is intended to protect." This petition was largely signed by bankers, and the punishment of death for forgery was, as is well known, abolished. The statistics of the case, as given in reports of royal commissions and elsewhere, are remarkable. In 1831, the number of capital sentences passed was 1601. In 1833 it was 931; in 1834 it was only 480. In 1835, it was 523; while it was only 438 in the year 1837. In 1838 the figures are 116; in 1839 only 54. In the years from 1812 to 1818, there were in England 91 executions, while from 1836 to 1842 the number was but 50. In Scotland the decline was still more remarkable, taking nearly the same years as points of comparison.

Of course this is not the place in which to discuss so large a question as that of the total abolition of capital punishments, and these details are quoted merely in illustration of the general remark that a strong current in favour of the more humane treatment of criminals had now set in. It has already been noticed that while Lord John Russell's bill for reducing the number of "capital" crimes was under consideration in committee in the spring of 1837, Mr. William Ewart moved that the penalty of death should thenceforward be confined to the single case of deliberate murder. This was rejected by a majority of one. But, as we have seen, when the measure came in due course before the House of Lords, Lord Brougham declared himself in favour of the principle of Mr. Ewart's amendment, adding that he was by no means sure that it was expedient to punish even murder by the infliction of the capital penalty.

But there was more than humane feeling at work in the public mind during these fruitful years. An idea which was, though not in any sense new, at practical variance with the leading principles of the *laissez-faire* or let-alone party, was making itself felt in the discussion of social questions. This idea was, that the state was not free to treat the criminal as if the community had no responsibility in the matter beyond that of punishing him for the protection of others. This, also, is a topic which is not adapted for discussion in these pages; our duty is confined to recording the fact that the idea in question now became increasingly prominent. We begin from this time to hear more and more of social science, of education as a prevention of crime, and of the reform (as well as the punishment) of wrong-doers. Scarcely any social topic of recent times has led to more heated discussions, or thrown up more vividly the dividing-lines between different schools of opinion in politics. To this day it is the same, and in the very latest debates upon the condition of flogging in the army and navy we may notice that it is possible to tick off on purely *political* grounds the advocates and the opponents of flogging name by name in the division lists.

In the evidence given before committees on imports, and similar tribunals of inquiry, the student of the first decade of the queen's reign alights upon facts which at first rather surprise him. For example, the consumption of coffee and cocoa (especially coffee) being in question, we discover that in the provision which great cities like London afford for the refreshment of the poor, especially working men, the year 1880 is not so much in advance of the year 1840 as might be supposed. In the year 1840 there were coffee-houses in London, at which from 700 to 800 cups of coffee were sold in a day at a penny a cup. Mr. Pamphilon—a name that is historical in this connection—charged three halfpence a cup, and served from 1500 to 1600 persons a day. At one coffee-shop in London we read with astonishment that there were forty-three London daily papers taken in, seven county papers, six foreign papers, twenty-four monthly magazines, four of the greater reviews, and eleven weekly magazines. At one house in St. Giles's, which was resorted to by about 800 working-men a day, the fare and the accommodation (including nine daily papers) were quite as good as anything to be obtained now for similar charges, if not (in the most important particulars) better. In the evidence given before these commissions and committees, too, we find exactly the same discussions as those which are so familiar to us at the present time with regard to diminishing the temptations to "drink," and the "moral" value of such houses of refreshment to working-men.

A great increase of attention to the class of questions that we now call "sanitary," has already been noted as one of the characteristics of the new era. The evil of burying the dead in the midst of the habitations of the living was one of the topics which in this connection led to much discussion and large plans of action. The discussions arose not upon the main issue, but upon subsequent points of policy. It was allowed on all hands that the air of inhabited districts ought not to be poisoned by exhalations from decomposing corpses, but the question what was to be done with the dead still remained open. The propriety of burning them was maintained by many. One gentleman proposed the erection of monster pyramids by way of cemeteries. But the plan of rural or semi-rural cemeteries, such as we now know them, or at least remember them, prevailed. This was the scheme which carried the least shock to the feelings with it. There was much opposition in certain quarters to any plan which would take the dead from under the shadow of the church wall, and the poetic feeling underneath this opposition was much more than excusable; but fact and common sense prevailed. Some of the most beautiful spots near London were selected to begin with; but those who can remember Highgate and Norwood cemeteries in those days, and who know them now, will not be able to refrain from a melancholy smile when they reflect how the obvious prophecies of forty years ago have been fulfilled—the

suburban cemeteries being now little better than monster churchyards surrounded by houses.

We will now continue to trace the course of those events in parliament and the country which represents the continuous narrative of legislative progress. The first debate in the new parliament of 1842 was listened to with intense anxiety. The condition of the country was such that legislative relief was eagerly looked for. The cry for the remission of the tax on foreign corn was growing in intensity and volume, and 994 petitions in favour of a repeal of the corn-laws had already been presented. The House of Commons was crowded; six hundred anti-corn-law delegates who had been refused admission to the lobbies stood outside the building exhorting members as they arrived to vote for complete repeal and against the sliding-scale. They marched up Parliament Street, met Sir Robert Peel as he drove to the house, and renewed their cries for the removal of the duty on food. The prime minister was very grave, very anxious, but he clung to the theories by which he had defended the protection of English-grown corn, and he would not at once abandon them. But there were those present who thought they detected in his manner an uncertainty of purpose and a want of reliance on the general statements by which he supported his propositions, such as the declaration that in ordinary years there was enough or nearly enough of home-grown corn, and that it was only on extraordinary occasions that we had to resort to foreigners for any considerable quantity of food. The explanation of the government scheme was lucid and complete, but the arguments by which it was supported only convinced some of those who were opposed to them that the scheme itself was a compromise. The cheers of the agricultural party on finding that they were not to be deprived of the protection of a tax on foreign grain were scarcely more pronounced than the derisive shouts of the opposition, which were repeated by the crowd outside the house when it was found that only a reduction of the duty was contemplated, and that the sliding-scale still maintained a very considerable tax on the staple food of the country. The ministerial plan preserved the principle of varying the corn duty inversely with the price of corn in the market, to be calculated by the system of averages which was already in operation, and had been the basis of the scheme for the commutation of tithes. Against the representation that the sliding-scale offered inducements to dealers to hold back supplies and so force up the price for the purpose of escaping the higher duty in times of plenty, it was said that by the alterations proposed in the scale of duties the temptations to tamper with the averages would be greatly diminished, while the averages themselves would be computed by the excise and over a much extended area of calculation. Every considerable town possessing a corn market was to be named in the act as contributing to the averages, and the evils arising from the suddenness of the reduction of duties would be remedied by the new scale by which the duty would never exceed twenty shillings. This declaration of restriction on duty and the statement of a belief that it would not be for the interest of the farmer if prices should range higher than from 54*s.* to 58*s.*, did not please the agriculturists, nor was any such scale as was proposed for maintaining duties likely to conciliate the manufacturing interests. "At the present time," said Sir Robert Peel, "the duty varies in this way: when the price is 59*s.* and under 60*s.* the duty is 27*s.*; it then diminishes 1*s.* in duty with every 1*s.* increase in price until corn reaches the price of between 66*s.* and 67*s.*, when the duty is 20*s.* 8*d.*; it then falls 2*s.* in duty with the increase of price; so that when the price is between 68*s.* and 69*s.* the duty is 16*s.* 8*d.*, at 70*s.* the duty is 14*s.* 8*d.*, and at 71*s.*, 10*s.* 8*d.*; it then falls 4*s.* with each increase of price, so that at 73*s.* it is 2*s.* 8*d.*, and at 75*s.* and upwards 1*s.* and no more. The main objection which has been urged to that way of levying the duty is this, that the reduction of the duty is so rapid that it holds out temptations to fraud. For instance, at 60*s.* the duty is 26*s.* 8*d.*, and at 73*s.* the duty is 1*s.* only; so that between 60*s.* and 73*s.* there is an increase of price of 13*s.* and a decrease of duty

of 25*s.* 8*d.*, affording a great inducement to fraud, or to combinations for the purpose of influencing the averages, giving, as it did, to parties so inclined the advantage of the sale of one quarter of wheat of no less than 38*s.* 8*d.* At 66*s.* the duty is 20*s.* 8*d.*; so that even between 66*s.* and 73*s.* there is an inducement to parties to hold back corn of 7*s.* in the price and 19*s.* 8*d.* in the duty, making a total amount of pecuniary inducement to retain the article of 26*s.* 8*d.* At 66*s.* the inducement to retain corn in the hope of its rising to 70*s.* is 4*s.* in price and 10*s.* duty, a total inducement of 14*s.* At 70*s.* price the inducement for retaining corn till it reaches 73*s.* is 3*s.* price and 9*s.* duty, together 12*s.* Thus the consumer is injured by the withholding of corn till it is dearer; the revenue by the forced reduction of duty; the agriculturist by the withholding of corn till it has reached the highest price, which is then snatched from him and his protection defeated, while commerce suffers from the uncertainty."

All parties were pretty well agreed on the difficulties of fixing the price of foreign wheat, and into these difficulties and the details of the duties which he proposed to impose in the place of those which then existed, Sir R. Peel entered very minutely, after which he thus recapitulated the main features of the new scale that he proposed for adoption, and the reductions that he expected to effect by means of it:

"When corn is at 59*s.* and under 60*s.* the duty at present is 27*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose is 13*s.* When the price of corn is at 50*s.* the existing duty is 36*s.* 8*d.*, increasing as the price falls, instead of which I propose that the duty should be only 20*s.*, and that the duty shall in no case be exceeded. At 56*s.* the duty is 30*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose at that price is 16*s.* At 60*s.* the duty is 26*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose at that price is 12*s.* At 63*s.* the duty is 23*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose is 9*s.* At 64*s.* the duty is 22*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose is 8*s.* At 70*s.* the duty is 10*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose is 5*s.* These are reductions which, in my opinion, can be made consistently with justice to all the interests concerned.

"My belief and the belief of my colleagues is, that it is of the highest importance to the welfare of all classes in this country that you should take care that the main sources of your supply of corn should be derived from domestic agriculture. You are entitled to place such a price on foreign corn as is equivalent to the special burdens borne by the agriculturist, and any additional protection you give them I am willing to admit can only be vindicated on the ground that it is for the interest of the country generally. I, however, certainly do consider that it is for the interest of all classes that we should be paying occasionally a small additional sum upon our own domestic produce, in order that we may thereby establish a security and assurance against those calamities that would ensue if we became altogether, or in a great part, dependent on foreign countries for our supply. That we might be for a series of years of scarcity dependent on foreign countries for a portion of its supply, I do not deny. But I nevertheless do not abandon the hope that this country, in the average of years, may produce a sufficiency for its own necessities. If that hope should be disappointed, if you must resort to other countries in ordinary seasons for periodical additions to your own supplies, then I draw a material distinction between the supply that is limited—the supply which is brought in for the purpose of repairing our accidental and comparatively slight deficiency—and the supply which is of a more permanent and extensive character.

"I consider the present as a not unfavourable time for the settlement of the subject. There is no great stock of corn on hand to alarm the growers. The recess, notwithstanding the distress that has existed, has been marked by an unusual calm. There is no popular violence to interrupt legislation, and there is a disposition to view any proposal for the adjustment of the question with calmness and moderation. Whether my proposition is accepted or rejected, I hope that the question will be adjusted in the way most conducive to the permanent welfare of all classes of the community."

On the following day Lord J. Russell gave notice that he would move an amendment, condemning the principle of a sliding-scale;

Mr. Villiers announced that he should like the sense of the house on the policy of imposing any duty whatever, fixed or sliding, on foreign corn or food imported into this country; and Mr. Christopher, one of the members for the county of Lincoln, declared that he should move in committee the adoption of a higher rate of wheat duties, to be substituted for that proposed by the premier. Thus the questions of an improved sliding-scale, a fixed duty, and an entire abolition of all duties on corn were at once brought under discussion.

On the 14th Lord J. Russell proposed his amendment. After showing that it was impossible that the nation should be wholly independent of foreign supplies of corn and other food, and reminding the house that even during the war of Napoleon 2,000,000 of the people of this country derived their supplies of food from foreign sources; and having replied to the representation that the countries on which we chiefly depended for our corn supplies were situated nearly in the same latitude as ourselves, and, therefore, that their harvest might fail at the same time with our own, by saying that it showed how necessary it was that we should not confine ourselves for a supply to the north of Europe alone, but should take assistance also from the Black Sea and America, that we should stretch the arms of our commerce, as all our other powers are stretched, over the whole world—he thus criticised the proposed sliding-scale:—

"The proposal before the house is opposed to that extension. The first objection I take to a sliding-scale is, that a high, I should say a prohibitory, duty always forms part of it. I could understand a scale not exceeding 10*s.* or 12*s.*, and going down to 4*s.*, to 3*s.*, or to 1*s.* The first duty when the price is at 50*s.* and under 51*s.*, is 20*s.*; and I shall now proceed to show that that is a prohibitory duty. From the information obtained by Mr. Meek, who was sent to the north of Europe expressly to collect information on the subject, it appears the original price of Dantzic wheat when brought from the interior of the country is 35*s.*, that the charges amount in all to 10*s.* 6*d.*; thus making the price at which it could be sold in England in ordinary years 45*s.* 6*d.* If you add to that the proposed duty of 20*s.*, you make the entire price of Dantzic wheat 65*s.* 6*d.*, when the price at home is 50*s.*, showing, of course, that 20*s.* amounts to a prohibitory duty. In the same way at Odessa, as stated in the consul's returns, the price would be 26*s.*, adding to which 10*s.* for freight, and some farther charges which cannot be taken at less than 5*s.*, and adding then the proposed duty of 20*s.*, you would have the price up to 61*s.*, without counting the profit of the merchant who would have to deal with this corn; and therefore, although you may say that you have reduced the duty to 20*s.*, to 19*s.*, and to 18*s.*, yet in all three instances it can be shown that the duty is prohibitory; and that when the price is at 55*s.* or 56*s.*—the price at which the right honourable gentleman said it would please him to see it, nobody can tell why—there would then be a prohibitory duty on foreign corn. Indeed, Sir R. Peel was right when he said that a duty of 20*s.* was quite sufficient, and that it would exclude foreign corn as effectually as a duty of 45*s.* At what time will the duty cease to be prohibitory? Suppose you admit foreign corn at 62*s.*, and that that price would enable the merchant to pay a duty of 11*s.* What has been the consequence during the last year of that system of duties? It has been stated in two new pamphlets written on this subject—one by Mr. Hubbard and the other by Mr. Greg—in one of which it is shown that on the 5th of July last Dantzic wheat in bond was 48*s.* a quarter, and that if let out it might have been had with the duty of 8*s.* for 56*s.* On the 6th of August the price rose to 60*s.*, your law affording special reasons for believing that a still better price could be obtained for it; and on the 3d of September, only two months after it could have been sold at 48*s.*, it was sold at 70*s.* in bond, thereby adding 22*s.* to the price, without the slightest benefit to the farmer or landholder, and with no advantage to any one but the foreign speculator.

"It is calculated by Mr. Greg that the sum paid to owners and growers of foreign corn last year was £6,000,000. I will assume

that it was £4,000,000 or £5,000,000; a loss which was entailed on this country by the sliding-scale. Another evil of that scale lies in the fact that, take the averages as fairly as you may, you cannot tell the quality of the corn; during the past year, and some of the preceding years, a great portion of the corn of the country was very much damaged, to the extent, as alleged by some persons well acquainted with agriculture, of one-fifth of the whole crop of England. The consequence was a considerable reduction in the market price. But did the people get their bread a whit cheaper? No; when corn comes to that degree of cheapness, it is not cheapness to the consumer of bread, because he is paying as much as when the averages are a good deal higher. This has been made out in figures by a gentleman who sent me a statement on the subject. He shows that in the month of January, 1841, the average price of wheat was 61*s.* 2*d.*, and that in the same month in 1842 the average was also 61*s.* 2*d.* You may, therefore, say that the average price being the same at both periods, and the duty being also the same, the people obtained bread at the same price. But is it so? Far from it. According to the Mark Lane return, I find that the price of the best flour in the first four weeks of 1841 was 55*s.* per sack, while in the first four weeks of 1842 it was 61*s.* per sack; making a difference of no less than 6*s.* per sack in that description of flour from which bread is made, while no alteration took place in the averages or the amount of the duty. The sudden rise after a bad harvest, when perhaps there has been a prohibition for two or three years, causes the necessity of a sudden supply from abroad; there is no regular trade, and bullion is sent to meet the demand; the Bank of England contracts its issues, and there is a derangement of the currency. I am aware that corn must be dearer at some seasons than at others; but where nature places difficulties in your way, you should not aggravate them by bad legislation. With respect to frauds in the averages, the committee of 1820 exposed a great number; and a fraudulent rise in price to the extent of 9*s.* in one week was exposed in 1839.

"I admit," proceeded Lord John, "that I do not regard the corn-laws as the cause of the whole of the present distress, but I think they tend very greatly to aggravate it. Sir Robert Peel says that an alteration in the corn-laws will not relieve it. I agree in the truth of that description when it is made applicable to the measures of the government. I agree that it is impossible to hope that any material alleviations of distress should result from a measure which is only made to look apparently a little better than the former one, which keeps up all the vicious principle of the old law, which encourages speculation, which cramps your commerce, and prevents you from resorting for food to the Black Sea and the United States."

Lord J. Russell concluded his speech by moving the following amendment: "That this house, considering the evils which have been caused by the present corn-laws, and especially by the fluctuations of a graduated or sliding-scale, is not prepared to adopt the measure of her majesty's government, which is founded on the same principles, and is likely to be attended with similar results."

The opposition to Lord John Russell's amendment was led by Mr. Gladstone, who, it was understood, had been chiefly employed in the able calculations necessary, not only for computing the incidence of the sliding-scale, but for the completion of the scheme by which remissions of duty were to be made on so many articles of commerce. Mr. Gladstone declared that whatever misrepresentation the government might incur, they would be content with the reflection that they had conferred on their country a great boon certain to secure ultimately the universal approbation which it merited. The proposed plan was not founded on the same principle as the existing one, except as both involved a sliding-scale; the distress was attributable to the unavoidable fluctuation of the seasons, which were, he argued, not aggravated by the corn-laws. A uniform protection could not be given to corn as it could to other articles, because when corn was at high prices no duty could be maintained; therefore, at low prices it was just to give a duty which would be an

effectual protection. He believed that the government measure was a fair medium between the opposite extremes of those who thought with the Agricultural Association of Boston and with the Anti-Corn-law Convention.

The debate was long, and vigorous speeches were delivered, one of them by Lord Palmerston, who defended the representations of the opposition by asking, "Why is the earth on which we live divided into zones and climates? Why do different countries yield different productions to people experiencing similar wants? Why are they intersected with mighty rivers, the natural highways of nations? Why are lands the most distant from each other brought almost into contact by that very ocean which seems to divide them? Why, sir, it is that man may be dependent upon man. It is that the exchange of commodities may be accompanied by the extension and diffusion of knowledge, by the interchange of mutual kind feelings, multiplying and confirming friendly relations. It is that commerce may freely go forth, leading civilization with one hand and peace with the other, to render mankind happier, wiser, better. Sir, this is the dispensation of Providence; this is the decree of that Power which created and disposed the universe. But in the face of it, with arrogant, presumptuous folly, the dealers in restrictive duties fly, fettering the inborn energies of man, and setting up their miserable legislation instead of the great standing laws of nature."

But the late ministry were not bold enough to propose the entire abolition of the duties, nor were they ever equal to that enterprise. The house went to a division, and while 226 voted for Lord John Russell's amendment, 349 were in favour of the original motion; which, Mr. Macaulay emphatically declared, was a measure which settled nothing, which nobody asked for, which nobody thanked Sir Robert Peel for,—a measure which would not extend trade nor relieve distress.

This declaration was justified by events. The rejection of Lord John Russell's amendment was immediately followed by a motion proposed by Mr. Villiers for the total abolition of the duty. The debate on this question lasted for five nights, but the result was a still larger majority. for the government, showing how great was the influence of the landed interest and how little the principle of free-trade was appreciated. One other result, however, was the opportunity which the discussion gave for the grave and emphatic statements of Mr. Cobden. He had already achieved a peculiar distinction in the house for the kind of unadorned eloquence which is neither to be laughed down nor made to waver from the earnest purpose to which it is devoted. He cared little for any personal misrepresentations or for attempts to disparage his simple method of address, so long as he could obtain a hearing;—and once heard, his arguments were exceedingly difficult to answer—still more difficult to refute. He had already compelled attention and gained respect, and more than that, had been recognized as the leader of the Anti-Corn-law Association, which, at his instance, when he was one of the delegates from Manchester to London, had been renamed by the more significant title of the "League."

It was for some time represented that Cobden was by birth, as well as by position, interested only in the trade of calico-printing, and knew nothing of the wants of the agricultural population, or of the farmers who employed them. He was, in fact, the son of a small farmer—a yeoman of Sussex—who died and left him while still a boy to the care of an uncle who had a wholesale warehouse in London. Richard Cobden was afterwards known to be a partner with his brothers in a calico-printing business in Manchester, and their firm from small beginnings (it is said that he began business in Clitheroe on a borrowed capital of £500) soon became known for the remarkably good taste of their patterns and the quality of their goods. Cobden himself occasionally travelled for their house, and later (in 1835), after having visited the Continent, Turkey, Greece, and Egypt—went on a voyage to America. He had already shown what kind of man he was by his contributions to a Manchester paper of some articles on political economy, remarkable for their thoughtful-

ness and the lucid manner in which the subjects were treated. His pamphlet "England, Ireland, and America, by a Manchester Manufacturer," appeared soon after his return from the United States, and another pamphlet entitled "Russia" was published at about the same time. They were evidently the work of a man capable of carrying out the advice which he afterwards made a leading principle of the League, when at one of the early meetings he said, "The delegates have offered to instruct the house; the house has refused to be instructed. But the house must be instructed; and the most unexceptionable and effectual way will be by instructing the nation." It was after his return from another journey through Germany that he began to advocate the repeal of the corn-law, and in the following year the League was formed. He had failed in his endeavour to be returned to parliament for Stockport in 1837, but he was successful at the election of 1841, and at once took a position in the house which, though it was neither self-asserted nor dependent upon that kind of oratorical display which distinguished "noticeable" members, was felt to be important and likely to continue.

The Anti-Corn-law League had grown into a large and active organization by that time. A new and vigorous campaign had been commenced in Manchester in 1840, and there was no building in the town large enough to hold half the members of the local association. The vacant land in St. Peter's Field belonged to Mr. Cobden, who offered it as the site of a structure for the purpose of holding large meetings. In eleven days a hundred workmen had constructed a great pavilion, which occupied the very ground where in 1819 a vast meeting, assembled for the purpose of petitioning for a repeal of the corn-law and for parliamentary reform, had been dispersed by an armed force.

In this temporary pavilion, afterwards to be replaced by the Free-trade Hall, and standing on the spot still memorable for the "massacre of Peterloo," a grand banquet was to be held, and the large extent of the structure well fitted it for the purpose. It was 150 feet long, 105 wide, and occupied an area of 15,750 square feet—the flooring for the main pavilion and its ante-rooms having consumed 17,100 square feet of three-inch planking. It was seated for 3800 persons, and 500 more found entrance after the dinner. It was lighted by 24 chandeliers of twelve burners each, eight chandeliers in each of the three aisles, and there were three others at the entrances. Above the president's chair the word "JUSTICE" shone in gas-jets, with letters a yard long. About 20,000 yards of pink and white calico had been used for the drapery of the interior. The front of the galleries was hung with deep crimson, on which were inscribed in white letters "Landowners! honesty is the best policy," "Total and immediate repeal," and "A fixed duty is a fixed injustice." Ten thousand tickets for the dinner might have been sold, the whole district was in excitement, deputies arrived from various parts of the kingdom, and Daniel O'Connell was one of the invited guests and a decided attraction, hundreds of people awaiting his arrival at the railway station, which was then in the Liverpool Road. The banquet was a great success, the meeting most enthusiastic. The galleries were occupied by ladies—for wives, sisters, and daughters were deeply interested in the League, and aided it by their constant efforts and by acting as secretaries, correspondents, and visitors. The chairman, Mr. J. B. Smith—on whose right sat Mr. Thomas Potter, the Mayor of Manchester—was supported by a number of members of parliament who supported the cause of free-trade in corn. The toast after that of "the Queen" was "Immediate and total repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws." Among the speakers was O'Connell, who exercised over the audience his usual fascination, moving them by his alternate humour, pathos, and declamation. Mr. Cobden spoke for a few minutes only on the objects of the League. One of the remarkable incidents of the meetings was the appearance among the speakers of a Suffolk landowner—Mr. Thomas Milner Gibson, a young gentleman, who, with much grace of manner and pungent good humour, attacked the arguments and statements of the landed interests, and

supported the claims of the people to free-trade in food.

On the next evening another dinner was held by 5000 working-men, the galleries being filled with their wives, daughters, and sisters.

The associations for the repeal of the corn-laws had greatly increased throughout the kingdom, and each had its delegates. The organization was rendered still more complete by the large meetings which were frequently held, and after the two banquets in the great Pavilion means were taken to give to the ladies of Manchester and other places an active part in the cause. A tea party was held at the Manchester Corn Exchange, where 850 guests were received by sixty-five ladies who presided at the various tables. The meeting was addressed by the chairman, Mr. Mark Philips, M.P., and by other ardent free-traders, of whom Richard Cobden was now the recognized leader. He had in fact virtually left his business to devote himself to the cause which he had so much at heart, and his example was followed, as far as might be, by many others. An enormous number of petitions had been sent to both Houses of Parliament, an active correspondence had been opened with every borough where there was any probability of influencing the return of members who would support the repeal of the corn-laws. A million and a quarter of handbills, pamphlets, and tracts, 330,000 of the Anti-Corn-law Circular, and some thousands of other publications had been distributed and circulated; the interest of numbers of the clergy of all denominations had been enlisted, and corporations and boards of guardians had been urged to support the movement, while a band of lecturers had been at work and had delivered 800 lectures in the principal towns throughout the country. We have already seen how serious was the opposition made by those who called themselves Chartists to the operations of the League, and it may be readily understood that the Chartism of the "Young England" party, that is to say the democracy which was to rely upon the landowners and the aristocracy for the best form of government and for social encouragement, would have little in common with the organization of the League. It was evident, however, that under the name of Chartists some of the Tory opponents of the Anti-Corn-law movement took opportunities to interfere with meetings, and to hold counter demonstrations, in which, however, they did not often come off triumphant. On one occasion especially a great demonstration, organized by the working-men of Manchester and neighbouring districts, was to be held in Stephenson's Square. Mr. Cobden had been asked to preside, and the various trades and temperance societies were to form a grand procession previous to the meeting. The friends of the corn-tax determined to make an effort to convert the assembly to their own purposes, and posted the walls of Manchester, Bolton, and other large towns with placards calling on the Chartists to come in their "countless thousands" and put down the "humbug claptrap of the League." A list of Chartist leaders who were to be present was issued, and a hustings was erected so close to that of the supporters of the League that it was evidently intended to be occupied by speakers who would endeavour to throw the meeting into confusion. The Manchester men were roused into indignation by what they regarded as an attempt to prevent free discussion of their demands for the repeal of the bread-tax, and from twenty different parts of the town their societies marched to the appointed place, each with its appropriate banner. About 20,000 men assembled to find that the Chartists had surrounded the League platform with their flags so that the speakers would not be visible. One of these banners of large size bore the inscription, "Down with the Whigs!" and was so placed as almost entirely to obstruct the view. The Chartists were asked to carry it to the outside of the meeting, where the free-trade flags were ranged, and as they refused, an attempt was made to remove it. The so-called Chartists were armed with sticks, and at once began to use them in its defence. For a short time it seemed as though the unarmed free-traders would be driven back, but in a few minutes the flag was torn to shreds and the flagstaff broken into short

lengths to make formidable bludgeons with which the free-traders drove their assailants to the outskirts of the square. Mr. Cobden on taking the chair pleaded for a fair hearing for all speakers, one or two of the opponents afterwards addressing the meeting, but of course without result. At repeated lectures, meetings, and discussions, amidst which the operations of the League became more and more formidable, the excitement was often very great both in the provinces and in London, but that was to increase still more. Soon after the election of the new parliament, when Mr. T. Milner Gibson gained the seat for Manchester which had been resigned by Mr. Greg, a conference was held which helped to give not only vast influence but a deeply serious and orderly character to the future proceedings of the League. Mr. George Thompson, a name well remembered by many as that of the able lecturer of the British India Society, sent to the various ministers of religion in Manchester requesting them to meet and confer upon the Christian means of obtaining a settlement of the corn-law question without injustice or civil disturbance. Twenty-eight ministers responded, and a resolution was passed that ministers of religion from all parts of the United Kingdom should be invited to a week's conference in Manchester. A committee was appointed, arrangements were made, and on the 17th of August the conference was opened at the Town Hall, nearly seven hundred ministers being present, most of whom were received by members of the League who had invited them to their houses during their week's stay. The meetings in the morning were for four hours, those in the evening for five hours. The Rev. Dr. Cox was appointed provisional chairman, and a president was elected for each day's conference. Out of 1500 replies received by the committee only six were decidedly opposed to the object of the meeting and six were in doubt on the subject, the great majority being in its favour. Some 650 ministers had accepted the invitation, at least an equal number approved of the conference; and thus in about 1500 localities, in 1500 communities, and through 1500 agencies, the great moral question would be brought before hundreds of thousands. There were ministers of congregations who had come hundreds of miles to be present. The chair was taken at the opening meeting by the Rev. T. Adkins of Southampton, and his address was followed by one from the famous Dr. John Pye-Smith, who spoke in deep sympathy with the sufferings of the poor. At the afternoon's meeting Mr. Cobden was requested to address the conference, and in the evening an account was given by each member of the condition of the working-classes in his locality. At a late hour it was discovered that the Earl of Ducie was present, and on being asked to speak he complied, saying in the course of his address, "I have for many years been of opinion that the corn-laws, as they exist, are extremely oppressive to the labouring population, and injurious to every branch of society. Had I been a monopolist, had I been one of those who voted for charging an additional price on the food of the poor man. I am quite sure that the testimony laid before you to-day by the reverend gentlemen who have spoken would have been enough to persuade me that I should retract those opinions."

The conference continued to be held for four days. Deputations of operatives were received and their evidence listened to with sympathy. Mr. Curtis, a gentleman from Ohio, addressed the audience on the advantages that would ensue from a free-trade in corn with America. The accounts of distress and want received from various parts of the country were harrowing. The Rev. Dr. Vaughan of London, afterwards president of the Lancashire Independent College, moved "that this conference, drawn together from various parts of the United Kingdom by a general conviction of the existence of long-continued and still increasing distress affecting the community at large, and bearing with peculiar severity on the industrious classes, find this conviction deeply confirmed by various statements and documentary evidence now laid before them, which clearly prove that vast numbers are incapable of obtaining by their labour a sufficiency of the common necessaries of life for the support of them-

selves and families." The resolution was carried unanimously. At one of the evening meetings Mr. George Thompson read an eloquent address to the people of the United Kingdom, earnestly exhorting those who were suffering from the operation of the taxes on food "to be peaceful and loyal, and to co-operate in all Christian and constitutional efforts to effect their extinction, with patience, relying upon the sympathies of their friends and the blessing of the Most High." This address was agreed to and circulated throughout the country by means of the agencies of the League and by the ministers who returned to their congregations.

Amidst all these movements the Ladies' Committee, now numbering about 200 members, was busily employed in preparing for a great demonstration by which funds would be raised for carrying on the work,—and in enlisting for their effort the sympathies of the women of England. The committee under the active presidency of Mrs. George Wilson, the wife of the general president of the League, had for months been hard at work for the purpose of opening a grand bazaar. This ladies' committee met usually once a week at the League rooms, Newall's Buildings, and several members of the Society of Friends were actively engaged in it. Everything was conducted in a business-like manner, and if there were but few speakers round the table, the energy and enthusiasm of Mrs. Wilson made every woman there an interested supporter of the cause each in her own sphere. How many signatures were appended to the cart-load of petitions sent up in October, 1841, to London from Manchester praying the queen not to prorogue parliament until the distress of the people was alleviated—it would be vain to conjecture. It is known that through their agency 75,000 females signed a petition praying for the abolition of the corn-laws, which was despatched to London in February the following year along with some 1300 other petitions from the town.

But the great work of the ladies' committee was the raising of funds for the League by the truly feminine means of a bazaar. A general canvas of manufacturers, merchants, and shopkeepers was undertaken, and contributions in kind or in money were solicited. These gave, and gave liberally. Gradually a heterogeneous stock of goods accumulated, of which Mrs. George Wilson became the custodian and dispenser. On each committee morning a pile of materials of all hues and textures was laid upon the table, mostly remnants, short lengths, or patterns of silks, velvets, calicoes, trimmings, &c., from which the ladies present made selection with a view to their conversion into saleable articles, useful or ornamental. Besides laying their business friends under contribution, each lady set her immediate female relatives and friends to work, and night and day needles, scissors, silks and wools, paint and gum brushes were plied by active fingers; even the pupils in girls' schools were allowed by parents to assist their teachers in working fancy articles for the "Great Bazaar."

No wonder, therefore, at the success of the undertaking, or at the magnificent display when the doors of the old Theatre Royal in Fountain Street and Back Mosley Street were thrown open to the public on Monday, the 31st January, 1842; a third entrance from Charlotte Street having for that great occasion been opened out to what was normally the back of the stage.

This Theatre Royal, which was burned down in 1844, was nearly the size of that in Drury Lane, with about as large a stage, and an auditorium similarly constructed. The upper box staircase and saloon were hung with valuable paintings lent by their owners for exhibition, the needful catalogue and small fee going to swell the proceeds, and, consequently, the funds of the "National Anti-Corn-law League." A few of the upper boxes had been utilized by manufacturers for the exhibition of their wares and new inventions, but otherwise they were set apart for quiet spectators of the then novel and unprecedented scene below and around them.

The pit of the theatre had been boarded over on a level with stage; seats, fronts, and doors had been removed from the two centre boxes of the dress-circle, and here was the

main entrance. The sweep of boxes on either hand had been converted into elegant stalls, whilst a corresponding line made the circuit of the stage. Overhead, pit and stage were canopied with a pink and white tent.

On scrolls and banners mottoes were emblazoned to keep energy alive and proclaim the ultimate object of that fancy fair. "No Corn Laws," "No Sliding Scale," "Free Trade with all the World," and so forth.

Behind and in front of the various stalls—some labelled with the names of towns which they represented, such as Bury or Rochdale, youth and beauty, fashion and talent were all busy in the cause they had at heart, whilst sober matronhood and Quaker gravity were there as well, to keep flippancy in check, and show that the movement had influenced the family life of the people.

But of all that motley multitude pressing on in a crush but one instance of incivility to a fair saleswoman was known, and there Roland met with an Oliver. A young and pretty Quakeress seeking to effect a sale with a fopling who had more money than courtesy, was met with the offer to "give a sovereign for a kiss." To his surprise he was answered, "Come this way, friend, and thou shalt have thy kiss," and, following the demure damsel in amazement as he supposed to some sly corner, was led to the refreshment-stall close by, where the young lady handed him one of those sugar-drops known as kisses, with the words, "Here, friend, is thy kiss," and claimed his sovereign, which he ruefully paid, glad enough to beat a retreat from the laughter of those around.

The week came to an end, but not the supply of goods or the influx of buyers, or the popular excitement the bazaar had roused. Committees met in the theatre, and it was resolved to keep it open yet six days more.

The proceedings closed with a ball given to the ladies who had brought it to so successful an issue, and surely they had earned the tribute, since they had furnished to the funds of the League £9000.

Constant communication was kept up between the League centre in Manchester and their friends in the House of Commons. One evening, during the progress of the bazaar, a party of gentlemen came to the front of the upper boxes and claimed attention. There fell a hush on the vast assembly. All faces in the building were turned one way; a concession made by Peel was announced, and then a ringing cheer went up that told how unanimous was the feeling of those present, and the business of the hour was carried on amid eager conversation. It was not until January 30, 1843, that the Free-trade Hall was opened. It was a long, low, unpretentious—nay, ugly—edifice, erected, as was supposed, for a temporary purpose, the first brick of which was laid December 21, 1840. It was built, as we have said, on a portion of St. Peter's Fields, the site of the memorable "Peterloo Massacre;" the ground was lent by the owner, or let on a nominal rent-charge. Its length was 135 feet, breadth 102, and it was not only capable of holding, but did on one occasion hold 10,000 people. (The Agricultural Hall had not then been thought of, and its area was considered vast.) At one end stood a plain platform, afterwards converted into an immense orchestra, and a gallery as plain occupied the three remaining sides.

It was opened with a grand banquet attended by M.P.'s and delegates from all parts of the kingdom; and afterwards utilized for anti-corn-law meetings, at which the crush was terrific, so great was the eagerness to hear speeches on the vital subject of the day.

It may well be noticed here that among the questions which, not long after the accession of the queen, began to emerge from time to time, and to undergo discussion in a quiet way, was that of giving the parliamentary suffrage to women. At first the point was, of course, discussed only in holes and corners and with bated breath, though some of the holes and corners were as respectable in themselves as the Academy of Plato. Among the philosophical Radicals there had always been advocates of female suffrage, and the presence of a woman on the throne of an immense empire could hardly fail to wake up the topic into something more than meditative life. It

is well known that Benjamin Disraeli always assigned a high place to female influence in politics, and in his novel of *Sybil*, which may be said to have been an attempt to create a queen's *party* in the state, he foreshadowed in various ways the views which he afterwards advocated distinctly. In one of the Chartist scenes, of which that work contains so many, he repeats a discussion between some very poor women (two of them little more than girls), in which the presence of the queen as a factor in politics is made the turning-point of the argument, such as it was.

"Life's a tumble-about thing of ups and downs," said Widow Carey stirring her tea, "but I have been down this time longer than I can ever remember."

"Nor ever will get up, widow," said Julia, at whose lodgings herself and several of Julia's friends had met, "unless we have the five points."

"I will never marry any man who is not for the five points," said Caroline.

"I should be ashamed to marry any one who had not the suffrage," said Harriet.

"He is no better than a slave," said Julia.

The widow shook her head. "I don't like these politics," said the good woman, "they bayn't in a manner of business for our sex."

"And I should like to know why?" said Julia. "Ayn't we as much concerned in the cause of good government as the men? And don't we understand as much about it? I am sure the Dandy never does anything without consulting me."

"It's fine news for a summer day," said Caroline, "to say we can't understand politics with the queen on the throne."

"She has got her ministers to tell her what to do," said Mrs. Carey, taking a pinch of snuff. "Poor innocent young creature, it often makes my heart ache to think how she is beset."

"Over the left," said Julia. "If the ministers try to come into her bed-chamber, she knows how to turn them to the right-about."

"And as for that," said Harriet, "why are we not to interfere with politics as much as the swell ladies in London?"

"Don't you remember, too, at the last election here," said Caroline, "how the fine ladies from the castle came and canvassed for Colonel Rosemary?"

The old shopkeeper, Mrs. Carey, is very much staggered that girls should get such things into their heads, and says angrily that they were not heard of when *she* was young. Upon this the lasses call the poor woman "an oligarch," and inform her that there was "no march of mind" when *she* was young, and that that makes all the difference. The freedom of discussion which had been gradually growing, especially in the press, had, of course, the result that ideas that were once talked of under the breath in select coteries were now common property, so that the mill-girls were right so far.

We have in later days seen much ridicule of "culture for the millions." Mr. Du Maurier once made it the subject of a special series of pencil sketches in *Punch*. Others have followed in the same track. The mistress of the house offers to teach the parlour-maid to read and write, but the parlour-maid, in an ecstasy, pleads to be taught the "pianner" instead. A lady who, wanting to engage a housemaid, inquires for her references as to cleanliness, honesty, &c., is told, that the young woman has nothing of the kind, but that she has three school-board certificates for "litteratoor, joggraphy, and free-hand drawrin'." In these trifles, taken by themselves, there is nothing worth much notice, but it is as well to note that there is nothing at all new in them. If her majesty had listened to street songs, or even seen some that were popular in middle-class drawing-rooms, she might have heard or seen "The Literary Dustman"—

"My name is Adam Bell—'tis clear
That Adam was the fust man,
And by a coincydence queer,
I'm the werry fust o' dustmen"—

and other songs, in equally poor taste, in which servant girls were ridiculed for wanting to read or to play on the piano. Under the influence of the prince consort, the tendency to ridicule the idea of popular culture became unfashionable, or at least spoke chiefly in subdued accents; and at present there is but

little contempt or real sarcasm in the humour with which the subject is still treated.

Another feature of the times in which we live began to assume great prominence in the decades we have already glanced at, and it became more and more strikingly a characteristic of the period as the years rolled on. We mean the tendency to form large popular organizations for the accomplishment of political, social, or religious ends. The topic is not a new one, but it is very large and interesting, and has a history of its own which is yet to be written.

Nobody can have watched the course of events in this country within the limits assigned in our title without being startled—and many serious thinkers have been alarmed—at the growth of this tendency to what is called "organization" among the masses.

It is idle to inquire after any special origin for what is natural and almost obvious; but it would perhaps be found upon going far back that religion and morality have been the great suggesters of "societies" spontaneously formed within the body politic. In these respects, modern times have not so much to say for themselves in the way of originality as might be supposed. Among the Romans there were societies for the cultivation of virtue, and perhaps for the relief of the poor and sick, and the Jewish ladies had associations for the mitigation of the sufferings of criminals. However, it is not necessary to travel back to Plutarch, or Josephus, or any other ancient authority, for our facts or our theories. The germ of such "organizations" as are now in question is in human nature and in circumstances. It is a very easy open secret that if a pound sterling is wanted for the relief of an afflicted person, the desired end may be reached by the subscriptions of twenty people at the rate of a shilling each, though no one of the twenty might be able to give a pound or even five shillings. It is another open secret that when people unite they create a heated atmosphere, and encourage each other. It is a third open secret, and a very practical one, that ten thousand people, either actually seen or only imagined as acting together, may have not only an impressive, but a slightly coercive effect upon those whom it is thought desirable to influence. For purposes of propagandism, it is well known that a society is a mighty power.

Probably the organizations of the Wesleyan body by its distinguished founder had much to do with setting patterns of association to the working man. Comparatively small societies, such as that for the aid of climbing boys, helped to teach the old lesson that union is strength, and the associations for promoting the educational systems of Bell and Lancaster, the circulation of the Bible, and similar purposes, greatly extended and widened the lines of organized action. The trades unions have already been spoken of in these pages.

But along with the growth of the press and general education, the popular impulse in favour of associated action on a larger and still a larger scale began to leaven nearly the whole of so much of the activity of the times as had "reforms" or ameliorative purposes of any kind in view. The power and habit of public speaking increased to an extent which had even a ludicrous side to it, though this was more the case in America than it ever was in England. It almost seemed with us in this country that it was to be taken for granted that whatever could not be got out of parliament by direct votes of members within the walls of the two houses, could, without much difficulty, be wrung from it by political organizations. It was in the Anti-corn-law League that the faith in organization may be said to have reached its climax, and most successfully to have vindicated itself. Meanwhile the great religious societies, whose stupendous meetings at Exeter Hall, Freemasons' Hall, and similar places, but chiefly at the first, have already been referred to, were showing to those who were most indifferent to their special objects or characteristics, that magnificent revenues could be founded upon the principle that "every little helps," and would be applied with at least perfect definiteness of management and purpose. On the whole the tendency to popular organization is the most striking feature of the times.

When Richard Cobden went to parliament as the representative of the demand for the repeal of taxes on necessary articles of consumption he had a vast moral support outside the house, as indeed he deserved to have, for he had been the organizer, the exponent, the patient worker in whom the friends of the movement had good reason to trust. Nor was he without efficient colleagues both in and out of parliament, among the latter being one who had but recently come to the front in the great question that was agitating the northern towns—John Bright of Rochdale. He was one who would have been called by the French "a man of the people," and he has since that time amply vindicated such a title. His father, a member of the Society of Friends, had risen from the ranks to become a wealthy manufacturer—a cotton-spinner at Rochdale, near which town the future famous "Radical" and free-trade orator was born in 1811. John Bright was the second of a large family. His elder brother died in infancy, and as a child he was himself weak and ailing. The "Quaker" school at Ackworth to which he was sent was perhaps too rigid in its discipline for a feeble or delicate boy, but at anyrate he was removed from it to the care of a private tutor at Newton-Bolland, where he had healthy outdoor exercise; and though he seems never to have received what is called a classical education, he was either instructed in, or acquired, a very sound appreciation of the value of the Saxon tongue. After his return to take a share in the business he made a few attempts to address his neighbours on the subject of the Reform Bill. He was then but one-and-twenty, and his next effort at public speaking was at a temperance meeting of a few young men at a village at some distance from the town. Following the prevailing fashion Mr. Bright made a tour on the Continent, and afterwards in Palestine and Greece. On his return he gave some descriptive lectures on the subject of his travels at the Rochdale Literary Institution, and afterwards addressed the members on subjects more immediately connected with political economy. The opposition to church-rates, which at Rochdale had for some time been particularly energetic, and was, of course, effectively sustained by the community to which he belonged, gave him a further opportunity of taking a prominent part in public discussions, and he was already known as a vivid and aggressive speaker when, at the formation of the Anti-Corn-law Association at Manchester in 1838, his name appeared on the committee. In the following year Mr. Cobden paid a visit to Rochdale on behalf of the League, and there met with the young orator, of whose abilities he had already heard. He induced him at once to become an active supporter of the anti-corn-law movement, and from that time the name of John Bright was associated with that of Richard Cobden in the great "cause" which had such a triumphant result.

Mr. Bright's bold and fervid appeals were listened to with delight and acclamation at the numerous meetings of the League, but his voice was not heard in parliament for two years after Cobden had been returned for Stockport. Early in 1843 there was a vacancy for Durham. Lord Dungannon was the Conservative candidate, and the League, following the practice which they had adopted, determined to send a free-trade candidate, and selected Colonel Thompson—Mr. Bright going with him to Durham to advocate his claims. For some reason Colonel Thompson retired from the contest at the last moment, and Mr. Bright at once issued an address offering himself as a candidate. He was defeated and Lord Dungannon was returned, but was afterwards unseated on petition for bribery; and Mr. Bright again coming forward was elected. Thus a Quaker became member for the old cathedral town, and Dr. Waddington, the dean, boldly and honestly gave him his vote. He remained member for Durham till 1847, after the repeal of the corn-laws, when he was elected representative for Manchester with Mr. Milner Gibson as his colleague. By that time Mr. Cobden, who was seven years older than Mr. Bright (after a tour on the Continent which was intended as a holiday for rest and recreation, but which became a journey in which the advocate and representative of free-trade was everywhere received with

fatiguing public recognition), had been spontaneously elected both for Stockport and for the West Riding of Yorkshire. Choosing the larger constituency, he became with his colleagues of Manchester the constant advocate of an anti-warlike policy, and devoted himself to the principles which have since been summarized as those of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform."

When Cobden first stood up in parliament to support the address to the queen, he was a truly representative man, and well knew the tale that he had to tell. He told it too in a way which fixed the attention of those who seriously remembered what he had to say, and those who jeered or interrupted could not disconcert him; he was too accustomed to address large assemblies to be confused by clamour, and he was far too much in earnest to regard personal incivility or any attempt to sneer or to cavil at his plainness.

There was little to be said about the motives of a man who had abandoned the pursuit of his own fortune to uphold the cause which he advocated, but motives were presently to be attributed to the promoters of the repeal of the bread-tax which led to a very practical and emphatic answer. The man now for the first time addressing the House of Commons was a man with a quiet earnest expression, a forehead high at the temples, a nose denoting what is called the cogitative and at the same time the practical, active temperament;—a modification of the Brougham nose, but without its aggressive quality. His speech was ready and forcible, but peculiarly simple and unaffected, amusingly unlike that to which the house was accustomed, but it told. He intended to support the address because he stood there not as a party man but as a simple free-trader, and the address expressed hostility to the taxes on food. Those taxes were paid chiefly by the hard-working classes, for while the nobleman paid but a halfpenny in every hundred pounds of his income as a bread-tax, the man earning twenty shillings a week paid twenty per cent. This produced a laugh, and he calmly repeated it. He did not know, he said, whether it was the monstrous injustice of the case or the humble individual who stated it that excited this manifestation of feeling. He had lately had an opportunity of seeing a report of the state of our labouring population in all parts of the country. Probably honourable gentlemen were aware that a very important meeting had lately been held at Manchester; he alluded to the meeting of ministers of religion. Here there was more laughter. He understood that laugh: but he should not pause in his statement of facts, but might perhaps notice it before concluding. He had seen a body of ministers of religion of all denominations, 650 in number, assembled from all parts of the country at an expense of from three to four thousand pounds, paid by their congregations. At that meeting most important statements of facts were made relating to the condition of the labouring classes. He would not trouble the house by reading those statements; but they showed that in every district of the country the condition of the great body of her majesty's labouring population had deteriorated wofully within the last ten years, and more especially within the last three years, and that in proportion as the price of food increased, in the same proportion the comforts of the working-classes had diminished. One word with respect to the manner in which his allusion to this meeting was received. He did not come there to vindicate the conduct of these Christian men in having assembled in order to take this subject into consideration. The parties who had to judge them were their own congregations. There were at that meeting members of the Established Church, of the Church of Rome, Independents, Baptists, members of the Church of Scotland and of the Secession Church, Methodists, and indeed ministers of every other denomination, and if he were disposed to impugn the character of those divines he felt he should be casting a stigma and a reproach upon the great body of professing Christians in this country. He happened to be the only member of the house present at that meeting, and he might be allowed to state that when he heard the tales of misery there described; when he heard these ministers declare that members of their

congregations were kept away from places of worship during the morning service, and only crept out under cover of the darkness of night; when they described others as unfit to receive spiritual consolation because they had sunk so low in physical destitution: that the attendance at Sunday-schools was falling off; when he had heard these and such like statements, when he—who believed that the corn-laws, the provision monopoly, was at the bottom of all that was endured—heard those statements, and from such authority, he must say that he rejoiced to see gentlemen of such character come forward, and like Nathan when he addressed the owner of flocks and herds who had plundered the poor man of his only lamb, say unto the doer of injustice, whoever he might be, "Thou art the man." The people through their ministers had protested against the corn-laws. Those laws had been tested by the immutable morality of Scripture. Those reverend gentlemen had prepared and signed a petition in which they prayed the removal of those laws—laws which they stated violated the Scriptures, and prevented famishing children from having a portion of those fatherly bounties which were intended for all people. "Englishmen," he afterwards added, "have a respect for rank, for wealth, perhaps too much; they feel an attachment to the laws of their country; but there is another attribute in the minds of Englishmen, there is a permanent veneration for sacred things; and when their sympathy, and respect, and deference are enlisted in what they believe to be a sacred cause, you and yours (here the speaker addressed the protectionists) will vanish like chaff before the whirlwind."

The speech took effect especially on some of the landed aristocracy, and it was soon evident that the energy and common sense of this man was making a decided impression outside the house among the landed interest. The condition of the rural population was such that there was no gainsaying the declaration that not the farmers, and still less the agricultural labourers, were benefited by the corn-laws, but that the landowners who took the rent "and had no more to do with agriculture than the owners of a ship had with sailing it," were the persons for whose advantage the tax was maintained.

Already it was seen and noted that the agitation for the repeal of the corn-laws was becoming less and less distinctive of the manufacturing districts and population.

The motion of Mr. Villiers was of course lost, and a similar resolution in the Lords by which Brougham proposed to abolish the corn duties met a similar fate, while the amended scale of duties brought forward by Mr. Christopher was rejected in committee. It was in his support of Mr. Villiers' motion that Cobden made a still more marked impression on the house. He said he had heard it proposed by a prime minister to fix the price of corn. "What an avocation for a legislature, to fix the price of corn! That should be done in the open markets by the dealers. The legislature does not fix the price of cotton, or silk, or iron, or tin. It appears that there are to be found gentlemen still at large who advocate the principle of the interposition of parliament to fix the price at which articles should be sold. Is the right honourable baronet prepared to carry out the principle in the articles of cotton or wool?"

To this Sir Robert Peel replied that it was impossible to fix the price of food by legislative enactments. "Then," said Mr. Cobden, "on what are we legislating? . . . I ask the right honourable baronet whether, while he fixes his sliding-scale of prices so as to secure to the landowners 56*s.* per quarter on wheat, he has a sliding-scale for wages? . . . Let us only legislate, if you so please, for the introduction of corn when it is wanted. Exclude it as much as possible when it is not wanted. But what I supplicate for on the part of the starving people is that they, and not you, shall be the judge of when corn is wanted. By what right do you pretend to gauge the appetites and admeasure the wants of millions of people?"

The next event was the attempt of Mr. Busfield Ferrand to counteract the effects sure to be produced by Mr. Cobden's speech. This gentleman committed the most unscrupulous attacks both on Mr. Cobden and the free-trade manufacturers generally, and as he

came from the neighbourhood of the manufacturing districts his utterances were cheered by the protectionists, who were themselves so unacquainted with the subject that they were unable to judge of the probable truth of his calumnies. He accused Mr. Cobden of working his mill night and day while calling for a repeal of the corn-laws, and implied that by these means he had amassed a large fortune.

When the attention of the house was called to these slanders Mr. Ferrand admitted that he had charged many anti-corn-law manufacturers with so acting, but denied saying that they were all guilty, and on this the matter was dismissed. He had also accused the manufacturers of supporting the "truck" system, and evading the laws passed for its suppression. After reading a number of letters which mentioned masters in different districts who maintained it, he entered into a description of the manner in which, as he alleged, the work people went into a room to receive their wages on Saturday, and after being paid in money, were compelled (instead of returning by the door at which they had entered) to pass through another room in which sat a person to whom they had to pay every farthing of the money for the goods supplied to them during the previous week at 25 per cent profit. Mr. Villiers indignantly denied these charges. Mr. Cobden did not deign to notice them, and there was no more proof forthcoming than was afterwards afforded for the preposterous statement that the Anti-Corn-law League had enhanced the price of corn by using no less than 100,000 quarters of wheat annually. To the cries of how? from the free-traders it was replied, "Why, by daubing their calicoes with flour paste." Mr. Ferrand then read letters explaining how the paste of flour was used in the manufacture of calicoes, and one complaining of frauds practised in the weaving of cotton cloths by the collection of old tainted rags which were ground to dust and mixed with the paste that was applied to the calicoes. But the writer of that curious letter was guilty of the imprudence of wanting to prove too much, and so went on to say that the dust made from these rags was so abominable to the operatives that they had named it "devil's dust," and that many of the manufacturers of Huddersfield had put such a large quantity of devil's dust into their calicoes that the foreign trade of the country had been almost ruined. Of course, as the name "devil's dust" had really been applied to the dust removed from the *raw* cotton by the operation of the "scratcher," vulgarly called the "devil," these assertions had little lasting weight or influence among people acquainted with the subject. But the declarations of Mr. Ferrand were at the time applauded as a spirited attack, and were adopted and circulated as arguments by the so-called "Chartists"—who were the opponents of free-trade.

It was evident, at anyrate, that the government had no immediate intention of making any concession towards the repeal of the corn-laws, although it was felt that the sliding-scale could only be a temporary measure. When the Whigs joined in the representation that the distress of the country was owing to the duty on corn Sir Robert, with something like haughty sarcasm, was able to reply by asking how it was, if they were really convinced of this, they had not made efforts to abolish the corn-laws when they were so long in office. Nor could anybody refuse admiration for the masterly scheme of Peel's new tariff by which so many articles of necessary consumption were relieved from high duties.

The payment by the unfortunate Chinese of an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars or £4,375,000 to the government for the cost of the war would eventually add to the revenues. We had still an uncomputed contest in India to account for, and the deficiencies of the recent government had amounted to an appalling sum—that for the ensuing year being above 2½ millions. How was the deficiency to be met? The proposal to increase the customs and excise had already been tried, and in the previous year the additional percentage of 5 per cent had, instead of producing £5 on each £100, only produced 10*s*. The country had arrived at the limit of taxation on articles of consumption, said Sir Robert Peel. He could not revive old taxes and return to the former post-office system, he could not con-

sistently tax the means of conveyance. His scheme was, as we have seen, to relax instead of increasing the commercial tariff. Out of 1200 articles paying duty he recommended an abatement of duty on 750, leaving 450 untouched. The duty on foreign timber would be lowered to 25*s*. a load, and timber from Canada would be let in at 1*s*.

Among one of his most remarkable illustrations that high duties were a mere delusion, Sir Robert quoted a letter from a smuggler offering to forward every week blondes and laces from Lille, Arras, Caen, Chantilly, &c., "at a very low premium by the indirect channel," and the prices for which the passage would be undertaken would vary from 8 to 13 per cent for these and various kinds of silk goods, satins, jewelry, &c., "for which prices would have to be determined, but certainly a great deal under your custom-house duties." "I know," said Sir Robert at the conclusion of his speech, "that many gentlemen who are strong advocates for free-trade may consider that I have not gone far enough. I believe that on the general principle of free-trade there is now no great difference of opinion, and that all agree in the general rule that we should purchase in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest." This, of course, was received with cheers by the free-traders, who, in their desire to see the abolition of the tax on corn, observed a principle which they would have applied to all other commodities, but for the time they made corn the representative article as it was the most important, and the need for its free importation was producing dire distress in the country.

Mr. Hume took the opportunity of the premier's declaration to congratulate him and his colleagues on being converts to the principles of free-trade, a proposition which Mr. Gladstone at once called in question, on the grounds that he must protest against the statement that the ministry were converts to principles which they had formerly opposed, for the late government had certainly done very little for the principles of commercial relaxation.

As we have had occasion to say, the wide and masterly scheme included in the tariff was an evidence of Mr. Gladstone's remarkable ability not only as a financier but as already an adept in the science of the adjustment of taxation to commercial interests. It fell to him to explain, to defend, and to enforce the various details of the plan, and during the ensuing debates he was a hundred times called upon to respond to questions or to representations on the subject of the provisions of the tariff. The principle really involved in the policy of the government was that of a diminution of indirect in favour of direct taxation, for though the proposed income-tax was intended to be only a temporary measure to meet and relieve the deficiency, it was also by its adoption that the reduction of duties on articles of necessary consumption was to be effected.

Every year onwards from the time of the passing of the Reform Bill the increasing amount of the national expenditure had been the subject of much criticism. The introduction of the income-tax revived in time of peace what had always been regarded as a war tax, and the subject of our general expenditure was of course largely discussed; but Sir Robert, great in finance, conscious of his strength, and proud of the confidence of the country in his skill and energy, put the question which has so often been asked by successful finance ministers. "What have you done with the revenue I left you?" exclaimed the premier, addressing the late ministers. "In the year 1835 you, the ministry, found the affairs of the two great empires in this state:—In the United Kingdom the surplus of income over expenditure was £1,376,000; in India, £1,556,000. You had then a net surplus approaching to three millions! How have you left matters? You say I overstate the difficulties. Can you deny that you found a surplus of three millions, and have left a deficiency of five millions? On the 5th of April, 1842, the deficit of the revenue of the United Kingdom compared with its expenditure was £2,579,000; of India, £2,430,000. The difference, then, against this country and its credit is eight millions as compared with 1835!"

One of the answers made by the Whigs to the charge of bad management in money

matters was that parliament was, of late years, always being called upon to do something new, and in much quicker time than fresh revenues could be raised. It is not worth while to dwell upon this point, but the complaints that were made by certain critics of the diminution of the revenue from the post-office, after the great scheme of Sir Rowland Hill had been realized, may fitly receive a word of passing notice. "It is true," said a high authority in reply to some of these charges, "it is true that the net amount paid to the exchequer, though steadily advancing, is consideraby less than it had been under the old system. But this may be traced to a succession of expensive improvements which must have been adopted, at an equal charge, had no reduction of postage taken place. The impatience of commerce is as great as that of love itself. The bill of exchange, as well as the sigh which is to be wafted from Indus to the pole, brooks no delay. Steam carriages and steamboats must all be put in requisition. Our West India colonies demand a special line of packets. It is granted, but the contract amounts to £240,000. Sam Slick (Mr. Haliburton) and M. Papineau demand justice to Nova Scotia and Canada, and the Halifax packets are established at a cost of £145,000. Our annual packet contracts exceed £580,000, and the admiralty expends a further sum of £111,000 for the same service. France, Mehemet Ali, and the East India Company offer their co-operation; a change is made, and we are brought within six weeks of Bombay. Nor do we confine our labours within the limits of our own possessions. Callao and Valparaiso, Ceylon and Hong-Kong, the Celestial Empire as well as our Australian continent, are all provided with steam communication; and thus there is scarcely a part of the globe into which the great moving power of St. Martin's-le-Grand is not brought into immediate contact."

It would be nearly trivial to say that the penny postage system has more than justified itself financially; but it is worth while, in this retrospect, to place upon record (for purposes of comparison with the figures which would now have to be brought forward) this humble defence of a portion of the national expenditure about forty years ago.

In appealing to the house on behalf of the income-tax Sir Robert Peel said, "We live in an important era of human affairs. . . . I think it is impossible to deny that the period in which our lot and the lot of our fathers has been cast, the period which has elapsed since the outbreak of the first French revolution, has been one of the most memorable periods which the history of the world will afford. The course which England has pursued during that period will attract for ages to come the contemplation, and I trust the admiration, of posterity. That period may be divided into two parts of almost equal duration, a period of twenty-five years of continual conflict—the most momentous which ever engaged the energies of a nation, and twenty-five years, in which most of us have lived, of profound European peace, produced by the sacrifices made during the years of war. There will be a time when those countless millions that are sprung from our loins, occupying many parts of the globe, living under institutions derived from ours, speaking in the same language in which we convey our thoughts and feelings—for such will be the ultimate result of our wide-spread colonization,—the time will come when those countless millions will view with pride and admiration the example of constancy and fortitude which our fathers set during the momentous period of war. They will view with admiration our previous achievements by land and sea, our determination to uphold the public credit, and all those qualities by the exhibition of which we were enabled ultimately, by the example we set to foreign nations, to ensure the deliverance of Europe. In the review of the period the conduct of our fathers during the years of war will be brought into close contrast with the conduct of those of us who have lived only during the years of peace. I am now addressing you after the duration of peace for twenty-five years. I am now exhibiting to you the financial difficulties and embarrassments in which you are placed; and my confident hope and belief is that, following the example of those who preceded you, you

will look those difficulties in the face, and not refuse to make similar sacrifices to those which your fathers made for the purpose of upholding public credit. You will bear in mind that this is no casual and occasional difficulty. You will bear in mind that there are indications among all the upper classes of society of increased comfort and enjoyment, of increased prosperity and wealth; and that concurrently with these indications, there exists a mighty evil which has been growing up for the last seven years, and which you are now called upon to meet. If you have, as I believe you have, the fortitude and constancy of which you have been set the example, you will not consent with folded arms to view the annual growth of this mighty evil. You will not reconcile it to your consciences to hope for relief from diminished taxation. You will not adopt the miserable expedient of adding during peace and in the midst of those indications of wealth and of increasing prosperity to the burdens which posterity will be called upon to bear. . . . If you do permit this evil to continue you must expect the severe but just judgment of a reflecting and retrospective posterity. . . . Your conduct will be contrasted with that of your fathers, who with a mutiny at the Nore, a rebellion in Ireland, and disaster abroad, yet submitted, with buoyant vigour and universal applause, with the funds as low as 52, to a property-tax of ten per cent." Thus by injunction and appeal did the minister support his scheme, and he carried it against the persistent opposition of the former government, at whom he launched many justifiable taunts for having reduced the finances of the country to a condition which made an income-tax necessary. It was a proof of the confidence reposed in the firmness and sagacity of his statesmanship that those to whom he so appealed should have submitted to a vexatious and hateful impost, the incidence of which could be calculated only by an inquisition made by persons to whom the sufferers would be most unwilling to make known their affairs. We all know now how repugnant is a tax which is paid under such conditions, but we do not adopt the same means of expressing our disgust. The old merchants who remembered the war property-tax, and its surcharges, had few patriotic recollections to reconcile them to a renewal of annoyances, and younger men dreaded the necessity for either paying or excusing themselves on the ground of poverty. We are told on good authority that in the books of the Bank of England signed by the drawers of dividends, were constantly written emphatic denunciations of the minister and the tax, by sufferers, some of whom indulged in marginal or parenthetical notes, such as, "D—— Sir Robert Peel and all his crew!" But the measure passed, the anti-corn-law advocates saw that they could gain nothing that session, and the attention of the League was at once turned to increasing the means of promoting free trade in corn. The Free-trade Hall was complete. Another great banquet was held, meetings were constantly assembled all over the country, a weekly paper was started, and arrangements were made to collect £50,000 for carrying on the work.

The concluding effort of the session may be said to have been that of Mr. Duncombe, who moved an address to the queen, praying that if no improvement in the condition of the people took place after the prorogation, parliament should be reassembled to consider the question of an alteration of the commerce in corn. This was too much for the ministers. The persistency and unflagging dogged determination of the anti-corn-law advocates had exhausted alike their rhetoric and their patience. They would say nothing, but would be contented to outvote their opponents on a division. But they were not allowed to take refuge in silence. The taunts of the opposition roused Sir Robert Peel, who rose and with passionate sarcasm denounced the continued obstruction of public business by these repeated motions against the corn-laws. With equal passion Cobden replied that the salvation of the people from famine or the workhouse was the essence of public business. Would the right honourable baronet, he asked, resist the appeals which had been made to him, or would he rather cherish the true interests of the country, and not allow himself to be

dragged down by a section of the aristocracy? He must take sides, and that instantly; and should he by so doing displease his political supporters, there was an answer ready. He might say that he found the country in distress, and he gave it prosperity; that he found the people starving, and he gave them food; that he found the large capitalists of the country paralysed, and he made them prosperous. This was impassioned language, and the whole attitude of the leaders on both sides was energetic,—the atmosphere of debate was heated. It is well to remember this in estimating what took place soon afterwards in the next session. We have already referred to the general discontent, and to the almost universal distress which afflicted the country, and in such times especially when some of the leaders of a large and not well organized body, like the Chartists at that time, more than hint at a resort to physical force to compel legislation, or at all events use threats which are intended for intimidation, and have already practically resulted in a resolution to cease from work, it may be expected that a kind of insanity will prompt individuals to deeds of violence, or that some persons already insane will have their delusions emphasized by the course of public feeling.

On the 21st of January, 1843, Sir Robert Peel's secretary, Mr. Edward Drummond, was passing along Whitehall, when he was shot in the side by a man named M'Naughten. So close was the attack that Mr. Drummond's coat was on fire when he was seen to put his hand to his left side and to reel. The assassin having fired one pistol placed it in his breast, and drew out another, which went off as he was seized by a police constable, the ball striking the pavement. Mr. Drummond, who was, it is believed, a man of very endearing manners, only survived four days, when he expired. M'Naughten was taken to a police station, and defended his crime on the ground that the Tories had been persecuting him for years. He had evidently mistaken the secretary for Sir Robert Peel, and it was equally obvious that he was suffering, if not from actual insanity, from mental aberration. He was committed to trial for wilful murder; the crime occasioned much sensation in the country and in parliament, but nobody could have foreseen the unhappy manner in which it became an episode in an ensuing debate. It is perhaps not surprising that it should have produced a very marked effect upon Sir Robert Peel himself, as it was evident that the fatal bullet was meant for him, and notwithstanding the favourable view he endeavoured to take at the beginning of the session as to the stability of the ministry and the general reliance upon its measures, he had been burned in effigy in several towns, and, as we have seen, threats and denunciations were not unfrequent. It can scarcely be supposed that Peel was a man who was influenced by personal fear, but his situation was a painful one: a man whom he esteemed and liked, one intimately associated with him in a confidential capacity, had been murdered in the streets in mistake for himself, and the proceedings in parliament had probably irritated and depressed his nervous system, and rendered him feverishly ready to catch at any expressions directed against him. Only on the supposition that his usual judicious mental balance was disturbed by the anxieties of his position, and by the tragic event referred to, can his violent imputations addressed to Mr. Cobden be explained, and unfortunately his followers were only too ready to encourage them, though it was known with certainty that no man could have been less open to such a charge than the leader of the anti-corn-law movement.

It was in a debate on a motion by Lord Howick for a committee of the whole house to consider the reference in the queen's speech to the long-continued depression of manufacturing industry that Mr. Cobden, on the fourth evening of the discussion, spoke very forcibly. It was perhaps an unfortunate circumstance that in the earlier part of his remarks he had referred to attempts in the House of Lords to associate "an almost maniacal transaction" (by which it was understood that he meant the murder of Mr. Drummond), with the Anti-Corn-law League, and he particularly characterized the language used by Lord Brougham on that occasion as "the ebullition of an ill-

regulated intellect, rather than the offspring of a malicious spirit." This reference was of course to denote the stubborn animosity with which the demands for a repeal of the corn duties were received, and he had dismissed it altogether, when in his subsequent remarks on the attitude maintained by Sir Robert Peel in refusing to take any further action in response to the constant and repeated appeals of the country, he asked the prime minister what he meant to do, with capital melting away, pauperism rapidly increasing, and foreign trade declining. Everybody saw that he must adopt some change of plan, and it was the duty of every independent member to throw on him the responsibility of the present state of affairs—a responsibility of course arising from his position. He had the privilege of resigning office. He had it in his power to carry the measures necessary for the people; and if he had not that power as a minister, he would have it by resigning his office. He should be held individually responsible. The electoral body would force him to do them justice. It is quite clear that this meant no more than that Sir Robert Peel was officially responsible for not meeting the wishes of the country; that he should either act in accordance with the popular demand, or resign, in order that the desires of the people might be accomplished. Nobody who knew Cobden—his real sweetness of disposition, his frank simple character, and his truly religious life—could have imputed to him any sinister meaning; but the mental atmosphere of the house was charged with malign elements. Peel himself was under a temporary illusion, and it is possible that the convincing manner and clear persuasive language of the corn-law "agitator" had already had a considerable effect against the arguments of the other side. The statement that the prime minister became individually responsible for the delay in further legislation while he retained office had more than once been made by Cobden at meetings of the League, and it required no explanation. Everybody understood it to mean that organized efforts must be made among electors to force the prime minister either to abandon the duties on food, or to resign in favour of a new government. But now the heated imagination of Sir Robert discovered in it a dreadful allusion to the fate of his secretary, and to what might be his own. Nor was he alone in seizing upon this perverted interpretation. He rose, and in an excited and vehement manner exclaimed, "Sir, the honourable gentleman has stated here very emphatically what he has more than once stated at the conference of the Anti-Corn-law League, that he holds me individually (here the speaker spoke with solemn expression, and amidst continued cheering from the ministerial benches)—individually responsible for the distress and suffering of the country; that he holds me personally responsible; but be the consequences of these insinuations what they may, never will I be influenced by menaces either in this house or out of this house, to adopt a course which I consider"— (the rest of the sentence was unheard amidst a storm of shouts from various parts of the house).

Mr. Cobden may well have been horrified at the interpretation put upon words which were only susceptible of such a meaning by a strained application of them to a recent tragical occurrence. He rose immediately and said, "I did not say that I held the right honourable gentlemen personally responsible—" Here there were shouts of "Yes," and "You did, you did," amidst cries for order and appeals to the chair, Sir Robert Peel also crying, "You did." "I have said," continued Cobden, "that I hold the right honourable gentleman responsible by virtue of his office, as the whole context of what I said was sufficient to explain." This was received with cries of "No, no!" from the ministerial benches, and the whole house was in confusion. Sir Robert Peel continuing, said, "Sir, the expression of the honourable gentleman was not that he held her majesty's government responsible, but, addressing himself to me, he said in the most emphatic manner that he held me individually responsible." At this point Sir James Graham handed a paper to Sir Robert Peel, who after looking at it resumed by saying, "I do not want to overstate anything. I am not certain, on reflection, whether the honourable gentleman used the word 'personally,' but he did

twice repeat that he held me individually responsible. I am perfectly certain of that. The honourable gentleman may do so, and may induce others to do the same, but I only notice his assertion for the purpose of saying that it shall not influence me in the discharge of a public duty." Sir Robert concluded by a long and exceedingly able speech on the causes of depression of trade and national distress, in which he quoted endless authorities, from David Hume to Mr. Huskisson; and the division showed—ayes, 191, for Lord Howick's motion, and noes, 306; but the majorities were already beginning to diminish.

At the end of the debate Mr. Cobden again rose and earnestly denied the meaning which had been imputed to him, and his explanation was with some stiffness and hauteur of manner accepted by Sir Robert Peel, who was soon to know him better, and to make ample acknowledgments of his sincerity of purpose and his great ability.

The whole scene had been a stormy and a painful exhibition, but it was one of those occasions when members are carried away by sudden gusts of passion, aroused by the perverse misinterpretation of some remarks adverse to the prevailing temper of the hearers. We are little accustomed now to these ebullitions, but there have always been times at which the House of Commons has suddenly become a bear-garden, and it has been compared by high authority to a gathering of schoolboys even when it is pretty well behaved. But, on the whole, we have not had, in Sir Charles Barry's new chamber, so many or so gross scenes of noise, confusion, and worse, as are well known to have occurred in the days when the princess-royal was yet in the cradle. One such scene is sketched in a letter of Macaulay's. "This night," he says, "was very stormy. I have never seen such unseemly demeanour or heard such scurrilous language in parliament. Lord Norreys was whistling and making all sorts of noises. Lord Maidstone was so unmannered that I hope he was drunk. At last, after much grossly indecent conduct, at which Lord Elliot expressed his disgust to me, a furious outbreak took place. O'Connell was so rudely interrupted that he used the term 'beastly bellowings.' Then rose such an uproar as no O. P. mob at Covent Garden, no crowd of Chartists in front of a hustings ever equalled. Men on both sides stood up and shook their fists and bawled at the top of their voices. Freshfield, who was in the chair, was strangely out of his element; indeed, he knew his business so little, that, when first he had to put a question, he fancied himself at Exeter Hall or the Crown, and said, 'As many as are of that opinion, please to signify the same by holding up their hands.' He was quite unable to keep the smallest order when the storm came. O'Connell raged like a mad bull, and our people—I for one—while regretting and condemning his violence, thought it much extenuated by the provocation. Charles Buller spoke with talent, as he ever does, and with earnestness, dignity, and propriety, which he scarcely ever does. A short and most amusing scene passed between O'Connell and Lord Maidstone, which in the tumult escaped the observation of many, but which I watched carefully. 'If,' said Lord Maidstone, 'the word 'beastly' is retracted, I shall be satisfied, if not, I shall not be satisfied.' 'I don't care whether the noble lord be satisfied or not.' 'I wish you would give me satisfaction.' 'I advise the noble lord to carry his liquor meekly.' At last the tumult ended from absolute physical weakness. It was past one, and the steady bellowers of the opposition had been howling from six o'clock with little interruption. I went home with a headache." We have now no O'Connell, but in the session of 1881 we have heard the phrase "beastly bellowings" revived.

To the case of M'Naughten, who shot Mr. Drummond, further reference is perhaps due, as it formed a point of fresh departure in the legal treatment of insanity, and led to much discussion both at home and abroad.

It was proved at the trial that M'Naughten was "a man with a grievance," over which he had brooded till he was ready to fancy almost any human being had injured him. It was also proved that he had transacted business on the day before he shot Drummond, and had shown not the least sign of insanity in

doing so. There is *now* hardly a single student of such matters who would lay the slightest stress upon such a circumstance, but at that time the public, the judges, and the lawyers, not to say many of the medical profession, were very ill-informed in such matters. In the M'Naughten trial Sir William Webb Follett, the Tory solicitor-general, conducted the prosecution, while Mr. Cockburn, Q.C., afterwards Lord Chief-justice, defended the prisoner. There were three judges on the bench, Lord Chief-justice Sir Nicholas Conyngham Tindal, Mr. Justice Williams, and Mr. Justice Coleridge (not the present Lord Coleridge of course). The case was conducted in a manner which reflected honour upon all persons concerned; the medical witnesses for the defence being listened to with respect; while Follett declined to call any medical evidence in reply. Upon this the trial was stopped, and the lord chief-justice summed up, directing the jury to acquit the prisoner if they found that at the time of committing the murder he did not know he was doing a wicked and illegal thing. There was nothing new in this; but the jury, as may be gathered from their verdict, really directed their minds to another point, namely, the question whether the prisoner was under an insane uncontrollable impulse to commit the murder? The absurdity of a man going about to shoot Sir Robert Peel because his own father had not taken him into partnership (which was the real state of the case) seems to have startled their common-sense into a view of the matter which took all the force out of Lord Chief-justice Tindal's direction upon the point of law. They acquitted the prisoner on the ground of insanity.

The excitement, both in parliament and outside of it, had been very great, and the Lords, the Commons, and the public generally were rather alarmed than edified or set thinking. The House of Lords, as the highest court of judicature (practically the law lords only), submitted to the common-law judges certain questions, and these elicited replies of which the following sentences formed part:—

"Notwithstanding the party committed a wrong act while labouring under the idea that he was redressing a supposed grievance or injury, or under the impression of obtaining some public or private benefit, he was liable to punishment."

"If the delusion were only partial, the party accused was equally liable with a person of sane mind;" and "if the crime were committed for any supposed injury, he would then be liable to the punishment awarded by the laws to his crime."

It will be seen at a glance that these deliverances amounted to a condemnation of the verdict of the jury, if we may guess—and practically every one *did* guess—what had been passing in their minds. But though these deliverances have been taken to represent English law ever since, they have been more or less disregarded by both judges and juries since 1843. In America and on the Continent they were generally condemned as showing an absurd ignorance of the nature of insanity, and it is now well understood by both legal and medical experts that M'Naughten's case marked the commencement of a new era in jurisprudence. From that time to the present new light has been dropping in at different points on this dreadful and difficult subject, and the whole subject of the treatment of the insane has been handled in a more humane and cautious spirit. The names of Dr. Conolly and George Combe belong to history in this connection, and the late Sir Alexander Cockburn showed himself from time to time an attentive and candid student of the jurisprudence of insanity.

On the Thursday evening following Sir Robert Peel's accusation of Mr. Cobden nearly ten thousand persons assembled in the Free-trade Hall, Manchester, to testify their unabated attachment to the cause of free-trade and its distinguished advocate. Mr. Wilson, the chairman, after giving an account of the scene in the House of Commons, and reading some extracts from the *Times*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *Standard*, said:—

"For four years, under many a trying calumny, and under the greatest provocations, we have never deviated from pursuing the

object for which this League was established; we have never, during that period, turned aside to refute the thousand-and-one misrepresentations, to call them by the mildest name, by which we have been beset; and if we depart from that rule on the present occasion, it is on account of the attack being one of the grossest, one of the vilest, one of the most painful, that could be heaped upon us. In the name then of all who are included, collectively or individually, in this accusation, I deny all alliance with, and approbation and knowledge of, any agent or means other than those that are peaceful, moral, and in accordance with the principles of the British constitution, for the accomplishment of our object. In the name of the ladies, the occupants of those galleries, who have graced our meetings on many a previous occasion, and who are included in that base attack,—I deny it. In the name of the thousands of working-men who stand before me in this hall and who are included in that base attack,—I deny it. In the name of the gentlemen who stand around me on this platform, who countenance our proceedings, who are identified with them, and who are included in this attack,—I deny it. In the name of the great body of merchants, manufacturers, traders, and others in this and in different parts of the country, identified with us, and who are included in this attack,—I deny it. In the name of the mayors, magistrates, preservers of the peace, and members of both houses of the legislature, who have contributed to our funds, and who have also sanctioned our proceedings, and are included in the attack,—I deny it. And, lastly, in the name of two thousand ministers of religion, who have left their sacred calling that they might lend their aid in obtaining bread for the hungry and clothing for the naked, and who are included in the attack,—I deny it. And, finally, I hurl back the calumny upon whoever may choose to utter it, as a most atrocious, most wilful, most audacious falsehood." The hall during this emphatic repudiation of the charges against the League presented a most extraordinary scene of excitement, and it was not till the expiration of some moments after the chairman had taken his seat that it subsided. The meeting was then addressed by Henry Ashworth, Esq., of Bolton, Thomas Bazley, Esq., Sir Thomas Potter, John Bright, Esq., Alderman Callander, and other gentlemen, and an address of thanks to Mr. Cobden, and of confidence in him, was passed unanimously.

From this time London became the headquarters of the movement. The meetings throughout the country immediately following the attack in parliament on Cobden and the League were exceedingly numerous, and when the most important of these assemblies came to be held in London the movement might truly be called national.

But the great organization had already been completed, and had attained to vast dimensions before Manchester ceased to be the chief centre. A foreign visitor (Kohl), writing on the subject after a visit to our large towns, says:—"Manchester is the centre of the anti-corn-law, as Birmingham is of the universal suffrage agitation. At Manchester are held general meetings of the Anti-Corn-law League, and here it is that the committee of the League constantly sits. The kindness of a friend procured me admission to the great establishment of the League at Manchester, where I had the satisfaction of seeing and hearing much that surprised and interested me. George Wilson and other well-known leaders of the League who were assembled in the committee-room received me as a stranger with much kindness and hospitality, readily answering all my questions, and making me acquainted with the details of their operations. I couldn't help asking myself whether in Germany men who attacked with such talent and energy the fundamental laws of the state, would not have been long ago shut up in some gloomy prison as conspirators and traitors, instead of being permitted to carry on their operations thus freely and boldly in the broad light of day; and, secondly, whether in Germany such men would ever have ventured to admit a stranger into all their secrets with such frank and open cordiality.

"I was astonished to observe how the leaguers, all private persons, mostly merchants,

manufacturers, and men of letters, conducted political business, like statesmen and ministers. A talent for public business seems an innate faculty in the English. Whilst I was in the committee-room immense numbers of letters were brought in, opened, read, and answered, without a moment's delay. These letters, pouring in from all parts of the United Kingdom, were of the most various contents, some trivial, some important, but all connected with the objects of the party. Some brought news of the movements of eminent leaguers or of their opponents, for the eye of the League is ever fixed upon the doings both of friend and enemy. Others contained pecuniary contributions from well-wishers of the cause, for each of whom the president immediately dictated an appropriate letter of thanks. Other letters related anecdotes showing the progress of the cause, and the gradual defection of the farmers, the most resolute supporters of Peel.

"The League has now, by means of local associations in all parts of the kingdom, extended its operation and influence over the whole country, and attained an astonishing national importance. Its festivals, anti-corn-law bazaars, anti-corn-law banquets, and others of like nature, appear like great national anniversaries. Besides the acknowledged members of the League, there are numbers of important men who work with them and for them in secret. Every person who contributes £50 to the League fund has a seat and a voice in their council. They have committees of working-men for the more thorough dissemination of their doctrines among the lower classes, and committees of ladies to procure the co-operation of women. They have lecturers who are perpetually traversing the country to fan the flames of agitation in the minds of the people. These lecturers often hold conferences and disputations with lecturers of the opposite party, and not unfrequently drive them in disgrace from the field. It is also the business of the travelling lecturers to keep a vigilant watch on every movement of the enemy and acquaint the League with every circumstance likely to affect its interests. The leaguers write direct letters to the queen, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other distinguished people. to whom, as well as to the foreign ambassadors, they send copies of these journals containing the most faithful accounts of their proceedings. Sometimes they send personal deputations to distinguished opponents, in order to tell them disagreeable truths to their faces. Nor do the leaguers neglect the potent instrumentality of that hundred-armed Briareus the press. Not only do they spread their opinions through the medium of those journals favourable to them; they issue many periodicals of their own, which are exclusively devoted to the interests of the League. These contain, of course, full reports of all meetings, proceedings, and lectures against the corn-laws; extracts from anti-corn-law publications repeating for the thousandth time that monopoly is contrary to the order of nature, and that the League seeks only to restore the just order of Providence; original articles, headed 'Signs of the Times,' 'Anti-Corn-law Agitation in London,' 'Progress of the Good Work,' &c. &c.; and last, not least, poems entitled 'Lays of the League,' advocating in various ways the cause of free-trade, and satirizing their opponents generally with more lengthiness than wit. Nor does the anti-corn-law party omit to avail itself of the agency of those cheap little pamphlets called "tracts," which are such favourite party weapons in England. With these tiny dissertations, seldom costing more than twopence or threepence, and generally written by some well-known anti-corn-law leader, such as Cobden and Sturge, the League are perpetually attacking the public, as with a bombardment of small shot. I saw some three or four dozen of such publications announced at the same time by one bookseller, Mr. Gadsby. Still tinier weapons, however, are the anti-corn-law wafers, consisting of short mottoes, couplets, and aphorisms of every class, grave and gay, serious and satirical, witty and unmeaning; but all bearing on the one point of monopoly and free-trade. These are sometimes taken from the Bible, sometimes from the works of celebrated writers and orators, sometimes from the speeches and

publications of the leaguers themselves, and sometimes produced by the inventive ingenuity of the editor. Eighteen sheets of these wafers are sold in a pretty cover for one shilling, and each sheet contains forty mottoes. Astonishing indeed is the profuse expenditure of labour, ingenuity, wit, and talent, and likewise of stupidity, folly, and dulness, with which, in this wonderful England, the smallest party operations are carried on! Even in children's books do both the leaguers and anti-leaguers carry on their warfare, thus early sowing the seeds of party spirit in the minds of future generations.

"All the publications of the League are not only written, but printed, bound, and published at the League rooms, in Market Street, Manchester. I went through the various rooms where these operations are carried on, until I came at last to the great League depôt, where books, pamphlets, letters, newspapers, speeches, reports, tracts, and wafers, were all piled in neat packets of every possible size and appearance, like the great packets of muslin and calico in the great warehouses of Manchester. Beyond this was a refreshment room in which tea was offered us by several ladies, with whom we engaged in conversation for a little while.

"I cannot join the sanguine expectation of the leaguers that Sir Robert Peel will be the last English minister who will venture to uphold monopoly. It is well known how long such struggles generally last, and how very frequently, when the longed-for prize appears on the point of being attained, it is suddenly snatched away from that oft-deluded Tantalus —the people. The immediate aim of the leaguers is the abolition of the corn-laws, but they do not propose to stop at the attainment of this object. They will then turn the same weapon which brought down the corn-laws against all other trade monopolies and customhouse regulations, first in England and then in other countries, till at length all commercial restrictions between different nations shall be totally done away with, and trade rejoice in the golden sunshine of freedom all over the world,—a tempting object, but, alas! a long and doubtful road."

During the period of the struggle for the repeal of the corn-laws, which we are now reviewing, several of the men to whom our attention has been already directed took a considerable and sometimes an unexpected part in the strife.

We have already noted how, upon the failure of his attempt to introduce some effective modification of the tariff, Lord Melbourne may be said to disappear from public life. It was in the year following his retirement from office that he underwent an attack of paralysis, which proved to be the beginning of the end. Considering how little he really *did*, it is, at first sight, curious to see the space which his image appears to fill in the record of the time. This was largely the result of his relation to the queen herself. It would be disrespectful to say that he "coached" her majesty at the commencement of her reign; but it is known that he devoted the greater part of his latter years—those that were active, at all events—to direct personal attendance upon his sovereign; that his admiration of her qualities and demeanour was unbounded, and that, to use the language of the *Edinburgh Review*, "he died regarded almost as a father by the queen."

That so sincere a Radical and so good a judge of men as the unfortunate Lord Durham should have pointed out Melbourne as the man who was to head the government after the retirement of Earl Grey may be strange, but such is the fact. And there is a certain pathos in Melbourne's own account of the statesman's position:—"The exploits of the soldier are performed in the light of the sun and in the face of day; they are performed before his own army, before the enemy; they are seen, they are known; for the most part they cannot be denied or disputed, they are told instantly to the whole world, and receive at once the meed of praise which is so justly due to the valour and conduct that achieve them. Not so the services of the minister; they lie not so much in acting in great crises as in preventing those crises from arising; therefore they are often obscure and unknown, subject to every species of misrepresentation, and effected amidst obloquy, attack, and

condemnation, whilst in reality entitled to the approbation and gratitude of the country;—how frequently are such services lost in the tranquillity which they have been the means of preserving and amidst the prosperity which they have themselves created." These precise words were uttered while Lord Melbourne was yet Mr. Lamb, but they were adopted by him more than once in later life. There must have been a certain *insouciance* about the man, but there was no bitterness, and he declared in decisive language that his experience of life had led him to think well of mankind in general. He derived much of his power from a certain genial tranquillity, in which there were changing colours of lambent humour. There are not many witty sayings recorded of him, but his manner impressed the dullest. When in 1834 a procession of 100,000 Radical working-men marched through London, and presented themselves—as many as there was room for—in Downing Street, with their "monster" petition, they found Lord Melbourne looking out of window as he might have done at a Punch-and-Judy show. The petition had been rolled into the office by the front door in great pomp and glory; but the leaders of the deputation were quietly told (as we have already hinted) that a petition brought up in this fashion could not be received, and they had to ask leave to carry it out by the *back* door. It was a great blow for "the people in their thousands." Perhaps it may remind a reader here and there of an incident of certain riots in the manufacturing districts. A great manufacturer, who had a dinner-party coming off on a certain night, was warned that the mob would take advantage of that occasion to sack and burn his house and mills. He was recommended to put off his dinner-party and apply for military aid. But he adopted another plan. He had the water-power of his establishment so arranged and manipulated that the turning of a stop-cock would drown the streets. This arrangement was placed under his control by a tube (with a little piece of mechanism at the end of it), which he caused to be brought up to his chair. In the middle of dinner there was a dull roar from without, messengers hurried in to say that the moment had arrived. The guests turned pale, but the worthy manufacturer quietly touched a spring and let out the waters. There was some bad language in the street, but the drenched mob soon found their way to their homes. Not so angry, perhaps, but equally discomfited must have been the "leaders" who had to ask leave of Lord Melbourne's secretary to carry out the great petition back way, and order a hackney-coach up for it. "Oh, certainly!" said Melbourne, and the honours of the day were lost.

In the contest for free-trade Joseph Hume was of course in his element. Few of the politicians of that time have received such scant justice from the public as Mr. Hume. He was commonly looked upon as a mere haggler over the national expenditure. There never was a greater mistake. He was a travelled man, a man of considerable culture, and the consistent friend of every popular measure that has been accepted as an indisputable boon. He was to be seen in the wonderful caricatures of HB, with glass on eye, speaking to the estimates and calling attention to "the sum-tottle of the whole." But the artist, either by intention or instinct, or both, expressed in the face and head the imperturbable conscientiousness of the man.

Conscientious he was in all he did. He began life as a naval surgeon in the pay of the East India Company, and served his country well while he was in the East. To dwell on this would be beyond our scope, but Hume was serving in the Mahratta war at the very time the struggle at Assaye was going on in India. He made a fortune, and then travelled on the Continent.

The cause of education had no better or more determined friend than Joseph Hume, but he was always great on financial questions. Castlereagh thought it becoming to hold him up to ridicule in the House of Commons as "harlequin and clown." Even Mr. Huskisson, who ought to have known better, snubbed him. By this time, however, even the *Edinburgh Review* had found out his usefulness and did him public honour.

It was a great mistake to look upon Joseph Hume as a mere "dour" or humdrum man; he was a great advocate of popular holiday-making, and it was largely due to his efforts that such places as Hampton Court and the British Museum were made more accessible to the public. The labours he went through, and the expenditure he made, for the purpose of helping forward the return of Liberal members for parliament in the first election after the reform bill were incredible. He declined to take office, and he would have been out of parliament in 1837, when he lost the election for Middlesex, had not O'Connell assisted his return for Kilkenny. In 1842, however, as we have seen, he was received by his old Scottish constituents and sat for the burghs of Montrose. He was too homely a man for anybody to think of offering him a title in those days, but very few members of parliament have ever deserved better of their country than plain Joseph Hume.

In looking back upon a long track of years, it occurs to the candid mind that, large as had been the space occupied by Lord Brougham in the public eye, it is not easy to be quite sure that justice has been done to him for his great public services. His versatility, indiscretion, and unaccountable temper were always against him, and his amazing activity was not easy to follow. He was too often seen in the midst of a blaze of fireworks of his own letting-off, and there was always a sort of jealousy of his splendid talents. The general suggestions contained in these remarks are not new to the reader of this narrative, but, after all, we too readily forget our benefactors or disparage them unduly when they do not quite please us in the details of their career. There was again and again reason to complain of Brougham, but how many useful things he did! In the new reign we find him almost as busy and as inconsistent as ever. The bill for enabling the Court of Chancery to give to mothers the custody of the children of a marriage in certain cases of domestic difference—the most natural measure in the world, one would have thought—was not so fortunate as to please the great ex-chancellor. There was, however, true sagacity of a kind in his remark that the edifice of the laws relating to women was one which, once touched, would be touched again and again. Twice did his lordship attack the great question of national education, and twice were the measures he proposed unfortunate; the bills never went beyond the first reading. But much honour was due to him for his persistent energy in a good cause. County courts are by no means a perfect institution, but they have proved very useful, and it is to Brougham that we chiefly owe whatever good has been got out of this cheapening of the law for the recovery of small debts. Brougham was the originator of some useful changes in the law of evidence, and we are still far behind his proposals for reform in various directions. Whether there should be a public prosecutor or not is an open question. Brougham thought there should, and if he was right we owe the existence of such an officer in England mainly to his advocacy. If the codification of the criminal law is not far off, that also we owe to Brougham more than to any other man, except his private tutor and inspirer Bentham. We have not yet got so far as making systematic legal provision for giving compensation to persons wrongfully prosecuted in certain cases, but that too was one of Brougham's proposals. It was amusing, and no doubt irritating, to find the man who had spoken and voted against the duties on corn, and who eventually supported their repeal, resenting the activity of the Anti-Corn-law League, on the ground that it was an attempt to intimidate the government. His lordship had done *his* share of intimidation in days gone by; but, alas! the days *were* gone by.

During the strenuous debates of 1843 Mr. Gladstone was an able ally of the prime minister, and gave valuable services to the government of which he was a member; but although he had reached a position of great responsibility and of remarkable influence, where his high talents found an appropriate sphere, he was unable to follow his chief in relation to one of those ecclesiastical questions on which he had spoken and written so much.

In the course of the year 1844 Sir Robert Peel had made known to him his opinion that it was desirable to remodel and to increase the grant to the Irish Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. He was the youngest member of the government, entirely bound up with it in policy, and warmly attached by respect, and even affection, to its head and to some of its leading members. "Of association with what was termed ultra-Toryism, in general politics," he has said since, "I had never dreamed. I well knew that the words of Sir Robert Peel were not merely tentative, but that, as it was right they should, they indicated a fixed intention. The choice before me, therefore, was to support his measure or to retire from his government into a position of complete isolation, and what was more than this, subject to a grave and general imputation of political eccentricity. My retirement, I knew, could have no other warrant than this: that it would be a tribute to those laws which, as I have urged, must be upheld for the restraint of changes of opinion and conduct in public men." Mr. Gladstone has declared that he never entertained the idea of opposing the measure of Sir Robert Peel, and that Lord Derby, to whom he had already been indebted for much personal kindness, was one of those colleagues who sought to dissuade him from resigning office, urging upon him that such an act must be followed by resistance to the measure of the government, and that he would run the risk of being mixed with a fierce religious agitation. Mr. Gladstone's reply to this was that he must adhere to his purpose of retirement, but that he did not perceive the necessity of its being followed by resistance to the proposal. Overtures were made to him by some of those who resisted it; but they were at once declined, his whole purpose being to place himself in a position in which he would be free to consider what should be his course, without being liable to any just suspicion on the ground of personal interest.

"It is not profane," says Mr. Gladstone, "if I now say, 'With a great price obtained I this freedom.' The political association in which I stood was to me at the time the *alpha* and *omega* of public life. The government of Sir Robert Peel was believed to be of immovable strength. My place, as president of the Board of Trade, was at the very kernel of its most interesting operations; for it was in progress, from year to year with continually waxing courage, towards the emancipation of industry, and therein towards the accomplishment of another great and blessed work of public justice. Giving up what I highly prized; aware that

'malè sarta
Gratia nequicquam coit, et rescinditur;'

I felt myself open to the charge of being opinionated, and wanting in deference to really great authorities; and I could not but know that I should inevitably be regarded as fastidious and fanciful, fitter for a dreamer, or possibly a schoolman, than for the active purposes of public life in a busy and moving age."

In the month of January, 1845, if not sooner, the resolution of the cabinet was taken, and he resigned. The public judgment, as might have been expected, did not favour the act; but it was remarked at the time, or shortly afterwards, upon the case, as a rare one, in which a public man had injured himself with the public by an act which must in fairness be taken to be an act of self-denial.

Mr. Gladstone calls attention to this former expression of opinion in his article on his change of opinion before the Irish Church bill. He says, "I hope that reference to this criticism will not be considered boastful. It can hardly be so; for an infirm judgment, exhibited in a practical indiscretion, is after all the theme of these pages. I do not claim acquittal upon any one of the counts of such an indictment as, I have admitted, may be brought against the conduct I pursued. One point only I plead, and plead with confidence. Such conduct proved that I was sensible of the gravity of any great change in political conduct or opinion, and desirous beyond all things of giving to the country the only guarantees that could be given of my integrity, even at the expense of my judgment and fitness for affairs.

If any man doubts this, I ask him to ask himself, What demand political honour could have made, with which I failed to comply?" In the ensuing debate on the address (February 4th, 1845) Lord John Russell, in terms of courtesy and kindness, called for an explanation of the cause of Mr. Gladstone's retirement. He replied that it had reference to the intentions of the government with respect to Maynooth; that those intentions pointed to a measure "at variance with the system which he had maintained," "in a form the most detailed and deliberate," "in a published treatise:" that although he had never set forth any theory of political affairs as "under all circumstances inflexible and immutable," yet he thought those who had borne such solemn testimony to a particular view of a great constitutional question "ought not to be parties responsible for proposals which involved a material departure from it." The purpose of his retirement, he said, was to place himself, so far as in him lay, in a position to form "not only an honest, but likewise an independent and an unsuspected judgment" on the plan likely to be submitted by the government. He also spoke as follows in more forms than one:—

"I wish again and most distinctly to state that I am not prepared to take part in any religious warfare against that measure, such as I believe it may be; or to draw a distinction between the Roman Catholics and other denominations of Christians with reference to the religious opinions which each of them respectively may hold."

By this declaration Mr. Gladstone claims that his freedom on the Irish Church question was established; and that it has never since, during a period of nearly five-and-twenty years, been compromised. Some may say that it is perfectly consistent to have endowed Maynooth anew, and yet to uphold on principle, as a part of the constitution, the Established Church of Ireland; but Mr. Gladstone avows that it would not have been consistent for him. The moment that he admitted the validity of a claim by the Church of Rome for the gift, by the free act of the imperial parliament, of new funds for the education of its clergy, the true basis of the Established Church of Ireland for him was cut away. The one had always been treated by him as exclusive of the other. "It is not now the question whether this way of looking at the question was a correct one. There are great authorities against it; while it seems at the same time to have some considerable hold on what may be termed the moral sense of portions, perhaps large portions, of the people. The present question is one of fact. It is enough for the present purpose that such was my view."

From that day forward Mr. Gladstone has not said one word, in public or private, which could pledge him on principle to the maintenance of the Irish Church; and even in a speech delivered on the second reading of the Maynooth College Bill he took occasion distinctly to convey, that the application of religious considerations to ecclesiastical questions in Ireland would be entirely altered by the passing of the measure:—

"The boon to which I for one have thus agreed is a very great boon. I think it important, most of all important with regard to the principles it involves. I am very far, indeed, from saying that it virtually decides upon the payment of the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland by the state; but I do not deny that it disposes of the religious objections to that measure. I mean that we who assent to this bill shall in my judgment no longer be in a condition to plead religious objections to such a project."

He did not say that he was thenceforward prepared at any moment to vote for the removal of the Established Church in Ireland; "and this for the best of all reasons: it would not have been true. It is one thing to lift the anchor; it is another to spread the sails. It may be a duty to be in readiness for departure, when departure itself would be an offence against public prudence and public principle. But I do not go so far as this. On the contrary I was willing and desirous that it should be permitted to continue. If its ground in logic was gone, yet it might have in fact, like much besides, its day of grace. I do not now say that I leaped at once to the conclusion that

the Established Church of Ireland must at any definite period 'cease to exist as an establishment.' She had my sincere good-will; I was not sorry, I was glad, that while Ireland seemed content to have it so, a longer time should be granted to her to unfold her religious energies through the medium of an active and pious clergy, which until this our day she had never possessed. My mind recoiled then, as it recoils now, from the idea of worrying the Irish Church to death. I desired that it should remain even as it was, until the way should be opened, and the means at hand, for bringing about some better state of things."

Before the return of Mr. Gladstone to office the changes which had for some time been approaching had become imminent. The Anti-Corn-law League, growing in power and influence, had long ceased to regard the attacks made upon its leaders, who had, even as early as the spring of 1843, met the accusations of the representatives of the "agricultural interest" by serious reprisals. In various parts of the country many of the tenant-farmers,—the really agricultural as contrasted with the merely landed interest, had joined in the demand for the repeal of duties on corn, and the starving labourers in the fields were instructed by lecturers, agents, and pamphlets on the causes of their distress.

There were also, as we have seen, many influential landowners who yielded to the justice of the representations of the League, and became the advocates of a free-trade policy, so that the complaints of Mr. Bankes, who was then spokesman for the protectionists in the House of Commons, were not those of the whole of the landed interests. The very terms of his appeal to the ministry showed how hopeless the case was becoming. He said: "As to matters affecting those who, like myself, desire to live quietly and safely among their tenantry in the country, the ministry have not the power of knowing, as I and other gentlemen in the country have, the enormous extent of mischief which may be produced at this present time by the emissaries of this League. . . . I have no reason to seek for any ministerial support in the county which I represent, but I look to ministers for the peace of my private life—for the comfort, happiness, and welfare of the peasantry who live around me. I look to them to drive away by some means or other this new mode of sending emissaries throughout the country — paid emissaries; for such are avowed and boasted of by the honourable member for Stockport. It is of this I complain, and it is from this I entreat the government to protect the country; as one of their fellow-citizens, as a faithful and dutiful subject of the crown, I ask, I beseech, I demand this at the hands of her majesty's ministers."

Of course nothing of the kind could be done. No ministry could forbid inquiries into the condition of the agricultural labourers or interfere with the publication of the results of those inquiries. The truth was that the active leaders of the League were themselves learning more than they had expected of the operation of the taxes on corn in the agricultural districts. The agitation was no longer confined to manufacturing towns in Lancashire or to the north of England. Week by week there appeared in their newspaper—*The League*—particulars of the condition of the peasantry in the southern counties, where the wages were seven shillings or eight shillings a week. The disclosures made by the agents took the shape of practical reports on the state of farming in various places,—the neglect of the land, the inequality of rents, the miserable hovels in which the labourers too frequently had to dwell, the uncertainty of profits, the raising of rents, and the frequent reduction of wages,—the distress and the sufferings among that class of the population on whose behalf it was alleged that the corn-laws must necessarily be maintained. During the parliamentary recess Mr. Cobden himself was in the southern and midland counties holding meetings on market-days and carrying the arguments against his opponents, even though they made many demonstrations of physical force, or sought to drown the voices of the speakers by causing disturbance. But the leaders of the League were not to be dismayed by clamour. They had already had some experience of such

attempts in Manchester when the "Chartists" had organized similar opposition; and at Aylesbury, Bedford, Cambridge, Colchester, Guildford, Hertford, Huntington, Lewes, Lincoln, Maidstone, Rye, Uxbridge, and Winchester the farmers attended the meetings. Numbers of them were convinced by the plain persuasive eloquence and close reasoning of Mr. Cobden or by the powerful and unanswerable appeals of Mr. Bright, that the enormous fluctations in the value of wheat, in a country where rents were calculated on the higher prices, was the farmer's real grievance, and one which could not be remedied while these fluctuations continued as a result of depending for bread on the harvests of one country, which, under the best conditions, could never supply the demand of those who were the farmer's customers. Cheap bread, it was contended, meant national prosperity, and the interest of the bread-eaters and the farmers was identical, the security of the farmer being dependent mainly upon steady prices by which the average of rents would be calculated. The capital of the farmer was wasting away because the money which should go to pay labour went to pay rents which were based on the high prices of years of scarcity, and exacted during the low prices of years of abundance.

This had been Mr. Cobden's declaration in the House of Commons, and the "agricultural party" endeavoured to cry him down. There was so little attempt to reply to his arguments that the *Morning Post* called it a melancholy exhibition to witness "the landowners of England, the representatives by blood of the Norman chivalry, the representatives by election of the industrial interests of the empire, shrinking under the blows aimed at them by a Manchester money-grubber." It is unnecessary to say a word on the injustice of the epithets that were bestowed on the leader of the League—and on this occasion he must have smiled with a kind of grim satisfaction to find himself abused for his unanswerable arguments. In several instances his addresses in the house, usually of a conversational character, had risen to declamation and almost to passion. This was the more remarkable, inasmuch as Cobden was, so to speak, deficient in the kind of passion that usually rouses enthusiasm. He was above all men of that time cosmopolitan, and the cosmopolitan temper usually so diffuses genuine passion that it often renders earnest attachment to a political party, and what is commonly known as patriotism, exceedingly difficult. It was this kind of cosmopolitanism which led to the distinction of what was afterwards known as the "Manchester school" of politicians, who were usually accused of being mere money-grubbers and seekers of "peace at any price." There is often something apparently cold and diluted about the views of cosmopolitan politicians; and in moments of national excitement and popular intensity they are mostly obliged to stand aside, since though it may be found that their views are sound in the long run, there is frequently an immediate sense that in their desire to secure equal justice for all the world they are wanting in direct sympathy for that part of the world in which they happen to be placed.

The suspicions which were long afterwards entertained against the followers of the cosmopolitan school of politics may be indicated by Lord John Russell's declaration on the subject of his having given way to Mr. Gladstone as head of the Whig-Radical party of 1868, and the declaration itself is illustrative alike of that half dread felt by the older Whigs of the results of spreading liberalism, and of the warnings which were then being uttered by Mr. Gladstone's opponents.

"I cannot think that I was mistaken in giving way to Mr. Gladstone," says Lord John in his *Recollections*. "During Lord Palmerston's ministry I had every reason to admire the boldness and the judgment with which he directed our finances. I had no reason to suppose that he was less attached than I was to national honour; that he was less proud than I was of the achievements of our nation by sea and land; that he disliked the extension of our colonies; or that his measures would tend to reduce the great and glorious empire, of which he was put in charge, to a manufactory of cotton-cloth and a market for cheap goods, with an army and

navy reduced by paltry savings to a standard of weakness and inefficiency." This is a remarkably suggestive passage as showing what were the suspicions entertained against a minister who was supported by the avowed advocates of a policy of peace and free-trade, retrenchment and non-intervention.

Richard Cobden, if he seemed to be out of sympathy with some of the national questions because of the calm prudence and common sense—the utilitarianism as some people would have called it—which guided not only his actions but his theories—was just the man to sustain and represent *the* great movement to which he devoted his political career. As we have seen, he could rise to something like passion in the midst of his steady enthusiasm. But he had found in John Bright a colleague who possessed both enthusiastic force and oratorical fire, and though there were others who took a constantly prominent part in the operations of the League these two were its acknowledged public leaders, each in his own manner carrying conviction to the vast meetings for which no building in London was large enough until Covent Garden Theatre was engaged for fifty nights at a rent of £3000. The first occasion of Mr. Bright becoming acquainted with the man of whom he was to become the able coadjutor was in connection with the great question of education. "I went over to Manchester," says Mr. Bright, "to call upon him and invite him to come to Rochdale to speak at a meeting about to be held in the school-room of the Baptist Chapel in West Street. I found him in the counting-house. I told him what I wanted; his countenance lighted up with pleasure to find that others were working in the same cause. He without hesitation agreed to come. He came, and he spoke; and though he was then so young a speaker, yet the qualities of his speech were such as remained with him so long as he was able to speak at all—clearness, logic, a conversational eloquence, a persuasiveness which, when combined with the absolute truth there was in his eye and his countenance, became a power it was almost impossible to resist."

That this is no more than a simple description of the influence exercised by Cobden may be proved by the remarkable interest he aroused not only in English but in foreign audiences. Even in his continental journeys he was obliged to receive deputations and frequently to address meetings, and so great was the fame of the English free-trade advocate, that special assemblies were convened where his irresistible appeals and explanations might be made the means of instruction on the principles of commercial freedom. Of the personal influence which he exercised and of the deep sentiments with which Mr. Bright first associated the cause to which he also became attached, the following is an affecting record:—

"I was in Leamington, and Mr. Cobden called on me. I was then in the depths of grief—I may almost say of despair, for the light and sunshine of my house had been extinguished. All that was left on earth of my young wife, except the memory of a sainted life and a too brief happiness, was lying still and cold in the chamber above us. Mr. Cobden called on me as his friend, and addressed me, as you may suppose, with words of condolence. After a time he looked up and said, 'There are thousands and thousands of homes in England at this moment where wives and mothers and children are dying of hunger. Now when the first paroxysm of your grief is passed I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest until the corn-laws are repealed.'"

Nor did they. From that time till Cobden's death they were almost inseparable. Their tastes and mode of living were similar; they had the same end in view. Both were indefatigable workers—ardent, patient, courageous, ready, and yet each differed from the other so completely as a public speaker, that they seemed to be, as it were, the two semblances on either side of the shield of the League. The names of these two men were always mentioned together, and no anti-corn-law meeting of great importance was complete unless they could be present.

It may be conceived what an enormous effect was produced when the first monster meeting was held at Covent Garden Theatre.

It was a wise arrangement that at the large organized meetings only three or four leading men were appointed to address the audience, and though there were many forcible and excellent speakers it was natural that at the first meeting Cobden and Bright should commence. The vast building was crowded to excess—George Wilson, the chairman of the League, presided. Amidst a general hush of expectation the argumentative, persuasive, conversational address of Cobden carried conviction to the multitude who listened to it with pleasure. Then followed Bright, full of oratorical force—ardent, nervous, direct language—a kind of suppressed fire of eloquence—breaking now and then into satire, into warm appeal, rarely into scorching denunciation. People breathed hard at the end of each period, and, as a novelist makes one of her characters say, all of them was ear that was not eye. Another speaker followed—a man with a great reputation for eloquence among those who knew him, and having listened to his lectures, had come under the influence of his emotional appeals—a man of peculiar appearance, with a chubby, rather sensuous face, diminutive height, sleek barrel-shaped figure, and with thick dark hair, falling in a mass on his high shoulders. This was William Johnson Fox, the Unitarian minister, who afterwards (in 1847) became member for Oldham, and had already been noted for his efforts for the promotion of education and the relief of the labouring classes. To some of our readers his will be a well-remembered figure, and the almost magical eloquence, the perfect articulation of every word will not be forgotten any more than the pathos, the sarcasm, the neat condensed introduction, the happy argument close and telling, and the fine peroration rising to a climax which carried away the audience by the power of its final appeal. A writer of the *History of the Corn-law League* (Mr. Prentice) says, "His stage whisper might have been heard at the farthest extremity of the gallery . . . the speech read well; but the reader could have no conception of its effects as delivered with a beauty of elocution which Macready on those boards might have envied. The effect when he called on his hearers to bind themselves in a solemn league never to cease their labours till the corn-laws were abolished was electrical; thousands starting on their feet, with arms extended, as if ready to swear extinction to monopoly."

Hitherto Cobden and the friends of the League had represented only a small minority in the house, and they had to strive against numerous difficulties; but a change was already approaching. The cause which they advocated had been emphasized not only by the enthusiasm that characterized the anti-corn-law meetings and the vast assemblies which attended to listen to the representations of the speakers, but by the admissions of members of the government and supporters of the ministry. It had become evident that both Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone had adopted the principles of free-trade, though they were not prepared to carry them completely into practice; and indeed some of the declarations of Sir Robert Peel during the discussion of the motions brought forward by Mr. Ward for a committee "to inquire into the burdens, if any, which specially affect the landed interest," and by Mr. Ricardo against the postponement in the remission of our import duties with a view to negotiations for reciprocity—show that he was theoretically a more thoroughgoing free-trader than many who now claim to represent commercial liberation. In speaking of the commercial treaties then in the course of negotiation he said—"We have reserved many articles from immediate reduction in the hope that ere long we may attain increased facilities for our exports in return. At the same time, I am bound to say that it is for our interest to buy cheap, whether other countries will buy cheap or no. If we find that our example is not followed, if we find that other nations, instead of reducing the duties on our manufactures, resort to the impolicy of increasing them, this ought not, in my opinion, to operate as a discouragement to us to act on those principles which we believe to be sound. If the Brazilians choose to pay an artificially high price for cotton and woollen cloths, that is no reason why we should pay a high price for sugar and coffee."

It was little wonder that Mr. Cobden said the prime minister was at heart as good a free-trader as he was himself; nor is it surprising that the delay in putting into execution what was seen to be the inevitable policy of the chief of the government both irritated and stimulated the members of the League. The convictions of the ministry that some important relaxations were necessary for the admission of grain to the country had already been manifested in a way that left few arguments against the entire removal of the duties on foreign corn. Our ports had been opened to the Canadian harvests. A petition from the people of "the Dominion" for the free importation of their corn into Great Britain had been favourably received, and Lord Stanley, as colonial secretary, had admitted the force of their plea. He took occasion to remind them, in reply to one of their representations, that though it was true that the agricultural produce of the Channel Islands had all along been admitted to England without any duty, and the people of those islands had at the same time been permitted to buy for themselves in the cheapest markets, the landed interests of this country saw a very considerable difference between so small a territory as that of Jersey and Guernsey and the vast area of Canada. In fact the difficulty was that even if Canada should send the whole of its grain produce to Great Britain, it could easily replace it by buying a new supply from the still greater fields of the United States. This would be equivalent to supplying Britain itself with American corn *via* Canada, and to a practical abrogation of the corn-laws, and therefore Canada must impose a duty on the importations of wheat and flour from the United States in order to obtain a free market in Great Britain. It was a roundabout way of diminishing the duty on colonial grain, and its meaning was pretty well understood by the Anti-Corn-law League, who regarded the concession with quiet satisfaction. The Canadian legislature, with commendable alacrity, at once placed an import duty of three shillings a quarter on American wheat coming over their frontier, and British ports were open to any amount of Canadian—or, if prices so ruled, of Americo-Canadian—wheat and flour.

Mr. Gladstone, though he had opposed the repeal of the corn-laws on the ground that the full effects of the revised tariff had not yet been developed, and that the enormous importations of foreign corn which would ensue on the total removal of the duty would cause both a displacement of a vast mass of labour and a serious disturbance of the financial position of the country, was yet willing to admit that the only question before the house was one of time and degree. That view had been recognized in this country for the preceding twenty-five years by every government which had successively held office: there was no one who had held office during that period who had not introduced measures in the nature of relaxation of our commercial code. This was in opposition to the motion of Lord Howick (son of Earl Grey), who, having abandoned the proposal of the Whigs for a fixed duty, had deserted Lord John Russell, and advocated a repeal of the corn-laws in his proposal for a committee of the whole house to consider the reference in the queen's speech to the long-continued depression of manufacturing industry.

Mr. Gladstone deprecated the repeated endeavours to force upon the house the question of abolishing the corn-laws, and he also opposed the proposal to reduce the duty on foreign sugar, because such a reduction would be against the interests of our West Indian and other colonists who employed free labour, and would therefore tend to encourage slavery. But he made a very serious contribution to free-trade measures in the same session (1843) when he introduced a bill to abolish the restrictions on the importation of machinery, and showed that the existing prohibitory law was practically evaded, and was incapable of being maintained in its integrity, though it had already done much mischief to our trade for the benefit of that of the Belgian manufacturers.

We have referred in a former page to the successful part he took in the discussion of the Lady Hewley charities, and his liberal views on chapel trusts, and these, together

with his recently expressed opinions on the principles of free-trade, plainly indicated that his former conclusions were undergoing such modifications as led many more advanced representatives of religious and commercial freedom to express the hope that he would soon be one of the most powerful advocates on their side.

Before his temporary retirement from the ministry in 1845, for reasons which have already been recounted, the session of 1844 was a busy one for him, as for other prominent members of the house, and in its early days he had obtained a select committee to inquire into the standing orders relating to railways, with a view to the improvement of the railway system. Upon the results of that inquiry he had secured one of the most useful measures of the time. It authorized the Board of Trade, after the expiration of fifteen years, to purchase any of the railways coming within the provisions of the bill at twenty-five years' purchase of the annual divisible profits not exceeding 10 per cent, but this option was not to extend to railways in which a revised scale of tolls had been imposed. One of the clauses regulated the conditions on which third-class trains were to be established, and all future railways were to act on its provisions from the commencement of their traffic. At least one train on every week-day was to start from each end of the line to carry passengers in covered carriages for a penny a mile, and at no less speed than 12 miles an hour including stoppages. These trains were to stop to take up and set down passengers at every station, and each passenger was to be allowed a half-hundredweight of luggage without extra charge, while children under three years of age were to be conveyed in such trains without charge, and those under twelve at half-price.

In the year 1844 the position of the Corn-law League was less imposing than it had been in the previous year, when it had come to the front and was full of activity. But it had already been acknowledged as a great power, and it could "bide its time," believing that the temporary relief of a comparatively abundant harvest and a greatly improved condition of trade, together with the advantages already derived from the remission of duties under the tariff of a government on which the country still relied, would not ultimately suffice to prevent the removal of the taxes on food.

In 1843, indeed, the condition of trade which had made so many manufacturers bankrupt, had disturbed the whole commerce of our manufacturing towns, and had left thousands of the people in a condition of want which even the operation of the poor-laws was inadequate to alleviate, was in itself a continual argument in favour of admitting untaxed corn. The country was in such a state of depression that the cry for relief assumed the tones of threatening and defiance. Not in the towns only — where machinery was silent, where the furnaces of great factories had gone out, and the hands stood at the street-corners pale and muttering, or staid in their bare and fireless dwellings amidst wives and children half famished and sick with the hunger that could scarcely be allayed by a share of the extra dole occasionally distributed by the parish, or by some benevolent endeavour to diminish the general suffering—but also in the agricultural districts, the very centres of the interest which was opposing the remission of the bread-tax, the people were on the edge of famine. Shopkeepers had their trade diminished, and yet had to pay increased poor-rates. A large number of customers who formerly spent their wages on food and clothing, and even on ordinary luxuries, were earning so little that they could not buy enough of coarse food to satisfy their hunger, nor of the commonest clothing to replace the rags they wore. Many earned nothing, for they could find no work, and so waited among the crowds that went up to ask relief from the guardians, or joined the knots of sullen, almost desperate men who went about demanding to be supplied with bread.

The League had been strengthened by some important accessions from without. Before the meetings in Covent Garden Theatre, the theatre in Drury Lane had been engaged for six nights; but Mr. Macready, the lessee, had

been prohibited by the shareholders' committee from continuing to grant the use of the building for political purposes. The first meeting at Covent Garden, however, gave a great impetus to the cause, which now numbered among its adherents Mr. Samuel Jones Lloyd the banker (afterwards Lord Overstone), whose great reputation in financial circles, as well as his known wealth, made him a highly influential member. At the same time Earl Fitzwilliam, a large landowner, joined their ranks, and attended a public meeting at Doncaster with Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, when he moved the speedy abolition of protective duties. Thus the movement was extending not only in the direction of the poor and suffering, but in that of the opulent classes. In this time of want, uncertainty, and excitement, when the difficulties that surrounded the political situation were enhanced by riots and disturbances in England, and by impending insurrection in Ireland—of both of which we shall have more to say presently—the League was active and hopeful, and its leading members were indefatigable and self-sacrificing. It had grown to the dimensions of a recognized power in the state—a power that was too well organized to be at the mercy either of the government or of Whig opposition, to whose idea of a fixed duty on corn it was as steadfastly opposed as to the sliding-scale of the ministry.

"The League is a great fact," said the *Times;* "it would be foolish, nay rash, to deny its importance. It is a great fact that there should have been created in the homestead of our manufacturers a confederacy devoted to the agitation of one political question, persevering at it year after year, shrinking from no trouble, dismayed by no danger, making light of every obstacle. . . . It is a great fact that at one meeting at Manchester more than forty manufacturers should subscribe on the spot each *at least* £100, some £300, some £400, some £500, for the advancement of a measure which, right or wrong, just or unjust, expedient or injurious, they at least believe it their duty or their interest, or both, to advance in every possible way. . . . The League may be a hypocrite, a great deceiver, a huge Trojan horse of sedition. Be it so. But we answer, The League exists. You may tell us, and with truth, that there are men in the League sworn foes to church and crown, to peers and dignities, to bishops and judges; that now speaking, and declaiming, and begging and taxing, and, an' you like, plundering even, to resist the corn-laws—this monster being will next raise its head and subdue all laws beneath it. You may tell us that its object is not to open the ports, to facilitate commerce, to enrich England, but to ruin our aristocracy, whom leaguers envy and detest. You may tell us that no men of honesty or intelligence could, consistently with their honour and their knowledge, seek to rifle an embarrassed state of that just subsidy which all states impose upon articles of the most necessary consumption. You may tell us that whatever may be the specious pretext which they hold out, or the disguise under which they work, they can really only look forward to that disastrous crisis in the annals of a kingdom when indiscriminate plunder consummates the work of inextricable confusion. You may tell us that the League has whined and canted about the sufferings of the poor; that its orators wink with malicious cunning at the 'point' they make about the miserable victims of landlord legislation. In all this there is doubtless much truth. But we ask, tell us this: Who created the League? We answer *experience* set at naught, advice derided, warnings neglected; these brought the League into existence; these gave it power and motion and vital energy; these gave it an easy and unresisted ingress into the very sanctuaries of our domestic life. . . . A new power has arisen in the state, and maids and matrons flock to the theatre as though it were but a new translation from the French. Let no man say that we are blind to the possible mischief of such a state of things. We acknowledge that we dislike gregarious collections of cant and cotton men. We cannot but know that, whatever be the end of this agitation, it will expire only to bequeath its violence and its malevolence to some successor."

This was indeed a tribute to the power and influence of the League, which had been main-

tained and had week by week increased the number and importance of its adherents against an opposition of which the language of the *Times* was a comparatively mild representation. Perhaps there could be few more striking examples of the changes that have been effected in the last thirty years than a comparison of this manifesto of the *Times* against the advocates of free-trade, with the leading articles in the same journal to-day. The effect of this declaration in the leading newspaper was extraordinary, and the testimony to the position of the League was all the more valuable because of the terms of dislike and the imputations by which it was accompanied. Such a reluctant and bitter admission was calculated to establish the free-traders more firmly in public opinion, whatever may have been the distrust of their opponents. "The League is a great fact" became a kind of catchword — a phrase used alike to express encouragement among the friends of free-trade and apprehension among its enemies. The Marquis of Westminster, the wealthiest nobleman in England, in a letter to Mr. George Wilson, the president of the League, congratulated him on the success that had hitherto attended the efforts to overthrow an odious monopoly, and expressed his opinion that the country would be so greatly enriched by the removal of the duty on corn that the revenue would suffer no loss in consequence of its repeal. He contributed £500 to the funds. Another important attestation of the value of the work which was being accomplished was the presence of Lord Morpeth at a large free-trade meeting at Wakefield. Since the dissolution of the Melbourne ministry Lord Morpeth had lived in retirement, and it was understood that he was an opponent of the free-trade party; but at the Wakefield meeting, though he did not renounce his former opinions, nor give a complete adhesion to the whole policy of the League, he spoke so strongly in favour of free-trade principles that he was held to be a friend of the cause.

But though that cause continued thus to increase in strength and influence outside the house, there was no disposition on the part of the government to yield to or even to consider the demand for a remission of the duty on corn. A great improvement in trade, a consequent increase of wages and a diminution of pauperism, had followed an abundant harvest, and there was a considerable revival in the country. The price of wheat had fallen to 52*s*. and 54*s*. per quarter; bread was cheaper. The queen's speech at the opening of parliament on the 1st of February, 1844, was congratulatory on all subjects except that of Ireland, which continued to be "the chief difficulty." There appeared to be no immediate probability of the further development of the free-trade convictions entertained by leading members of the government, for circumstances had given an opportunity for maintaining the duty on corn in accordance with that sliding-scale to the provisions of which Sir Robert Peel and his supporters were anxious to give a complete and unprejudiced trial. In reference to the operation of this scale Lord John Russell said during the first debate of the session—"With respect to almost all articles of commerce we adopt a moderate duty; but with respect to corn, an article in which the great majority of both houses of parliament are pecuniarily interested, we levy a duty of forty per cent"—a sharp hit; to which Sir Robert Peel replied — in what in reading his language seems to be a rather grand (not to say pompous) manner— "The experience we have had of the present law has not shaken my preference for a graduated duty; and although I consider it inconsistent with my duty to make engagements for adherence to existing laws under all circumstances in order to conciliate support, I can say that the government have never contemplated, and do not contemplate, any alteration in the existing law."

This statement was regarded on both sides as a somewhat ambiguous intimation. The landed interest saw in it elements which caused them no little distrust, even amidst the satisfaction with which they hailed the announcement that no change was to be made. The League regarded it as a direct refusal of the claims which they continued to uphold, and were indignant; but amidst the complacent declaration that there should be no change

they thought they could discover an admission not only that change might become necessary, but that the principles held by the prime minister would not stand in the way when, under altered conditions, his courage rose to the occasion of announcing the removal of the tax on corn.

Neither party regarded the sliding-scale as a final settlement; perhaps most people looked upon it as an experiment, and it was an experiment which pleased neither the free-traders, the protectionists, nor those Whigs who were still in favour of a small fixed duty.

The operations of the League were continued, but in a direction which, though it included less display of force, had a practical and permanent effect. In some other respects the work of the free-traders appeared to flag. People appeared to be weary of the iteration of arguments which were not refuted, and though there was no movement on the part of the government in the direction of removing the burden of the corn-tax, that burden, for a time, ceased to bear so heavily when the results of the harvest lowered the price of the labourer's loaf. But the attention of the League was now directed to the revision of the electoral register, which, while it had been carefully watched by the supporters of Sir Robert Peel, had been somewhat neglected by the opposition, and especially by free-traders, many of whose names had been omitted from the lists of voters. For above four months the work was carried on diligently. The effects of this careful revision were as surprising as they were important. A seat was gained in South Lancashire by a very considerable majority, in consequence of the claims established and the number of the voters whose names were struck off. In North Lancashire the League chronicled a gain of 533 votes, and in the boroughs the protectionists were left only three seats, so that they had only five out of the twenty-six members for the entire county. In sixty-eight out of the hundred and forty boroughs where the League had some influence there had been a clear gain upon the registration, in some instances a very considerable gain, and it was evident that before long the numbers of votes would be so changed as to make a serious difference in the composition of the House of Commons should a dissolution take place before the question of the corn duties was settled. For not only did the League devote its attention to this revision, but just as Sir Robert Peel's cry to his supporters had been "Register, register, register!" advice which the free-traders had now followed with remarkable success; Mr. Cobden gave a word that was at first a little startling, when he urged his hearers to "qualify." He pointed out that by investing money in land instead of putting it in the savings-banks it would be secure, could be recovered if it should be wanted, would yield interest, and would at the same time secure the franchise. He also advocated the purchase of a piece of land as a provision for each child, to whom it would in the future secure a vote which would be a defence against political oppression. When he was remonstrated with for thus, by a public announcement, showing his hand to his opponents, Mr. Cobden replied that very few men were, from connection or prejudice, monopolists, unless their capacity for inquiry or their sympathies had been blunted already by the possession of an undue share of wealth. "In the next place," said he, "if they wish to urge upon others of a rank below them to qualify for a vote, they cannot trust them with the use of the vote when they have got it. But apart from this I would answer those people who cavil at this public appeal, and say, 'You will not put salt on your enemy's tail; it is much too wise a bird'—they have been at this work long ago and have much the worst of it now. What has been the conduct of the landlords of this country? Why, they have been long engaged in multiplying votes upon their estates, making the farmers take their sons, brothers, nephews to the register; making them qualify as many as the rent of the land would cover; making their land a kind of political capital ever since the passing of the Reform Bill. You have then a new ground opened to you, which has never been entered upon, and from which I expect in the course of not more than three years from this time

that every county, if we persevere as we have in South Lancashire, possessing a large town population, may carry free-traders as their representatives in parliament."

The importance of this movement was scarcely at first perceived even by free-traders themselves, for it was a direct and effectual correction of the injury that had been done to the Reform Bill by the Chandos clause, which still allowed landowners to admit their tenants on easy terms to the franchise, and to make votes by putting together several partners in a tenancy at will. The effect of this had been that while in the agricultural districts the voters were one in twenty-two, in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire they were only one in eighty of the inhabitants, and the landed interest gained the counties. In West Surrey the voters were one to twenty-six, and in Middlesex one to a hundred and fifteen. The remedy for this inequality was found in what was known as the forty-shilling freehold clause of the Reform Bill. A house, the possession of which would confer the franchise, might be purchased for from £30 to £40, and the League at once organized a system by which artisans and others could become the owners of houses or land purchased with their own savings. Registers of houses and land for sale were kept, the property was surveyed, the conveyance deeds prepared, and the purchaser had only to pay for his investment and take possession. The Chandos clause had been worked to nearly the utmost extent by the landowners, and the time had now arrived when the forty-shilling clause was to be made available for the working men in a scheme which taught thousands of thrifty men in the midland counties and elsewhere to invest their savings for the purpose of obtaining at the same time a freehold and a vote, even after the corn-laws were abolished and the League had been dissolved.

It may not be out of place here to say in parenthesis, that among the many discoveries made by the League during their investigations, that of the injury inflicted by the game-laws was one of the most painful. The so-called laws were practically inoperative, since although they seemed to provide that the game on any land was the property of the occupier unless he chose to part with his right in it, tenants were almost always ready to yield to landlords in order that holdings might be obtained on more favourable terms —with the implied understanding that birds and hares should not be allowed to increase for the purposes of sport in such numbers as to be injurious to the farmer. These promises were in most instances disregarded, the tenants sustained considerable loss and were subject to constant irritation, and worse still, the distressed peasantry were constantly tempted to poach the game which even the most stringent enactments could not convince them were as sacred as the tame animals forming the stock of the farmyard or the pasture.

The true stories of the game-laws of that time are inexpressibly shocking. Sporting landlords and sporting magistrates combined to render the punishments so severe that we read of them with amazement, although instances are not altogether infrequent of similar occurrences at a much later date. By what would seem to be an arrogant assertion of an indefeasible property in every wild animal on the land, and by an almost insatiable greed of the right to pervert sport itself to the assertion of an authority to preserve or to destroy, the very method of shooting was changed in many cases. "Within the last fifty years," says a well-informed writer at that time, "game has been preserved to an excess which was previously unknown. Most of the laws relating to game which have been passed within this period have been to enable game preservers to indulge in this taste, and to visit with greater severity those who are tempted by the abundance of game to become poachers. The accumulation of game in preserves, watched and guarded by numerous keepers, has led to changes in the mode of sporting. The sportsman of the old school was contented with a little spoil, but found enjoyment in healthful recreation and exercise, and was aided by the sagacity of his dogs. In the modern system of battue shooting the woods and plantations are beaten by men and

boys, attendants load the sportsmen's guns, and the game is driven within reach of gun-shot, and many hundred heads of game are slaughtered in a few hours. The true sportsman would as soon think of spoiling a poultry-yard. . . . The effect of protecting game by oppressive laws is perhaps more injurious to the morals of the rural population than any other single cause."

We cannot yet record that the game-laws have been reduced to provisions for the harmless protection of sport, and it may be left to our readers to judge whether these representations find a faint echo at this moment, but we shall perhaps have to return to the subject by-and-by. It is sufficient at this stage of our chronicle to note that between 1833 and 1844 half the commitments to the jails in some of the rural counties were for alleged poaching—and that the maintenance of the families of the prisoners, the enlargements of the jails, and the employment of numerous police added to the burdens of the occupiers of land, whose losses through the injury done by the ravages of game on their crops were so great that many farmers were ruined, and a large number were in distress. It was computed that the direct value of food thus consumed or destroyed was equal in amount to the income-tax.

Discontent naturally prevailed among the sufferers, and still more intensely among the starving labourers, who saw how much food was consumed by those animals which were protected by laws as severe as game-preserving legislators could enact, and imperious sporting magistrates could enforce. All this and much more was elicited by a parliamentary committee obtained by Mr. Bright in 1845 for the purpose of inquiry, and for the collection of information on a subject to which the earnest attention of the League had been called as soon as they began to investigate the condition of the agricultural population. That there was ample reason for a commission had long been evident. The newspapers of that day are full of accounts of poaching affrays—of men shot and gamekeepers murdered. There was a terrible case of two keepers employed by Lord Stradbroke, a game preserver who had endeavoured in the House of Lords to bring in still more stringent measures for preserving game by night. Both these keepers committed suicide—the only reason assigned for it at the inquest being that poachers had done much mischief in the noble earl's preserves, that the second keeper had fallen into a despondent state when he heard that his master was coming down for the 1st of September, and that the head keeper was alarmed lest it should be discovered that he had removed some pheasants' eggs from his colleague's portion of the preserves to make a better appearance in his own.

It has been observed that this dreadful occurrence had some effect in mitigating the severity of preserving landowners, but no improvement in the game-laws followed. Perhaps the abated tone of the owners of preserves may have helped to the concession of a commission of inquiry, but some very suggestive discoveries and disclosures had been made even before Mr. Bright appealed to parliament. Between the years 1833–1844 there had been forty-one inquests on gamekeepers, and in twenty-six cases, verdicts of wilful murder had been returned. The convictions in England and Wales for breaches of the game-laws for the year 1843 alone were 4529, and in August of the following year it was remarked by a noble lord in the upper house that much observation had been occasioned by the home secretary having required from the governor of Northampton jail a return of summary convictions under the game act of that county. It was asked whether any imputation was intended to be cast on the magistrates of the shire. The reply was that the same requisition had been made in every county, because it was known to the government that great irregularities had occurred in the management of such cases.

There was need of such an inquiry, and before Mr. Bright's committee the evidence of Mr. S. March Phillips, the under-secretary for the home department, left very little room for any further attempt to uphold the dignity of magistrates in this matter. The illegal commitments for offences against the game-laws were so numerous that the defenders of

the system found it convenient to let the subject drop, while the improperly convicted prisoners were released, to find what remedy they might, or to brave the further resentment of the administrators of the law if they dared. The commission sat for two sessions; and nothing came of it in the shape of an alteration in the laws; but the facts elicited during the evidence did some amount of good in mitigating the application of laws which, if they were designed to be oppressive, had afterwards to confront the possibility of reawakening public attention. That evidence is still in existence, and at some future stage of game legislation might be found useful for reference.

Although the attitude of the government in relation to the corn-laws was causing widely spread dissatisfaction, and in some of the agricultural districts distress had led to rick-burning and other outrages—the financial ability displayed in the arrangement of the tariff and the general increase in prosperity had maintained public confidence in the ministry. There had been a considerable rise in public securities, the 3½ per cent consols being at 102½, and this suggested to the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Goulburn) the relief of some portion of the national debt by a reduction to 3¼ per cent of the interest on the £250,000,000 of public stock which had hitherto borne 3½ per cent. The reduction to 3¼ was to last till 1894, and a further reduction was then to be made to 3 per cent, at which rate the interest was to remain. The proposal was warmly approved on both sides of the house, and the bill was quickly passed. It had been calculated that the adoption of this scheme would save the nation the annual sum of £625,000 from 1844 to 1894, and that after that the annual saving would amount to £1,250,000. A certain time was allowed to the holders of stock to determine whether they would accept the lower rate of interest or be paid off by the government.

Probably if financial skill had been all that was necessary for indefinitely deferring the repeal of the duty on corn, the League would still have had an existence as long as that of the government, and the struggle would have been a far more protracted one, but therefore more permanently injurious to the country. The budget of 1844 was an evidence of the success of the administration in dealing with the public income and expenditure, and it had been brought forward under singularly improved conditions. The estimates of the revenue had been greatly exceeded, and some of the figures showed a surprisingly increased power of consumption, and therefore an improved condition of the country in general. The customs, estimated at £19,000,000, had produced £21,426,000, of which £800,000 had been paid by foreign corn—the probable importation of which had not been included. On sugar the duties had been £200,000 above the estimate; those on tea, £300,000; and on cotton wool, £300,000, showing some increase in a great manufacturing industry. The excise also had shown a larger result than had been anticipated. Contrary to expectation the imposition of the income-tax had not caused a diminution in the amount received from the indirect taxes. The estimate of total revenue had been £50,150,000; the amount received was £52,835,134, and the expenditure had been less than the estimate by £650,000. After paying the deficiency on the previous year of £2,400,000 there was a surplus of £1,400,000. By the calculations for the year to come, after paying for the army £6,616,000, the navy £6,250,000, ordnance £1,840,000, the extraordinary expenses of the Chinese war, the estimated capital withdrawn by investors in the public stock on which the interest was reduced, and the remaining sums for the surrender of the privileges of the South Sea Company, it was computed that there would be a balance of £3,146,000, of which part was to go to the proposed reduction of the debt. It was obvious, of course, that the surplus was mainly due to the income-tax—and there was little prospect of that being removed until at least the expiration of the five years for which the government had advised its retention. Nor was there any further very encouraging reductions in the duties on im-

portant articles of consumption. There were remissions on glass, vinegar, currants, coffee, and wool, and also on marine insurance, all of which amounted to about £387,000.

An exceedingly important measure which demanded the attention of the prime minister —and one the completion of which was additional evidence of the ability with which questions of finance were being treated by him and his chief advisers, was the renewal of the Bank charter, which, in fact, included a reconstruction of the entire system of banking throughout the country. The Bank Act of 1833 provided that before August, 1844, the government might give notice that parliament intended to reconsider the terms of the Bank charter, and Sir Robert Peel had determined that with the report of the former inquiry before him he would investigate the whole question. This determination gave general satisfaction, as it was a measure with which he and able coadjutors such as Mr. Gladstone were peculiarly competent to deal. Sir Robert himself brought the proposed scheme before the house, and was listened to with marked attention. With respect to the Bank of England there was to be an actual separation of the two departments of issue and banking; with different officers to each and a different system of accounts. The whole amount of bullion then in the possession of the Bank was to be transferred to the issue department, and the issue of bank-notes was to take place on two foundations only; first on a definite amount of securities, and after that exclusively upon bullion, so that the action of the public should in that latter respect govern the amount of the circulation. There would be no power in the Bank to issue notes on deposits and discount of bills, and the issue department would have to place to the credit of the banking department the amount of notes which the issue department would by law be entitled to issue. With respect to the banking business of the Bank it was proposed that it should be governed on precisely the same principles as would regulate any other body dealing with Bank of England notes. The fixed amount of securities on which it was proposed that the Bank of England should issue notes was £14,000,000, and the whole of the remainder of the circulation was to be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion. There was to be a complete and periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, both of the banking and issue departments, as tending to increase the credit of the Bank and to prevent panic and needless alarm. It would therefore be enacted that there should be returned to the government a weekly account of the issue of notes by the Bank of England, of the amount of bullion, of the fluctuations of the bullion, of the amount of deposits,—in short, an account of every transaction, both in the issue department and the banking department, and that government should forthwith publish unreservedly and weekly a full account of the circulation of the Bank.

With regard to private banks the general rule was to be to draw a distinction between the privilege of issue and the conduct of banking business, the object being to limit competition, but to make the change with as little detriment as possible to private interests. From that time no new bank of issue was to be constituted, but all the existing banks of issue were to be allowed to retain the privilege on condition that they did not exceed the existing amount, to be calculated on the average of a term of years. This was necessary in order that the Bank of England might know the extent of issue with which it would have to compete. But while the issues were to be restricted, banking business would be facilitated; the privilege of suing and being sued, at that time withheld from joint-stock banks, would be accorded; the law of partnership would be so altered that while the acts of an individual director or other authorized partner would bind the whole, the acts of an unauthorized partner would not do so. Joint-stock banks in London, which were then forbidden to accept bills for a date less than six months, were to be placed on an equality with other banks, and allowed to accept bills of any amount or date. If the latter privilege were abused by the circulation of small bills parliament would at once be called on to correct the evil. Joint-stock

banks would be required to publish a full and complete periodical list of all partners and directors, and banks of issue to publish an account of their issues; which, Sir Robert Peel remarked, would be a much better public security than many delusive checks to which his attention had been invited. Joint-stock banks would be prohibited from having shares less than some fixed amount; and no new joint-stock bank was to be constituted except on application to a government department.

The Bank of England would be allowed issues to the extent of a fixed amount of securities, £14,000,000. The existing loan of £11,000,000 to the government was to be continued, the remaining £3,000,000 to be based on exchequer bills and other securities over which the bank was to have entire control. On emergency it would be allowed to extend its issues over £14,000,000, but only with the consent of three members of the government, and in such a case the whole of the net profit on any amount beyond £14,000,000 was to revert to the government.

The pecuniary arrangement between the bank and the government was that the bank was to retain the privilege of issuing notes on securities to the amount of £14,000,000 at 3 per cent, which would yield £420,000. From this deductions would be made. The total cost to the bank on an issue of £20,000,000 had been estimated by the committee of 1833 at £117,000, but taking it at about £113,000, which subtracted from £420,000 left £307,000, there was then to be deducted about £60,000 composition with the stamp-office for the privilege of issuing notes. Then there was about £24,000 paid by the bank to those bankers who undertook to issue Bank of England notes, and this left £220,000 derived from the issue of notes. Before that time the bank had paid £120,000 to the government for its privileges. Those privileges were to be affected; but on the other hand increased stability was to be given to its banking business, and it was proposed that in future the bank should pay that sum, besides the £60,000 for the composition with the stamp-office, making in all about £180,000. Government paid to the bank £248,000 for the management of the public debt, and the difference between the two last-named sums was to be the balance that the government would have to pay over to the bank. The measure applied only to English banks, the subject of Scottish and Irish banks being deferred for future consideration. Eleven resolutions, comprising this plan of the government, were read from the chair and afterwards printed and distributed to members of the house, which subsequently went into committee for their consideration, and after a general discussion the bill passed the House of Commons by large majorities and with only a few unimportant modifications, and went through the House of Lords' committee without a single division.

The income-tax was to be continued, nor was the suspicion of its perpetuation relieved by any such reduction of duties as sufficed even temporarily to pacify the demands of free-traders. The articles selected for a remission were glass, vinegar, currants, coffee, and wool, while marine insurance was also to be relieved from the burden of taxation. The remission of the duty on glass was perhaps the most useful, as it did much to bring that material into the manufacture of a large number of culinary and other articles for which it is admirably suited, and to improve the size and fashion of windows in the houses of the poor, thus securing more light and ventilation and promoting the public health. The corn-tax, however, remained untouched, and it was significant that all the debates in the House of Commons began to take the distinct form of discussions on free-trade, in which the abolition of the duty on corn was the really representative question.

But the subject of the sugar duties, which had from time to time been brought forward and always with the result of a rather heated debate, was again to form a rallying-point for parties. The amount represented by the remission of duties in the budget of 1844 was £387,000, but the question of the sugar-duties was temporarily deferred, and at this the opposition, including the free-traders, showed little impatience, since they intended to wait for the promised proposals on the subject, and

to make the sugar duties the test of the strength of the ministry.

By that time the government was menaced with another opposition—that of the protectionists—the extremer members of the country party, which, though not numerically formidable, was exceedingly dangerous when it formed an unnatural coalition with the Whigs. For some time past the members of "the Tory party" who were most opposed to free-trade and had formed a compact and steady contingent of the Conservative ranks, had been sitting watchful and suspicious of the Conservative leader and his ministry. They had continued to vote with the party in relation to which they had alone had any recognized political existence, but they had already been well described as mutinous supporters, and they had now found a spokesman, or rather a spokesman had presented himself to their notice, in a way so striking, that though his claims to be their representative were not fully recognized until after he had become the confidential adviser and henchman of a nominal leader, who was one of their own class and with a common interest, they soon began to identify the member for Shrewsbury with their cause.

It would not be within the scope of these pages to seek for the reasons which led Mr. Disraeli definitely to indicate his adhesion to the protectionists by a series of persistent attacks and imputations on Sir Robert Peel. Nor shall we stay to examine the grounds for the charge made against him that he had suddenly changed his opinions from a "pronounced Radicalism" to "sentimental Toryism." His reply to Mr. Roebuck on this subject in 1846 was, "I am not in a condition to have had hereditary opinions carved out for me, and all my opinions, therefore, have been the result of reading and of thought. I never was a follower of either of the two great aristocratic parties in this country. My sympathies and feelings have always been with the people, from whom I spring; and when obliged as a member of this house to join a party, I joined that party with which I believed the people sympathize."

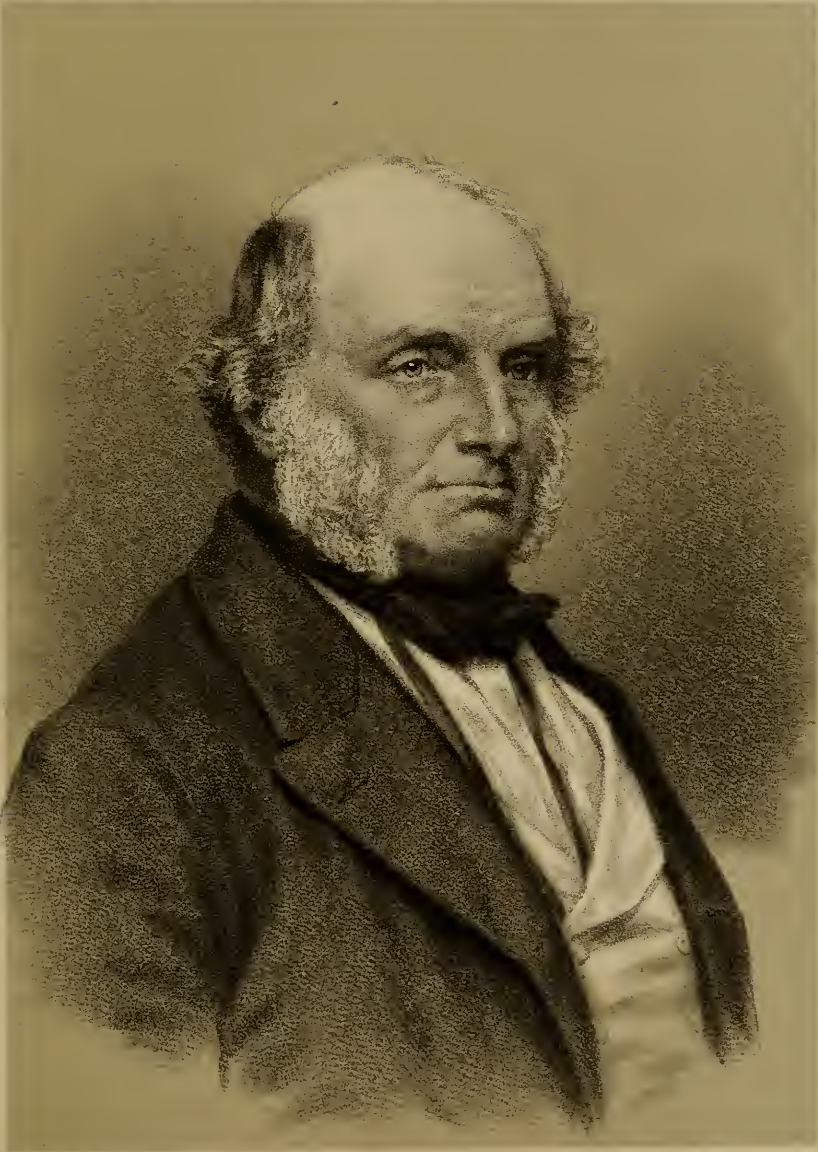
He had been returned for Shrewsbury as an ardent supporter of Sir Robert Peel, to whom he wrote after the election that "the electors of Shrewsbury had done their duty;" and it was Sir Robert Peel who, in the dedication of the *Runnymede Letters*, had been addressed as "the only hope of a suffering island." "In your chivalry," says that dedication, "is our hope. Clad in the panoply of your splendid talents and your spotless character, we feel assured that you will subdue the unnatural and unnational monster, and that we may yet see sedition and treason and rapine, rampant as they may have of late figured, quail before your power and prowess."

In these *Runnymede Letters* Lord Palmerston had been attacked with astonishing virulence, and in the next session an opportunity occurred for a telling reference to the fact that the writer and dedicator, who had supported the Conservative leader, had not received an appointment in the government when the latter came into power. It was during a discussion on a motion brought forward by Mr. Disraeli in favour of uniting the consular and diplomatic bodies that Lord Palmerston said, "The honourable gentleman has indeed affirmed the general principle that political adherents ought to be rewarded by appointments, and I regret to observe an exception to that rule in the person of the honourable gentleman himself. After the proof, however, of talent and ability which the honourable gentleman affords, although perhaps not of great industry in getting up the details of his case, I trust that before the end of the session the government will overlook the slight want of industry for the sake of the talent, and that the house will see the maxim of the honourable member practically applied to his own case." It need scarcely be said that this broad and direct reference to the continued indifference of Sir Robert Peel must have been peculiarly irritating, but Disraeli was not even then the man to show his assailant that the allusion rankled. "I must offer my acknowledgments to the noble viscount," said he, "for his courteous aspirations for my political promotion. Such aspirations from such a quarter must be looked upon as suspicious. The noble viscount is a consummate master of the subject, and if he will only

impart to me the secret by which he has himself contrived to retain office during seven successive administrations, the present debate will certainly not be without result." This was good, polite, and perfectly parliamentary; and Mr. Disraeli, with some differences of opinion, remained a follower of the premier along with the country or protectionist party till 1844–1845, when he began to show not only that he differed on some points from Peel, but that he had the audacity to attack him by direct accusation as well as by damaging innuendo. The protectionists were at first surprised and then began to cheer; he put their murmured suspicions into trenchant telling words, and they regarded him with a sort of amused curiosity, then with a startled admiration, next with a sense that they had found a man who could, at all events, take up the cause of the landed interest with new and vivid effect.

In the years of which we are now speaking we cannot help noticing that the time has come for changes in the "front" of political parties, and in the relations of political men to each other. Though there are, of course, distinguished men in the Whig party, Whiggism is well nigh played out as a political force. The Conservative party, as organized and managed by Peel, was a great advance upon the old Tory party; but we now find Sir Robert himself feeling, or fancying he feels, that his powers are declining, at least for purposes of debate, and that he can no longer lead the house as he used to do. Lord John Russell, whom Benjamin Disraeli, when a few years younger, had described as "an infinitely small scarabæus, an insect," is still active and energetic and still a Whig, but he is not apt at feeling the pulse of the time. It is interesting, for many reasons, to note that Disraeli at a later date made public amends for his early abuse of this statesman, and, perhaps because Lord John was the son of a duke, did it in accents of much greater cordiality than those in which he estimated Peel. The great political novelist's study of the leader of the Whigs is well worth embedding in this sketch of contemporary history. "The truth is," says the author of *Coningsby* (which he himself declares was a grave and deliberate political manifesto), "that considerable as are the abilities of the Whig leaders, highly accomplished as many of them unquestionably must be acknowledged in parliamentary debate, experienced in council, sedulous in office, eminent as scholars, powerful from their position, the absence of individual influence and of the pervading authority of a commanding mind have been the cause of the fall of the Whig party. And yet there was all this time in the Whig army one entirely competent to the office of leading a great party, though his capacity for that fulfilment was too tardily recognized. Lord John Russell has that degree of imagination which, though evinced rather in sentiment than expression, still enables him to generalize from the details of his reading and experience and to take those comprehensive views which, however easily depreciated by ordinary men in an age of routine, are indispensable to a statesman in the conjunctures in which we live. He understands, therefore, his position; and he has the moral intrepidity which prompts him ever to dare that which his intellect assures him is politic. He is, consequently, at the same time sagacious and bold in council. As an administrator he is prompt and indefatigable. He is not a natural orator, and labours under physical deficiencies which even a Demosthenic impulse would scarcely overcome. But he is experienced in debate, quick in reply, fertile in resource, takes large views, and frequently compensates for a dry and hesitating manner by the expression of those noble truths that flash across the fancy, and rise spontaneously to the lip of men of poetic temperament when addressing popular assemblies. If we add to this a private life of dignified repute, the accidents of his birth and rank, which never can be severed from the man, the scion of a great historic family, and born, as it were, to the hereditary service of the state, it is difficult to ascertain at what period or under what circumstances the Whig party have ever possessed or could obtain a more efficient leader."

It is pleasant to compare this with the language of the *Runnymede Letters*, which were



LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

1ST EARL RUSSELL

Premier 1846_1852 and 1865_1866.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

BLACKIE & SON. LONDON, GLASGOW & EDINBURGH

written by Disraeli when he was thirty-two years of age, and were reprinted by the author, and as we have noticed, dedicated to Sir Robert Peel in language which it would not be too much to describe as that of adulation. Though it had no pleasant consequences for Peel, he constantly declined the overtures of the writer who could publicly call Lord Melbourne a pig, Lord Palmerston "your crimping lordship with a career as insignificant as his intellect," and Lord Glenelg "a sleek and long-tailed rat." The whole Melbourne cabinet was described as a group of "swine, guzzling and grunting in a bed of mire, fouling and contaminating every luckless passenger," and so on. This was a kind of language which the sober, reserved, profoundly moral, and decorous Sir Robert was not likely to admire. At all events the writer of it was left out in the cold, and appears to have been waiting for an opportunity of revenge for the slights that he had received. When the hour struck he made no secret of his feelings and his intentions. In recalling, as it is necessary to do, the position assumed by Disraeli at this time, we must bear in mind that, in spite of some social and literary success, he had been in a sense an outcast, and had, for a large part of his life, the feelings of one. In *Vivian Grey* and *Contarini Fleming* he has drawn frightful and even revolting pictures of schoolboy vindictiveness, too evidently drawing upon reminiscences of his own feelings and those of his parents, especially his mother. It may not be generally known that even as late as when he was member for the county, Disraeli was sometimes hooted by Bucks bumpkins as a Jew. It must be remembered too that he had graduated in the academy of Gore House, and the opinion of the relations of "principle" to statesmanship which was held there may perhaps be discovered in the study of Sidonia.

Disraeli, then, having sat for Maidstone, Shrewsbury, and Bucks, and having all along studied the temper and methods of the House of Commons, and made friends among the country party, now comes forward to aim at leading it, to bait (some said to torture) Peel himself, aiming at the highest position in the first state in the world. What happened towards the close of our ten years we shall see presently. All that need be noted in advance is that there was something unreal about the whole position, and that this unreality was unceasingly felt by politicians both in and out of parliament. The defection of Peel—for desert his party he did—broke up the great Conservative host, and the party that Disraeli afterwards led was a new thing in the earth. From this time the game of English politics has an incalculable factor.

Mr. Disraeli it must be remembered was not unknown in parliament up to the time that he came forward as the rhetorician of the Protectionist party and the assailant of Peel. For two years after he had said that the time would come when the house would hear him, he had taken part, and sometimes an important part, in the debates, and was known as a prominent politician. In 1841 he had been selected to move the rejection of Lord John Russell's Poor-law Amendment Bill, and it has been said that his name might have been included in the list of the Peel government, in some subordinate office, but for the interposition of Lord Stanley, afterwards the Earl of Derby. Up to 1842, at least, he had supported the government; but from his description of himself in the *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, as a member who, though on the Tory benches, had been for two years in opposition to the ministry, it would appear that he had decided on separating from the ministerial party early in 1844.

It was at this date that the Young England party, of which he was the head, or rather the creator, was in the full flush of its pretensions. Then the doctrines of Tory democracy, sympathy with the Chartists, and the theory that a restoration of the personal power of the sovereign and the support of the crown by the people, each bearing a direct relation to each other without the intervention of parliament, were advocated. A writer in a leading newspaper[1] has recently remarked that the author of *Coningsby* and *Sybil* was forty years old when he wrote those books, and that in them

[1] *The Daily News.*

will be found his deliberate opinions. We should not like entirely to endorse this view, but there has doubtless been considerable suspicion of Mr. Disraeli's consistency, because when he became the leader of the Conservative party he did so little to realize his theories. Whether he did not at a later date make a more distinctive move in that direction may be left for subsequent inquiry, but at anyrate he had, ten years before *Coningsby* appeared, given expression to his opinions on the position and conditions of a statesman, and his own words will be sufficient explanation of his having held the doctrines of the Tory democracy in abeyance for so many years. "A statesman," he told the electors of High Wycombe, "is the creature of his age, the child of circumstance, the creature of his times. A statesman is essentially a practical character, and when he is called upon to take office he is not to inquire what his opinions might or might not have been upon this or that subject—he is only to ascertain the needful and the beneficial, and the most feasible manner in which affairs are to be carried on. I laugh at the objections against a man that at a former period of his career he advocated a policy different to his present one. All I seek to ascertain is, whether his present policy be just, necessary, expedient; whether at the present moment he is prepared to serve the country according to its present necessities."

Unless he had either abandoned or considerably modified these views ten years later, a good many of his subsequent charges against Peel were scarcely consistent with such an avowal.

The readjustment if not the total abolition of the duties on sugar had already engaged the attention of the house. The government contended that our West Indian colonies were entitled to assistance and protection during the difficulties that they were experiencing because of negro emancipation and the transition from slavery to free labour.

Before the period of emancipation the supply of sugar from the West Indies had exceeded the consumption, but the improved habits of the people and the increasing use of tea and coffee had created a much larger demand, and at the same time the West Indian supply had seriously diminished. Some provision had been made for meeting this difficulty by reducing the duties on sugar from the East Indies, but the demand had gone on increasing, and as there was now no deficiency in the revenue of the country it was proposed so to alter the differential duties, that a larger quantity of sugar might be obtained without abandoning the protection of our colonies. Hitherto colonial sugars had only paid 24*s.* per cwt., while foreign sugar had all been charged 63*s.* per cwt. Mr. Goulbourn proposed that, while colonial sugar should remain at 24*s.*, foreign sugar produced by free labour should be admitted at 34*s.*; and sugar produced by slave labour should be charged 63*s.* per cwt. At the same time it would be provided that the sugar of any foreign country with which we had commercial treaties might be admitted on the same footing as that of the most favoured nation—a condition which related chiefly to Brazil, whose treaty with us would expire at about the date when the proposed changes would come into operation.

In opposition to this it was declared that we had no real concern with the institutions of other nations in regard to their method of production, and that if we were to regulate our commercial transactions in accordance with our approval or disapproval of slavery we could not consistently stop there, but must mark our sense of other institutions of the nations with whom we traded, which might be as objectionable as slavery itself. All we had to consider was how we could best adapt the duty on sugar to the purpose of increasing the revenue of the country and diminishing the cost of a necessary article of consumption. It was also argued that the effect of making a differential duty for the purpose of excluding slave-grown sugar would be to induce the more favoured nations to obtain slave-grown sugar for the purpose of sending it here under the more profitable conditions. Lord John Russell, therefore, moved as an amendment that the duty on all foreign

sugar should be reduced to 34*s.*, whether produced by slave labour or not.

The proposal of the government was itself an advance in the direction of free-trade, and it was thought that the amendment would be a further step which would secure the support of the party represented by Mr. Cobden, but the more sagacious members of the League were not disposed to make any such compromise. They advocated the entire remission of the duties, and they had sufficient penetration to perceive that the overthrow of the Peel administration on a question which was merely one of differential duty would be more likely to retard than to advance their cause.

The Conservative policy of a sliding-scale and a gradual relaxation of the taxes on food was more hopeful than that of the opposition, which was in favour of a fixed duty. For some time afterwards there was danger of a serious misunderstanding between the leaders of the League and some free-traders who were ready either to make the abolition of duties a party question for the defeat of the government, or to accept any promise of remission which seemed to tend towards a final repeal. The result vindicated the wisdom of the more experienced advocates of complete free-trade, but it was brought about in a way which had scarcely been expected.

Lord John Russell's proposition attracted no seceders from the ministerial side, and it was lost by a considerable majority. A more effectual opposition was to come from those who had till that time been among the supporters of the ministry. On the day that the proposal of the government went to committee Mr. Miles had met the representatives of the West India interest in the city, and he had his instructions, in accordance with which he moved that the duty on colonial and East India sugar should be reduced to 20*s.*, that on foreign sugars produced by free labour to be 30*s.*, or above a certain degree of refinement 34*s.* His contention was that the interests of the British and the West India farmers were identical, except that one produced wheat and the other sugar, and that the abandonment of protection for one would be followed by the withdrawal of protection from the other. The motion was seconded by Mr. Baillie, who maintained that the ministerial plan would encourage the slave-trade and yet give only a partial advantage to the British consumer. We should, he said, "raise our revenue from foreign sugar rather than from that of our own colonies." It was seen by the more practical men of the free-trade party that this proposition would merely place a differential duty of 14*s.* between colonial and other sugar, and give the West India planters 4*s.* per cwt. at the expense of the revenue. Lord John Russell supported the proposition, and on a division the Whigs and the Protectionists went into the lobby together, many of the free-trade party joining them. The more prominent members of the League and the free-trade leaders did not stir. They knew that the Whigs if returned to power would not hold office for many days, and they could discern, just as Mr. Disraeli had from the other side discerned, that the repeal of the corn-laws would not be very long delayed by a ministry which showed so much inclination to diminish the duties on other articles of necessary consumption. For the time, however, the strange coalition was too much for the government, and Mr. Miles' amendment was carried by twenty votes. A cabinet council was called for the following Sunday to determine what should be done. When the house again met Sir Robert Peel, in delicate but significant language, insinuated his intention to resign unless the vote were reversed. "Not that the ministry expected servile acquiescence in all their plans, or looked for indiscriminate support even from their friends. In certain of their measures the government had failed to obtain the approbation of some whose support they most valued. He could not profess that they were prepared to purchase that approbation at the price of refraining from the policy which they deemed essential to the welfare of the country."

It was distinctly suggested that if the vote were persevered with, the ministry would regard it as a vote of want of confidence, and the result was that another division was taken

on the question, the vote was reversed, the ministerial proposal being sustained by a majority of twenty-two, whereupon Mr. Miles withdrew his amendment and the matter was at an end.

But not without a stinging protest from the man who thenceforward never lost an opportunity of assailing the minister, and mostly with the effect of separating the Protectionists from the Conservative cause as it was represented by Peel and his supporters.

Amidst many expressions of indignant remonstrance against a submission which it was declared would lower the character of the house, Mr. Disraeli's was most vivid. He was afterwards to achieve a position as leader of the party on whose behalf he now spoke; but from that moment he had gained the attention of the house, and his flashes of sarcasm became significant phrases to be remembered and repeated. "The right honourable gentleman came forward with a detestation of slavery in every place except on the benches behind him. If the antislavery repugnance were only a little more prevalent, if the right honourable gentleman did not expect on 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. It was better for the house and for the right honourable baronet that this system should at once terminate. He deserved a better position than one that could only be retained by menacing his friends and cringing to his opponents."

From this time Mr. Disraeli was in open opposition to the prime minister, and repeatedly came into the house with an obvious and it might almost be said an ostentatious display of an intention to attack him. Until the session of 1845 the ultra-protectionists had again subsided into a kind of dogged submission, but there was no compromise on the part of the man who had felt a personal as well as a party injury, nor can it be denied that Sir Robert Peel and his intimate colleagues had justified a strong protest on the score of their having accepted with a more hearty appreciation than the Whigs appear to have done the principles of free-trade and of the Anti-Corn-law League. It was the extreme and direct personality of Mr. Disraeli's denunciations which gave them startling intensity, and caused them to be repeated with malicious relish. The opening of the session of 1845 gave him repeated opportunities for denouncing the Conservative government and lampooning the minister who had virtually deserted the party which had helped him to power. Nor did he spare those Protectionists who continued to vote with a government by whom, as he averred, they had been cajoled and deceived.

The ministry stood in a commanding position. It was strong enough to withstand the opposition of the Whigs and the assaults of the Free-traders on the one hand and of the Protectionists on the other. It had shown that its financial reputation was so high that it could control the house by a threat of resignation.

The session of 1845, also, began under auspices that were in themselves favourable. The harvest of the previous year had been plentiful, trade had revived, the revenue had increased beyond expectation, and the disturbances in Ireland had subsided from causes which we shall have to refer to in a subsequent page. The government was strong, though it had sustained a considerable loss by the retirement of Mr. Gladstone, who had resigned his position at the Board of Trade because of the views he had expressed with regard to the question of the Irish Church and its relation to the increased endowment of Maynooth College. It was pretty well known that the financial reforms which had proved to be so eminently successful, had been greatly due to his ability and assiduous application; and his retirement might have been a serious embarrassment to his former colleagues had he not explained that it arose only from personal scruples, and that it left him free to give the government his support on other important questions. This he explained in the house, at the same time expressing his regret at having to withdraw from the cabinet, and Sir Robert

Peel, after expressing the high value at which he estimated the services of his late colleague, announced that the vote he proposed for the college at Maynooth was to represent a liberal increase, and that it was not intended to accompany it by any regulation with respect to the doctrine, discipline, and management of the college, which could diminish the grace and favour of the grant. Regret at Mr. Gladstone's retirement, and respect and admiration for his abilities as well as for his private character, were expressed not only by Sir Robert Peel but by Lord John Russell, and though it was generally understood that he would give his support to the ministry it was also predicted that to him would be due a very important influence in favour of freedom of trade—an opinion which was soon to be verified, when in the following year he returned to a cabinet pledged to the repeal of the corn-laws.

The income-tax was to be continued "for a certain number of years" in order that a surplus revenue might be insured, although circumstances were said to justify an increased expenditure in the public service, and especially in the naval estimates, to which nearly a million was to be added. That surplus it was calculated would amount to £3,400,000, and the question was how it could be applied to the relief of taxation. The sugar duty was again in the front, and it was proposed to reduce the duty on brown muscovado sugar from 25*s*. 3*d*. to 14*s*., a reduction which would apply to all sugar from British plantations and from the Mauritius. The sugars from British India were to be relieved in proportion, so that they would pay 18*s*. 8*d*. On foreign sugar produced by free labour, the duty would be 23*s*. 4*d*. Sugars of a higher degree of refinement and East India sugar were to be admitted at a proportionally reduced rate of duty, and it was estimated that the general reduction so distributed would diminish the price of sugar by 1½*d*. per pound at a loss to the revenue of £1,300,000. The further details of the budget included the repeal of all duties on exports, including £120,000 derived from that placed upon coal, and the abolition of import duties on 430 out of 813 articles then liable—an alteration which would cost the revenue £320,000. The repeal of the duty on raw cotton was a main feature of the scheme, and as the tax pressed most hardly on the coarser fabrics this remission was determined on, though it would take £680,000 as computed by the amount it yielded in the previous year. The excise duty on glass was also to be abolished at an expense of £642,000. Altogether £3,300,000 would be surrendered from the revenue. There could be very little doubt of the free-trade tendencies of such a budget as this; but partial remission and redistribution of burdens would not satisfy the Anti-Corn-law League while the tax on the staple of food remained unrepealed, and still the prime minister offered no assurances that this repeal would follow. The colonial planter and the British farmer were alike to be protected at the expense of the people, who needed untaxed food, and no budget could be satisfactory to free-traders which recognized the protection of a particular interest at the expense of the consumers.

Such an advance as that indicated by the financial scheme brought forward for their acceptance might have been received as an instalment of a complete liberation of commerce to be eventually effected, but no promise of this sort was given them. The Protectionists took precisely the opposite view. They too regarded the interests of the colonial planter and the British farmer as identical in principle; but they foresaw in the large reductions which were proposed to be made in the duty on sugar an ultimate intention to abandon still further, if not to abandon altogether, the protection which they regarded as essential to the landed or agricultural interest.

A time had come, however, when parliament began to look for great financial measures rather than for those municipal and political reforms which had been the chief, and almost the only, achievements that had once excited the legislature. The scheme now propounded to them in a speech which lasted for three hours and a quarter, had never previously been equalled for mastery of detail and lucid explanation. Provisions were made to support

the revenue and yet to effect great and comprehensive changes. On all hands the applause of the house was sufficient endorsement of the main features of the measure, but on the evening appointed for the debate discussion was chiefly directed to two points—the income-tax and the sugar duties. Against the maintenance of the former Lord John Russell protested. He predicted that it would be perpetually renewed, and denied that for such a permanent burden the country would be sufficiently repaid by the benefit derived from taking off certain taxes. The remission of £300,000 for auction duties, which formed part of the ministerial plan, he also opposed, contending that a reduction of the duties on fire insurance would have been more beneficial, while he asserted that if the sugar of all foreign countries were admitted on the same principle as that of our own colonies the estimated loss to the revenue would be avoided. Against the "odious" and "inquisitorial" income-tax he spoke with some warmth, but he concluded his remarks without proposing any amendment.

Mr. Roebuck, however, who followed him, after speaking in strong and acrimonious terms against the ministerial proposal, moved an amendment for the purpose of mitigating the incidence of the income-tax on "professions, trades, and offices." He asked what grounds ministers had for supposing that the income-tax would not be permanent. The chancellor of the exchequer replied that their expectations of the future were based on the experience of the past. The income-tax was originally submitted to the consideration of the house in 1842 for the purpose of covering a large deficiency and releasing a number of articles from restrictions which pressed heavily on industry. The amount received from the ordinary sources of revenue was £47,000,000. The measures proposed to parliament in that and in the last session for the reduction of taxation withdrew from the public income no less a sum than £1,400,000, and yet on the 10th of October, 1844, the same taxes produced not £47,000,000 but £47,497,000.

Mr. Bankes, as the representative of the agriculturists, complained that by the government scheme everything was given to the mercantile and nothing to the agricultural interest, which had been disregarded notwithstanding that the distresses which they were enduring had been formally communicated to the house. In answer to this Sir Robert Peel pointed out how the agriculturists would be benefited by the proposed remissions of duty, and that they would gain more by the general prosperity of the country than by being relieved from some local taxes and by burdening the consolidated fund with a grant.

When it was moved that the house should go into committee on the Income-tax Bill, Mr. Bernal Osborne proposed that it should be committed that day three months, and Mr. Baring then pointed out that Sir Robert Peel had originally demanded the income-tax for three years as a means of recovering the revenue, the income-tax then to be remitted. "But what," he asked, "is the state of the finances now? On the face of Sir R. Peel's estimate the income for the ensuing year, without the Chinese money or the income-tax, will be £47,900,000; the expenditure £49,700,000, leaving a deficiency of £1,800,000, therefore the income-tax cannot be got rid of without imposing additional taxes to the amount of £2,000,000. After completing the whole of his operations Sir R. Peel calculates the surplus at only £90,000 or £100,000. Even that surplus rests on the sugar duties, they again rest on the calculation that the consumption will increase by nearly one-fifth beyond the largest consumption yet attained, and that sugar will come in at the higher rate of duties, while it is not yet certain what scale the right honourable gentleman will have to fall back on."

Of course, to the genuine free-trader the inference was, that neither Sir Robert Peel nor the Whig opposition could realize the full advantage that would be secured in the increase of prosperity by the remission of taxes on commerce, but it appeared still that the prime minister and his colleagues foresaw these effects, and that though they were not prepared at once to declare for free-trade, the anticipations of their financial policy were based on its principles. The amendments to the Income-tax Bill were all negatived, and

Sir Robert Peel, who said that if the house was so enamoured of the income-tax at the end of three years as to renew it again they would amend it as might seem best, declared that he did not at all despair of being able to part with it at the end of that time, but that if the house would give it him for five years, on condition of adopting alterations which would render it less onerous to the working-classes, he would willingly agree to that amendment. With little further discussion the bill was passed in both houses, and the debate then turned on the sugar duties. Mr. Milner-Gibson commenced the discussion by asserting that it was not consistent with the fair performance of the functions of the house when they resolved themselves into a committee of ways and means to consider of a supply to her majesty—to levy another tax, which would be paid, not to the crown or to the exchequer, but to a class of their countrymen who had not made good their claim to any compensation for a grievance inflicted on them. He contended that to levy a discriminating duty on foreign and colonial sugar was to give the amount of that discriminating duty to the parties for whose protection it was levied, and that the difference of duty, amounting to £2,300,000 a year, would cause an addition to the price of sugar which would be an injustice to the consumer. That addition had been defended on two grounds:—first, that there was a deficiency of labour in our colonies; and secondly, that the colonies were exposed to greater expense in the production of sugar because of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. With regard to the first he stated on the authority of Lord Stanley that there was an adequate supply of labour in the West Indies, and that the hill coolies were wandering about in crowds and in penury, in the Mauritius, because they were unemployed. With regard to the second, the production of a hundredweight of sugar, in the time of slavery cost 9*s.* 10½*d.*, and at the time at which he was speaking it cost somewhat between 10*s.* 2*d.* and 9*s.* 9*d.*, so that the discriminating duty of 10*s.* per cwt. was more than the cost of producing a hundredweight of sugar. The colonial proprietors were very deficient in their knowledge of the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and in the application of science and machinery to it. They lived far from their estates and did not place them under proper superintendence, but they had no reason on that account to call on the people of England to give them compensation for their want of skill and necessary superintendence. They must gird up their loins and no longer suffer themselves to be enervated by that monopoly which was as injurious to themselves it as was to the trade and manufacture of England. Our merchants and manufacturers had an equal right with those who produced sugar from their own estates, to supply the British community with sugar from Brazil and other countries which they obtained in exchange for their commodities and home-made produce. Our colonies could no longer supply us with a sufficient quantity of sugar now that we had a vast increase in the number of our population while the import remained stationary.

The affluent classes would not forego their usual supply of sugar, and consequently a less portion remained to be divided among the poorer classes at a higher price. Thus the monopoly diminished the consumption of sugar, and thereby diminished the amount of customs duties paid on it into the revenue. At the same time our exports to the West Indies had not increased in the past twenty years. That protection, therefore, was not for revenue, for it defrauded revenue; it was not for the producer, for his produce had not increased; not for the exporter at home, for his exports to those colonies were stationary; it was not to be defended on the ground of consistency, for Sir Robert Peel was going to admit East Indian cotton and American cotton on the same terms. It was at variance with the principles of the greatest practical political philosophers—a mere arbitrary exaction, carried by the force of numbers in that house for the benefit of a class for which no adequate explanation had been offered. He trusted that the house would no longer sanction the principle that free labour was not able to contend with slave labour.

This statement shows in outline the argu-

ments against the retention of the tax, and those which followed on the same side, including that of Mr. Ricardo, whose reputation as a political economist gave his opinions great weight, showed in detail and by reference to statistics to what extent the consumers in this country, as well as the revenue, would be affected by the proposed protection of the West Indian planter and the nineteen different rates of duty that were to be levied on sugar.

Mr. Gladstone, in support of his former colleagues and in accordance with the opinions which he had previously entertained on West Indian questions, admitted that the supporters of the resolution were bound to show cause for maintaining the existing protection; but it had been the policy of parliament for some time past to maintain protection where capital and skill were invested in certain forms, perhaps defective, but still adopted under its sanction. He heartily wished, he said, that equalization of duties could be adopted on native and foreign productions; but he was convinced that if it were adopted in this case it would bring ruin to a number of our countrymen at home and dismay and indescribable confusion on the West India Islands. The dearness of production there created all the difficulty. The scarcity of labourers was one great cause of the dearness, and the scarcity of resident landlords another and a still greater cause. The West India proprietors became nonresident in consequence of the protection given by parliament to the slave-trade. If then the dearness of their produce was caused by acts of parliament which they were compelled to obey, they had a right to claim that parliament should go shares with them in bearing the mischievous effects of those acts. The house, in the practical application of the doctrines of free-trade, ought to begin where there was no apprehension of mischief, where there was great capital and powerful machinery, and where there was every prospect of success; but not with the West India proprietor, whose inability to compete with his foreign rivals was of parliamentary origin.

The free-trade leaders, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, both addressed the house, and indeed the subject of the sugar duties had from the first brought out some of the most accomplished speakers. Earlier in the debate Macaulay had made his contribution to the discussion by telling a story which aptly satirized the assertion that the discriminating duties on refined slave-made sugar were in favour of free labour against slavery, while raw sugar produced by slavery was to be admitted for refinement here without such a prohibitory tax. "I remember," said Macaulay, "something very like the right honourable baronet's morality in a Spanish novel which I read long ago. A wandering lad, a sort of Gil Blas, is taken into the service of a rich old silversmith, a most pious man, who is always telling his beads, who hears mass daily, and observes the feasts and fasts of the church with the utmost scrupulosity. The silversmith is always preaching honesty and piety. 'Never,' he constantly repeats to his young assistant, 'never take liberties with sacred things.' Sacrilege as uniting theft with profaneness is the sin of which he has the deepest horror. One day while he is lecturing after his usual fashion an ill-looking fellow comes into the shop with a sack under his arm. 'Will you buy these,' says the visitor, and produces from the sack some church plate and a silver crucifix. 'Buy them!' cries the pious man. 'No, nor touch them; not for the world. I know where you got them. Wretch that you are, have you no care for your soul?' 'Well then,' said the thief, 'if you will not buy them, will you melt them down for me?' 'Melt them down,' answers the silversmith, 'that is quite another matter.' He takes the chalice and the crucifix with a pair of tongs; the silver thus *in bond* is dropped into the crucible, melted, and delivered to the thief, who lays down five pistoles and decamps with his booty. The young servant stares at this strange scene. But the master gravely resumes his lecture. 'My son,' he says, 'take warning by that sacrilegious knave and take example by me. Think what a load of guilt lies on his conscience. You will see him hanged before long. But as to me, you saw I would not touch the stolen property. I keep these tongs for such occasions; and thus I thrive in the fear of God and manage to turn an honest penny.'"

In spite of opposition and of satire, however, the government secured the sugar duties as they had secured the income-tax. The majority for ministers against Mr. Gibson's amendment was 133, and the other portions of the financial scheme were also carried without any very material alterations.

The antagonist who was waiting to come into the front rank soon had another opportunity. As we have seen he had already taken his position in the motion brought forward by Mr. Duncombe for another select committee to inquire into the opening of his letters in 1842; he had also been able to rouse the prime-minister to reply to his attacks.

Reference has already been made to the suspicions which were directed towards Sir James Graham and to the espionage of the post-office. It was generally understood that though Mr. Duncombe complained of his own letters having been opened, the demand for investigation was still directed towards the correspondence of Mazzini, which it was imagined had been made known to the Sardinian government, until the Duke of Wellington declared that no grounds whatever existed for such a suspicion. Sir Robert Peel resisted the appointment of another committee of inquiry, when witnesses would have to be brought before the bar of the house after the matter had already been under the consideration of secret committees of both houses. It had been proved by these secret committees that "information obtained from some of the opened letters respecting an intended insurrection in Italy had been communicated to a foreign power, but it was not of a nature to compromise the safety of any individual within reach of that power, nor was it made known to that power by what means that information had been obtained." This was perhaps ambiguous enough to justify Mr. Duncombe in reviving the question in reference to his own letters alleged to have been opened in 1842. An amendment was moved by Lord Howick asking for a committee to inquire into the truth of Mr. Duncombe's allegations, in favour of which proposal Mr. Duncombe eventually withdrew his motion. The amendment was negatived by a large majority. Mr. Disraeli had seconded it, and made use of the occasion for a bitter and sarcastic review of the policy of the government, taunting Sir Robert Peel with simulating passion for his own purposes. "The right honourable baronet had too great a mind and filled too eminent a position ever to lose his temper; but in a popular assembly it was sometimes expedient to enact the part of the choleric gentleman." It seems certain that Disraeli's aim at that time was to irritate Peel till he should be provoked to a sudden outburst of anger. Instead of this the premier treated these taunts with such disdain that it added to the sense of injury under which the member for Shrewsbury pursued his attack by saying, "His case is not always best where he violently taps the red box on the table. I know from old experience that when one first enters the house these exhibitions are rather alarming, and I believe that some of the younger members were much frightened; but I advise them not to be terrified. I tell them that the right honourable baronet will not eat them up, will not even resign; the very worst thing he will tell them to do will be to rescind a vote."

Mr. Disraeli remarked that he made these criticisms in a friendly spirit, and he had the satisfaction of a reply from Sir Robert Peel, who retorted that he believed the honourable gentleman's own calmness to be simulated, and his bitterness entirely sincere. He then quoted the lines—

> "Give me the avowed, erect, and manly foe!
> Firm I can meet him, perhaps return the blow;
> But of all plagues that Heaven in wrath can send,
> Save me, oh! save me from the candid friend."

This was not forgotten by his antagonist on the renewal of the debate more than a week afterwards, and he took his revenge in a series of brilliant sarcasms which have passed into epigrammatic or proverbial sayings. "I know," he said in referring to the tactics of the minister, "that there are some who think that he is looking out for new allies. I never believed anything of the kind. The position of the right honourable gentleman is clear and precise. I do not believe he is looking to any

coalition, although many of my constituents do. The right honourable gentleman has only to remain exactly where he is." Then came the humorous and never-forgotten sarcasm which has already been mentioned: "The right honourable gentleman caught the Whigs bathing, and he walked away with their clothes. He has left them in the full enjoyment of their liberal position, and he is himself a strict conservative of their garments. I look on the right honourable gentleman as a man who has tamed the shrew of Liberalism by his own tactics. He is the political Petruchio who has outbid you all." Then referring to the verse from Canning—"If the right honourable gentleman would only stick to quotation instead of having recourse to obloquy, he may rely upon it he would find it a safer weapon. It is one he always wields with the hand of a master, and when he does appeal to any authority in prose or verse he is sure to be successful, partly because he seldom quotes a passage that has not already received the meed of parliamentary approbation." This was an undeniable hit at the practice, old-fashioned even in Peel's time, but frequently observed by him and prevalent among his followers, of quoting at some length more or less familiar passages from the classics, which were applauded because of their familiar ring, and possibly sometimes because the hearers made believe that they could understand their application. "The name of Canning," continued Disraeli, "is one never to be mentioned, I am sure, in this house without emotion. We all admire his genius; we all, or at least most of us, deplore his untimely end; and we all sympathize with him in his severe struggle with supreme prejudice and sublime mediocrity, with inveterate foes and with candid friends." This subtle reference to Peel's relations with Canning was well calculated to arouse its object to a display of temper, and the phrase with which it ended—"sublime mediocrity"—sounded enough like a hasty generalization of Peel's status and characteristics to surprise even friends into a laugh and to please the malice of enemies. It was not until the close of his reply to various speakers that Sir Robert noticed the attack, and then he hit back not unskilfully, but with the repeated expression of disdain. "Here, sir, I should close if I had not heard the speech of the honourable gentleman who seconded the motion. I do hope that having discharged himself of the accumulated virus of the last week he now feels more at ease than he was. If that is so he need not be disturbed by any impressions on his part that he has at all interfered with my peace of mind in consequence of the attack he has made. I tell the honourable gentleman at once that I will not condescend to reciprocate personalities with him. Neither now nor after a week will I stoop to reciprocate them—I feel no inclination for the practice. I also feel, sir, that in this respect the honourable gentleman would have a very great advantage over me, because he has leisure to prepare his attacks. I have often heard from that honourable gentleman observations of a very personal nature against myself, . . . but I never felt it necessary to notice them, and I should not have noticed them the other night if it had not been that the honourable gentleman who seconded a motion of which he entirely disapproved, said he did it in a friendly spirit; . . . the declaration of the honourable gentleman that he seconded the motion in a friendly spirit made me partake of the feelings which ran through the house which we have no words to describe, but which in the French chambers are called *mouvemens divers*—feelings partly partaking of the nature of a shudder and partly of a laugh. I assure the honourable gentleman I have not the slightest wish to fetter his independence or the independence of any other member of this house. . . . I court no man's favour. I think I do understand the relations in which a minister ought to stand towards those who give him their general support. I think he ought, while he possesses it, to be proud of their confidence; but I think he ought to incur the risk of losing that confidence by taking the course which he believes to be for the public interest. If you think that any acts of mine are at variance with the policy which I supported in the year 1834 in government or have supported since, let those acts be examined, vote against them, and condemn them. . . . If our general policy

is objectionable, if it is not conservative, if we are injuring the rights of property or the prerogatives of the crown, if we are undermining either civil or sacred institutions, prove that we have done so and withhold your confidence from us. The honourable gentleman has referred to the relations in which I stood to the late Mr. Canning, but if he thinks upon that account he is fairly entitled to withhold his confidence and respect from us, he ought not to have waited for a quotation from a poem of Mr. Canning's to open his eyes to my misfortune. The honourable gentleman must have been perfectly aware in the year 1841 and subsequently, of my relations towards Mr. Canning, and of the course I pursued with regard to that eminent and distinguished statesman; and the knowledge of that course, and not an accidental quotation from a poem, ought to have lost me the honourable gentleman's confidence and respect at a much earlier period. . . . I repeat that, being in the position which I fill, I will pursue that course which I believe to be for the public interest, and if in pursuing it I subject myself to the right honourable gentleman's vituperations or to the much heavier penalty of diminished confidence upon the part of others, that penalty I am ready to pay, and to submit to the consequences."

This was significant, and might have been regarded as a sufficient protest by a less persistent opponent, but Disraeli was not tardy in returning to the charge.

On the 13th of March Mr. Cobden moved for a select committee to inquire into the causes and extent of the alleged agricultural distress, and into the effect of legislative protection upon the interests of landowners, tenant farmers, and farm labourers. The proposal was a striking one, though not one which it was likely either the government or the Protectionists could support; and the speech in which it was urged was full of serious emphasis and caused a remarkable sensation throughout the country. It was even said to have made a profound impression on the mind of Sir Robert Peel himself, and it wound up with a strong and eloquent appeal to the landed interest—the country gentlemen in the House of Commons. "You," he said, "are the gentry of England who represent the counties. You are the aristocracy of England. Your fathers led our fathers; you may lead us if you go the right way. But although you have retained your influence with your country longer than any other aristocracy, it has not been by opposing popular opinion, or by setting yourselves against the spirit of the age. . . . This is a new era. It is the age of improvement, it is the age of social advancement, not the age for war or feudal sports. You live in a mercantile age, when the whole wealth of the world is poured into your lap. . . . The English people look to the gentry and aristocracy of their country as their leaders. I, who am not one of you, have no hesitation in telling you that there is a deep-rooted, a hereditary prejudice, if I may call it so, 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 yourselves up as obstructives of that which the community at large 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."

Of course Cobden had declared that the distress in the agricultural districts, of which so many complaints had been made, was the inevitable result of that protection which it was asserted was necessary to prosperity, and that the system of leases and the conditions in which farms were held prevented capital from being invested in the improvement of the land. He promised that if a committee were granted him he would take care that it should consist of a majority of Protectionists, so certain was he that the inquiry would lead to the discovery of the fallacy of arguments for protection, and that the system would be abandoned in two years after the publication of the report.

The motion was opposed on the part of the government by Mr. Sidney Herbert, whose unpractised and apparently ingenuous speech, which was intended to show that nothing more would be conceded to the demands for free-trade, was regarded by the supporters of the League as a potent contribution to their claims. Parliament, he said, had accorded to the agriculturists a certain amount of reduced protection. With that they were content; and in adverse circumstances, such as failure of crop and the like, they would meet them manfully and put their shoulders to the wheel. . . . He was of opinion that "they could not do better than follow the excellent advice to expend capital on their farms and in improvements on their lands, and so by their own efforts restore prosperity. The government had no wish to maintain a high monopoly without alteration, as it proved; nor had it made any promises to the agriculturists of certain prices in corn which they knew no law could give." It was an inconsequent speech, and was regarded by the farmers with dismay. To advise them to put capital in their land was a mockery, for they had no capital left, and they were to look for no further aid from the government.

Mr. Herbert had said that to grant the committee asked for by Mr. Cobden would be useless, as various committees had investigated the matter and no further information could be obtained, while to yield to this demand would have the effect of conveying to the agriculturists the impression that the measure of protection which they then enjoyed would not be maintained.

This speech was "nuts" to the free-traders, and at their subsequent meetings the changes were rung on its various statements with humorous effect. But one remark above all gave them a phrase which was not soon forgotten. "He must add further, 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; nor would they do so." Such a declaration was not likely to escape the observation of Mr. Disraeli any more than that of the free-traders, and with his extraordinary readiness he made characteristic use of it amidst the vehement cheers of the Protectionists, who thenceforward regarded him as their champion.

Four days after Mr. Cobden had been refused a committee of inquiry, by a majority of 92 votes, Mr. Miles took up the question of agricultural distress from the Protectionist side. That distress he contended was caused by mischievous and mistaken legislation. Under the new corn-law the importation of wheat had been seven or eight times greater than at the period immediately after the introduction of the corn-law of 1828. The British farmer had suffered great losses from the reduction that had taken place, not only in the price of wheat, but in that of every kind of food, through the introduction of foreign cattle. By the poor-rate and the county-rate farmers were taxed more heavily than the rest of the community. If the cost of several charges connected with the administration of justice and the registration of voters were transferred from the county-rate to the exchequer the sum so transferred would amount to about £300,000. Of course the first part of his arguments was easily answered by the remark that to legislate for the purpose of diminishing the supply of food would be monstrous; nor was it at all likely that the ministry or the house would agree to a direct burden being laid on the rest of the nation for the relief of the agriculturists. Mr. Miles, however, declared that his party had no confidence in the ministry. "They could not refrain from asking themselves what there was to prevent the corn-laws from going next." The Earl of March seconded the proposal, and it was supported by Mr. Newdigate. Sir James Graham, who spoke on behalf of the government, opposed it. He remarked incidentally that with the rapid increase of our population many years would not pass away without the occurrence of some frightful convulsion if they were to persist in refusing admission to foreign corn.

But the occasion was memorable for a renewed attack made by Mr. Disraeli in a speech, accompanied by the applause of the men who had once been submissive sup-

porters of the Conservative government, but who now showed an almost gleeful disposition to revolt, and cheered with too significant energy the sharp invective directed against the prime-minister. It was a speech full of taunts against those agriculturists who still supported Sir Robert, and of charges against him for having deserted his party, and it concluded with an inimitable reference to the unlucky phrase used by Sidney Herbert. "The right honourable baronet," said Disraeli, "once avowed that he was prouder of being leader of the country gentlemen of England than of being intrusted with the confidence of sovereigns. But where are the country gentlemen of England now? . . . When the beloved object has ceased to charm, it is useless to appeal to the feelings. Instead of listening to their complaints, the premier sends down his valet, a well-behaved person, to make it known that we are to have no 'whining' here. Such is the fate of the great agricultural interest — that beauty which everybody wooed and one deluded. . . . Protection appears to be in about the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. The country will draw its moral. For my part, if we are to have free-trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honourable member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden) than by one who, though skilful in parliamentary manœuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and of a great party. For myself, I care not what will be the result. Dissolve, if you like, 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."

It may be imagined with what effect these words came, delivered, as they were, with deliberate, intense, and searching emphasis. The passage about the well-behaved valet who came to say there should be no whining was received with vociferous cheers and laughter.

Yet at this moment, reading Peel's reply, it is difficult to think that Mr. Disraeli had the best of it. At all events it is easy to understand how an individual with Mr. Disraeli's sensitiveness to contempt or indifference should have been deeply stung by the retort, although he doubtless concealed the agony which it inflicted on him.

In reply to Mr. Miles' motion Sir Robert said, "I have even professed my belief that the system of prohibition and extreme protection is wrong. I do not, as I said the other night, defend the protection given to the West India interest upon the principle of commercial policy; but seeing the long period for which it has endured, the amount of capital invested in the cultivation of the soil in the West Indies, the peculiar position of those colonies with respect to labour—seeing also our obligation to maintain our colonial empire—I have the strongest impression that the sudden and hasty removal of protection would be an injury not only to the West Indies, but to the whole of this great empire. We are now taunted on one side of the house with having seriously injured the agricultural interest by the rapidity, the inconsiderate haste, with which the protection of that interest has been dealt with. On the other side of the house we are taunted with being mere instruments in the hands of the agricultural party; and we are told that we ought to proceed at once to the removal of all protection whatsoever. Our intention is to pursue the course we have hitherto taken, without yielding to the suggestions of the one party or the other. We have attempted gradually to abolish prohibitory duties, and gradually to relax extreme protection. In my opinion we have done so with the best success. I look to the general results of our policy in the position of the country now, as compared with the position in which we found it; and I say we are amply justified in the course we have pursued, and are encouraged to persevere in it. The honourable member for Shrewsbury repeats an accusation, made on a former occasion, of our having retained power by a forgetfulness of the pledges we gave in opposition. As I before said, I shall not enter into personal controversy. When I proposed the tariff in 1842, and when that charge which

the honourable member now repeats was brought against me, I find the honourable gentleman got up in his place and stated that 'with reference to the accusation made on the other side of the house, that the right honourable baronet at the head of the government had repudiated principles when in opposition which he had adopted when in office, that that charge had been made without due examination of the facts of the case,' I find the honourable gentleman again use these words:—'The conduct pursued by the right honourable baronet was in exact, permanent, and perfect consistency with the principles of free-trade laid down by Mr. Pitt. His reason for saying this much was to refute the accusations, brought against the present government, that they had put forward their present views in order to obtain a change of government, so as to get into power themselves.' These sentiments I find attributed to Mr. Disraeli.[1] I do not know whether they are of sufficient importance to mention them in the house; but this I know, that I then held in the same estimation the panegyric with which I now regard the attack. I was certainly, however, so struck—remembering the former defence of the honourable gentleman—that the accusation which he made to-night should have proceeded from him, that I could not forbear alluding to it."

The motion of Mr. Miles was, of course, negatived, and it may be imagined that the cutting allusion of Sir Robert Peel told upon the house and upon him against whom it was so effectively made; but the first opportunity was taken advantage of by Disraeli to endeavour to mitigate its effects, and when the Maynooth College Bill came into debate a few days afterwards the member for Shrewsbury was prepared with another philippic.

It must be remembered that the proposed bill was not for the endowment but for the improved endowment of Maynooth College, and yet it aroused an opposition not only among the extreme followers of the government, but among dissenting bodies and ultra churchmen which necessitated all the support given to it by both Whigs and Radicals in the house to ensure its adoption. When it was introduced by Sir Robert he spoke amidst the applause of his usual opponents, and the silent or expressed dissent of his usual supporters. On the speaker calling on those who had petitions to present against an increase of the amount of the Maynooth grant, the occupants of the ministerial benches rose almost as one man amidst the inextinguishable laughter of the opposition. It was a trying moment for Peel, but, after a warm expression of appreciation for the motives of those who opposed him on this question, he proceeded to show the reasons for the bill, the miserable stipends of the professors, the wretched condition of the college buildings, the privations of the ill-lodged students. Three courses were open to parliament—to withdraw the grant already made to it, to keep it at its present amount, or to increase it—and he urged the wisdom and propriety of dealing with the institution in a spirit of generosity, as that demanded both by justice and policy. It was proposed that the trustees of the college should be incorporated so that they might be entitled to hold land to the amount of £3000 a year. The sum of £6000 was to be granted for the salaries of professors, who had hitherto been miserably paid. An allowance was to be made adequate to provide accommodation for 500 students, and the whole grant was thus to amount to £26,360 instead of £9000, and to be permanent instead of by annual vote; while, as the college building was in a wretched and ruinous condition, £30,000 was asked for, to put it in complete and comfortable repair and to enlarge it. There was nothing in this proposition to cause so much public excitement as ensued, since Maynooth was already endowed, and the increase of the grant to a sum which would make its support a reality instead of a pretence, was no more than might reasonably have been expected; but the commotion both in and out of the house was prodigious. The excitement was not confined to persons holding similar views, and it was as intense in London as in other parts of the kingdom. At a meeting at the London Tavern,

[1] Sir Robert had, of course, been reading from Hansard.

the requisition for which was signed by above a hundred merchants, traders, and bankers of the city, the first resolution declared the proposed measure to be a renunciation of the Protestantism under which the nation had flourished, and the mover asserted that the grant was "directly opposed to the revealed will of the Creator."

The Dublin Protestant Operative Association demanded the impeachment of the prime-minister. Several members were called on by their constituents to resign their seats. Petitions were everywhere signed against the measure. The Dissenters, beside their fear of the spread of Romanism, objected to all state endowments of religion. Many churchmen denounced the giving of state aid to reduce Protestant ascendency in Ireland. At a meeting at Covent Garden Theatre, Dr. Croly, the incumbent of St. Stephen's Wallbrook, and a striking example of a member of the church militant, described the Catholic Emancipation Act as "that unhappy, harsh, ill-judged, fatal measure." A popular king (George IV.) had died soon after putting his signature to it; the House of Peers was degraded to pass the Reform Bill, and the Houses of Parliament were consumed by fire. At a large meeting at the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish said, "I believe, so sure as I believe God's Word to be true, a judgment must overtake this nation if we homologate this great sin. Let every true-hearted man who trembles at the thought of anti-Christian error prevailing against the truth, let all who look forward to the destruction of Antichrist by the breathing of the Lord's mouth and the brightness of his coming, let it be the duty of all such men to stand on the watch-tower, to give Israel no rest neither day nor night, until as one man this nation rises and demands to be delivered from the plague, and from the sin, and from the death which this proceeding of government will assuredly entail upon us." At a meeting in Surrey Chapel, Sir Culling Eardley Smith spoke of the measure as calculated to offend the majesty of Heaven and bring down judgments on the nation.

A meeting of Roman Catholics in support of the bill was held at Freemasons' Tavern under the presidency of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and, of course, Roman Catholics and the Irish party in the House of Commons gave it their warm support as a measure of justice for Ireland.

Sir James Graham was warmly in favour of the bill, and when taunted with having formerly declared "that concession had reached its limits," expressed his deep regret that he had ever used such an expression, and rejoiced from the bottom of his heart that his actions had been better than his words.

Mr. Macaulay, in a speech full of power, and delivered with that impetuous rapidity which distinguished his orations, poured out with emphatic satire the absurd inconsistency of those who were willing to subsidize error if they could subsidize it in a mean and shabby manner, and spoke of the bad grace with which objections to increase the amount came from members of universities like Oxford and Cambridge, where, in endowed colleges, religion and learning are surrounded with pomp. "When I call to mind the long streets of palaces, the towers and oriels, the venerable cloisters, the trim gardens, the organs, the altar-pieces, the solemn light of the stained windows, the libraries, the museums, the galleries of painting and sculpture; when I call to mind also the physical comforts which are provided both for instructors and pupils; when I reflect that the very sizars and servitors are far better lodged and fed than those students who are to be a few years hence the priests and bishops of the Irish people; when I think of the spacious and stately mansions of the heads of houses, of the commodious chambers of the fellows and scholars, of the combination room, the bowling-greens, the stabling; of the state and luxury of the great feast-days, of the piles of old plate on the tables, of the savoury steam of the kitchens, of the multitude of grouse and capons which turn at once on the spits, of the oceans of excellent ale in the butteries; and when I remember from whom all this splendour is derived; when I remember what was the faith of Edward the Third and of Henry the Sixth, of Margaret of Anjou and Margaret of Richmond, of William of Wykeham and William of Waynefleet, of

Archbishop Chicheley and Cardinal Wolsey; when I remember what we have taken from the Roman Catholics—King's College, New College, Christ Church, my own Trinity; and when I look at the miserable Do-the-boys Hall which we have given them in exchange, —I feel, I must own, less proud than I could wish of being a Protestant and a Cambridge man." This was a striking picture and in Macaulay's best manner, and the influence of his address to the house was doubtless enhanced when, with the same impetuosity, and using his right hand with a gesture which has been described as giving the notion that he was, as it were, pushing his words before him as he spoke and so adding to their impetus, he accused the ministry of absurd inconsistency. "Can we wonder," he said, "that from one end of the country to the other, everything should be ferment and uproar, that petitions should night after night whiten all our benches like a snowstorm? Can we wonder that the people out of doors should be exasperated by seeing the only men who, when we were in office, voted against the old grant to Maynooth, now pushed and pulled into the house by your whippers-in to vote for an increased grant? The natural consequence follows. All those fierce spirits whom you hallooed on to harass us now turn round and begin to worry you. The Orangeman raises his war whoop, Exeter Hall sets up its bray, Mr. M'Neile shudders to see more costly cheer than ever provided for the priests of Baal at the table of the queen, and the Protestant operatives of Dublin call for impeachment in exceedingly bad English. But what did you expect? Did you think, when to serve your turn you called the devil up, that it was as easy to lay him as to raise him? Did you think when you went on session after session threatening and reviling those whom you knew to be in the right, and flattering all the worst passions of those whom you knew to be in the wrong, that the day of reckoning would never come? It has come; and there you sit doing penance for the disingenuousness of years. If it be not so, stand up manfully and clear your fame before the house and the country. Show us that some steady principle has guided your conduct with respect to Irish affairs. Explain to us why, after having goaded Ireland to madness for the purpose of ingratiating yourselves with the English, you are now setting England on fire for the purpose of ingratiating yourselves with the Irish. Give us some reason which shall prove that the policy which you are following as ministers is entitled to support, and which shall not equally prove you to have been the most factious and unprincipled opposition that ever the world saw."

This was all very fine, and doubtless it was embarrassing to the ministry, but the answer was clear, though nobody gave it. In a very short time—in the following year that is—an answer was given which would have been the right one. Ministers had, in fact, changed their opinions. There was soon to be a change of front for all parties. In 1846, when Mr. Stafford challenged Sir James Graham to say whether he had or had not changed his opinion with respect to the corn-laws, and when quotations from former speeches were taken from Hansard and flung at the government, Sir James said, "I do frankly own my change of opinion, and by that avowal I dispose of whole volumes of Hansard and of all the charges which have been made on the ground of inconsistency." But the repeal of the corn-laws was yet to come, and nobody could foresee when, though some had shrewdly guessed that the tax on food could not last another year. Nor did ministers admit a distinct change of opinion with regard to the endowment of Irish colleges. Perhaps there was no need. Mr. Gladstone had from the first been explicit, and had acted on the conviction that he should not fetter either himself or his colleagues by retaining office until he had taken time to reconsider the stand-point from which he had opposed Roman Catholic endowment. We have seen what was the result of that further consideration, and now that he had become convinced that the relative conditions were changed he was prepared to give a steady support to the government of which he had been a member.

"Exeter Hall sets up its bray" lost Macaulay his seat for Edinburgh for a time, but

only for a time. He was too honest a representative to shirk a thorough expression of his opinions, and his constituents liked him too well and admired his genius too much to desert him altogether. During the time that he was out of parliament the world benefited if his party lost, for he then took time to prosecute his most important work, that account of a critical period in the *History of England,* the first volume of which was published in 1848.

Mr. Gladstone contributed to the debate some brief but weighty observations, which derived additional importance from the fact that he had stood out of office on this very question, and now frankly confessed that his views had undergone a change with the change of conditions under which that and all grants of a similar kind would in future have to be made. It was not a new grant, but it was to be made permanent instead of being only annual, and the college would be brought into close connection with the government by being under the care of the Government Board. In the name of the law, the constitution, and the history of the country he disclaimed anything like restitution to the Romish Church in Ireland by means of this vote. Whatever tended to give ease and comfort to the professors at the college would also tend to soothe and soften the tone of the college itself. He found additional arguments in favour of the measure, in the great numbers and poverty of the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, in the difficulties they experienced in providing themselves the necessaries of life, and in the still greater difficulty they found in providing for themselves preachers of their own faith, and in procuring means of education for them. He found arguments also in the inclination to support it, exhibited by all the great statesmen on both sides of the house, and in the fact that those who paid the taxes of a country had a right to share in the benefits of its institutions.

Exclusive support to the Established Church was a doctrine that was being more and more abandoned day by day. They could not plead their religious scruples as the reason for denying this grant to Roman Catholics, for they gave votes of money to almost every Dissenting sect. He hoped the concession now made, which was a great and liberal gift, because unrestricted and given in a spirit of confidence, would not lead to the renewal of agitation in Ireland by Mr. O'Connell. It might be well for him to reflect that agitation was a two-edged weapon. The number of petitions which had been laid on the table that evening proved that there was in this country a field open to agitation opposed to that which he might get up in Ireland. He trusted that a wiser spirit would preside over the minds of both parties, and that a conviction would spring up in both, that it was a surrender which ought to be made of rival claims for the sake of peace. Believing the measure to be conformable to justice, and not finding any principle on which to resist it, he hoped it would pass into law, and receive, if not the sanction, at least the acquiescence of the people of England.

The speech in which these views were made known to the house had a very marked effect, and the Earl of Arundel took occasion to say that Peel had now the support of every statesmen on either side of the house who deserved the name. Whatever may have been the force of his remark, there was a strong if not a numerous opposition. On the second reading Disraeli spoke against the bill, protesting that he opposed the grant, not because it was a recognition of the social and political equality of the Roman Catholic population, but because the bill was one neither flattering to their pride nor solacing to their feelings. He did not think it was either a great or a liberal measure; he thought it was a mean, meagre, and miserable grant. If the Roman Catholic priesthood were to be educated by the state it must be something greater than the difference between £23 and £28, something higher than the difference between three in a bed and two.

But the main use he made of the debate was to deliver another attack on Peel, in which he did not forget the reference that the premier had made from Hansard on a previous occasion. "I know the right honourable gentleman who introduced the bill told us that upon

this subject there were three courses open to us. I never heard the right honourable gentleman bring forward a measure without making the same confession. In a certain sense, and looking to his own position, he is right. There is the course the right honourable gentleman has left. There is the course which the right honourable gentleman is following, and there is usually the course which the right honourable gentleman ought to pursue. Perhaps, sir, I ought to say that there is a fourth course, because it is possible for the House of Commons to adopt one of these courses indicated by the right honourable gentleman, and then, having voted for it, to rescind it. That is the fourth course, and in future I hope the right honourable gentleman will not forget it. He also tells us that he always looks back to precedents; he comes with a great measure and he always has a small precedent. He traces the steam-engine always back to the tea-kettle. His precedents are usually tea-kettle precedents. . . . If you are to have a popular government, if you are to have a parliamentary administration, the conditions antecedent are that you should have a government which declares the principles on which its policy is founded, and then you can have on them the wholesome check of a constitutional opposition. What have we got instead? Something has risen up in this country as potent in the political world as it has been in the landed world of Ireland. We have a great parliamentary middle-man. It is well known what a middle-man 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.' I want to have a commission issued to inquire into the tenure by which Downing Street is held. Whatever may be the mixed motives and impulses which animate different sections of opinion, there is at least one common ground of co-operation. There is one animating principle which may inspire us all. Let us in the house re-echo that which I believe to be the sovereign sentiment of this country; let us tell persons in high places that cunning is not caution, and that habitual perfidy is not high policy of state. . . . Let us bring to this house that which it has for so long a time past been without—the legitimate influence and salutary check of a constitutional opposition. That is what the country requires—what the country looks for. Let us do it at once in the only way in which it can be done, by dethroning this dynasty of deception, by putting an end to the intolerable yoke of parliamentary imposture." In reference to the answer he had received on the last occasion he said, "I hope I shall not be answered by Hansard. I am not surprised that the right honourable gentleman should be so fond of recurring to that great authority; he has great advantages; he can look over a record of thirty, and more than thirty, years of an eminent career. But that is not the lot of every man, and I may say, as a general rule, I am rather surprised that your experienced statesman should be so fond of recurring to that eminent publication. What, after all, do they see on looking over a quarter of a century, or more even, of their speeches in Hansard? What dreary pages of interminable talk, what predictions falsified, what pledges broken, what calculations that have gone wrong, what budgets that have blown up? And all this, too, not relieved by a single original thought, or a single generous impulse, or a single happy expression! Why, Hansard, instead of being the Delphi of Downing Street, is but the Dunciad of politics."

This was very clever—very full of point and wit, and singular sarcastic suggestiveness—and it had a remarkable effect on the Protectionists; but it did not prevent the passing of the Maynooth Bill, nor did it move Peel to any public outburst of retaliation, nor a reply even in the former terms; but it was known to some that these continued and deliberately considered attacks, were irritating and harassing the premier beyond measure—especially as they were accompanied by the cheers, laughter, and applause of many of those who had once been among his steadfast supporters. This sense of annoyance and of political desertion was shortly to be intensified, for events were now moving fast, and almost before any one was aware of it the repeal of the corn-

laws and a complete change of parties became inevitable.

Those who imagined that the efforts of the Anti-Corn-law League had relaxed were soon undeceived. The budget, as we have seen, was itself a recognition of those principles of free-trade of which the repeal of the corn-laws was to be the distinct expression. It was evident that the cause which the leaders of the free-trade movement had so strenuously vindicated was becoming national. At a meeting held in Covent Garden Theatre in February, 1845, Mr. Bright traced the growth of the movement as exemplified by the pecuniary resources at the command of its advocates. "In the year 1839 we first asked for subscriptions and £5000 was given. In 1840 we asked for more, and between £7000 and £8000 was subscribed. In 1841 we held the great conference at Manchester, at which upwards of 700 ministers of religion attended. In 1842 we had our great bazaar in Manchester, from which £10,000 was realized. In 1843 we asked for £50,000, and got it. In 1844 we called for £100,000, and between £80,000 and £90,000 has been paid in, besides what will be received from the bazaar to be held in May. This year is yet young, but we have not been idle. We have asked our free-trade friends in the northern counties to convert some of their property, so as to be able to defend their right and properties at the hustings. This has been done, and it now appears that at the recommendation of the council of the League our friends in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire have invested a sum of not less than £250,000 in the purchase of county qualifications. Besides all this, we shall have our great bazaar in May."

The Free-trade Bazaar, which was opened at Covent Garden Theatre on the 8th of May, was one of the most striking spectacles ever witnessed, and as a demonstration of the public demand for the abolition of the corn-laws, effected much towards the object for which it was intended. "If money only were our object," said Mr. G. Wilson, the president of the League, at a preliminary meeting, "a greater amount might easily be procured by a general subscription than we are likely to receive from this exhibition; but we want a more generally implied co-operation than the mere want of money could imply. We want to see assembled in this theatre our friends from all parts of the kingdom, in order that they may confer together; that they may become known to each other; that they may derive from such meetings, and from what they will see here, a new impetus, and carry to the extremities of the country a redoubled resolution to assist us in promoting the great object which we have in view."

That object was achieved, and even the money advantage was considerable. There had never been so successful an enterprise of this description—there had seldom been so attractive a show. The entire area of the pit and stage of the theatre had been boarded over, and the interior of the building converted into a Norman Gothic Hall. The arrangements were admirable, the organization complete. The bazaar was open for seventeen days, and was visited by above 100,000 people. The charges for admission and the amount realized by sales was £20,046, and £5000 was given in direct contributions. The stalls were kept by 400 ladies—the wives and daughters of leading free-traders. As Mr. Mongredien tells us in his reference to the bazaar in his history of the movement, "All the space that could be spared for the exhibition on stalls of articles for sale was crowded to excess with wares of every possible description, many of them of great beauty, rarity, and value, contributed by almost every town and district in the United Kingdom. They were classed and labelled according to the localities whence they came. So great was the variety, the excellence, and the value of many of the articles exhibited, that they very fairly illustrated the productive powers of the nation, and this not only far surpassed all similar collections hitherto known, but remained unsurpassed until eclipsed by the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, which, in 1851, Prince Albert devised and inaugurated, and for which Paxton built so fitting a temple.

"The attendance throughout the whole of the eighteen days that the bazaar lasted was profuse, and it never slackened. From morn-

ing to night an unbroken stream of visitors filled every avenue. . . . There remained enough of unsold goods to furnish another bazaar, that was held in the autumn at Manchester. The scene presented to a spectator from the galleries was most brilliant and animated. The vast profusion of various products of man's labour, the ever-shifting crowd of human beings, the splendid scenic decorations, the lights, the movement, the music, the subdued hum of voices, the associations connected with the origin and purpose of the spectacle, all combined to fill the mind of the beholder with varied and pleasing emotions."

The emotions produced in the minds of the Protectionists, and of some members of the government party, could scarcely have been pleasing, though they may have been considerably varied, and they were soon to undergo still further trials. The League was again organizing an examination of the registers and preparing to extend the scheme of qualification. The contributions to the £100,000 fund had, with the money obtained from the bazaar, reached to above £116,000. But there were more suggestive signs even than this large subscription and the success of the demonstration at Covent Garden Theatre. Lord John Russell, and presumably some of the influential members of his party, were being dragged after public opinion, where they refrained from joining in leading it.

Evidences were not wanting that "the Whig leaders were in competition with the ministry for the repeal of the corn-laws." Indeed, Lord John has left it on record that a little later, though the leaders of the Whigs advised the retention of a small fixed duty, he was himself in favour of abolition.

On the 26th of May he had moved a number of resolutions on the condition of the labouring classes, in which he declared that he could not then recommend the fixed duty of 8*s.* which he had proposed in 1841:—"Those laws which impose duties, usually called protective, tend to impair the efficiency of labour, to restrict the free interchange of commodities, and to impose on the people unnecessary taxation." "The present corn-law tends to check improvements in agriculture, produces uncertainty in all farming speculations, and holds out to the owners and occupiers of land prospects of special advantage, which it fails to secure." These were enunciations of complete free-trade principles; and the reasoning to which Lord John Russell resorted to induce the house to pledge itself to such declarations were sufficient proofs that he had taken a rather different standpoint, and was nearly prepared to throw in his lot with the League. He had convinced himself "that the policy of restriction was mischievous, that it favoured one class at the expense of another, and that it injured the labouring classes more than any other." He contended that the agricultural interests were not benefited by the present corn-law, "for it appeared that now, when they had a protection of 40 per cent on the ordinary food of the people, they were still in a state of difficulty and distress."

He was ready to adopt a fixed duty of 4*s.*, 5*s.*, or 6*s.*, alternatives which were offered very much as though they were merely tentative "bids," and would without much difficulty be relinquished for complete free-trade. His strongest appeal was made by subsequent events to seem prophetic. "Now is the time," he said, "to enfranchise trade and industry—now, with political tranquillity and leisure, with bread at free-trade prices, with revived commerce and prosperous manufactures—now with population growing at an almost fearful rate of increase—now, before another bad harvest brings on the cry of hunger."

The motions were not granted, but neither Sir Robert Peel nor Sir James Graham, who opposed them, spoke against the policy avowed by Lord John; nor was Sir Robert aroused to a denial of the truth of that policy even by the declaration of Sir John Tyrrell that government had forfeited the confidence of the agricultural interests. The reply was similar to that already made to a similar charge by Mr. Disraeli: "He did not know whether Sir John Tyrrell was authorized to speak as the organ of the agricultural interest; but even if he were, he (Sir Robert Peel)

would not purchase back again the confidence which he was said to have forfeited by uttering the slightest expression of repentance for the course which he had pursued."

The motion of Lord John Russell was negatived, not by denial of the representations by which it was accompanied, but by moving the previous question. When Mr. Villiers brought forward his annual motion on the corn-laws it was evident that the majority of those who voted against him were really on his side. There were no new arguments, the topics had been thrashed out, and as Mr. Bright said:—though the free-traders knew that when they went to a division they would be in a minority, minorities in that house had often become majorities, and he hoped to see that result produced again. When the League was accused of rashness in demanding a sudden extinction of the duties, Cobden inquired whether there was ever such rashness as to leave 27,000,000 of people with a stock of only 300,000 quarters of foreign wheat to stand between them and famine in case of another bad harvest. "I see the fall of the corn-law signified, not only by the ability of the attacks made upon it, but also by the manner in which it is defended in this house," said Lord John Russell. "We have now brought the adoption of free-trade to a mere question of time," said Cobden in addressing a large meeting of friends of the League at Covent Garden Theatre on the 18th of June, "we have narrowed it down to one little word—When? That question I answer by another little word—Now!"

It was believed that Peel intended to repeal the corn-laws, and at this very meeting Mr. Bright, speaking of the premier, said with a frank fervour that was itself convincing, "He sprung from commerce, and until he has proved it himself I will never believe that there is any man, much less will I believe that he is the man, who would go down to his grave, having had the power to deliver that commerce, and yet not having had the manliness, honesty, and courage to do it." As Lord John Russell had said, the time was favourable for the abandonment of the duties restricting trade, which was then flourishing, and flourishing apparently in consequence of the removal of some former disabilities. There was a vast return of employment for labour, wages were remunerative, railways were being constructed with enormous rapidity, wheat was not more than 48*s.* a quarter, and bread was cheaper than it had been for years. There was no external pressure to account for the advance of the government, as well as the Whig opposition, to complete free-trade principles. Why should they linger?

The pressure came.

The bad harvest against the effects of which the government had been entreated to provide by the abolition of the duty on corn was no longer merely a possible contingency to be urged as a powerful argument, —it had become a threatened calamity—and a still more powerful appeal was imminent. The failure of the wheat harvest in England was a factor in the coming situation which was important indeed, but it sunk into comparative insignificance before the dismay caused by the ruin of the potato crop in Ireland.

The summer had been cold and rainy, and those forebodings which seem to have echoed in the earlier references to a possible bad harvest were likely to be realized as the autumn approached. On the 5th of August, when the session was about to close, Lord John Russell in reviewing the session again referred to apprehensions for the growing crops. The weather was being watched with the greatest anxiety. It was the duty of the house to provide for such a contingency as a scarcity of food by procuring it from all quarters whence it might be obtained. But parliament was prorogued on the 9th, and the royal speech was of a congratulatory character in referring to the legislative work that had been accomplished. Still the rain came down almost without intermission. By the middle of August the price of wheat had risen to 57*s.* a quarter—a few fine days in the following month produced a fall in prices, but there was no hopeful continuance of fine weather, and both the quality and the quantity of the crops was so much below the average that a sudden rise occurred, and people began to speak of a scarcity and of bread at "famine prices." It

was to Ireland that everybody had to look with the most gloomy expectations, however, for alarming reports began to be circulated that though in some places the harvests of grain had suffered no more than those in England, either from the wet weather or from some other cause the more important harvest of potatoes was perishing by a blight as mysterious as it was incurable. Foreign potatoes (particularly those of Belgium) as well as those of Great Britain, were destroyed by the same disease; but in Ireland the ravages were as complete as they were comparatively sudden; and in Ireland the potato, "the pauperizing root" as Cobbett had long before named it, continued to be the staple food supply for the people. Now the entire crop was being swept away. Those portions which had appeared to be sound when dug up rotted after having been placed in the pits. All that could be taken to market were sold for what they would fetch. Prices consequently went lower, and for a time those who opposed the opening of our ports for foreign grain allowed themselves to be deceived by the notion that the low prices were a sign of plenty.

We were standing face to face with an Irish famine, for the roots on which three-fourths of the population had relied for their common food had become unfit to eat. The large area of land which had been devoted to the culture of the potato, because it was so much more easily raised than crops of cereals, now lay worse than barren. "First a market-gardener here and there, a farmer, an Irish cottier, saw a brown spot appear on the margin of the leaf of the potato, and did not remember ever to have seen such a thing before. The brown spot grew black, and spread and covered the stalk, till a whole potato-field looked as if a scorching wind had passed over it. Yet perhaps the roots might appear to be in a good state; and one man would let the plants alone while another would mow off the tops and wait to see what happened. The stealthy rain had by some means, yet as mysterious as ever, generated some minute plague, of what nature nobody yet knows, if indeed it is certain that the rain was the instrument,—a plague so minute that no microscope has yet convicted it, yet so powerful that it was soon to overthrow governments, and derange commerce, and affect for all time to come the political fate of England, and settle the question of the regeneration or the destruction of Ireland. The minute plague spread and spread till it blackened thousands of acres and destroyed the food of millions of men. In some wholesome regions, the last to be affected, the inhabitants would hardly believe what they heard and read. . . . But soon the change appeared even in these healthiest districts. A man might exhibit his green and flourishing crop to a stranger and say that he should take it up on Monday; on that night would come a thunder-storm, and the next morning, if the owner stirred the soil of his blackened field with a pitchfork up came such a steaming stench as showed him that his field had turned putrid. And then it became known why potatoes were abundant and cheap in the markets. Everybody was eager to sell before his potatoes had time to rot. What was to become of the poor Irish if this went on was now the most anxious question of the time."[1]

Some of the benevolent gentry were already saving their sound potatoes for the use of the sick and the aged, and were laying in stores of rice and other farinaceous food against the probable severities of the coming winter, and such efforts were but the forerunners of an attempted system of general relief, but that was not yet. The first effort must be to obtain food supplies from abroad.

One of the first intimations of the potato blight was made to Sir James Graham by a potato-dealer who observed the disease in the Kentish fields, and even in the cottagers' gardens, and afterwards discovered that the tops sent as covers to the potatoes consigned to market were all affected. Ministers were uneasy, and Sir Robert Peel became especially anxious as accounts came in that showed the calamity to be widely spread, if not universal. The condition of the Irish peasantry was already so wretched that it gave grounds for serious apprehension. Letters had ap-

[1] Harriet Martineau.

peared in the *Times* from Mr. T. C. Foster, a special commissioner sent out by that paper to visit the large estates in the south and west of Ireland. His report of the squalid poverty, indolence, and neglect of the cottars aroused the wrath of the advocates for the repeal of the union, and as O'Connell's estate in that part of the island was described as one of the worst and his peasantry as among the most wretched, the report caused no little sensation and produced indignant protests and denials.

Even Peel's cautious delay in conceding the relief which he had already made up his mind must be given to foreign grain brought to this country was not likely to endure till the next session of parliament. "The accounts of the state of the potato crop in Ireland are becoming very alarming," he wrote to Sir James Graham on the 13th of October. "I foresee the necessity that may be imposed upon us at an early period of considering whether there is not that well-grounded apprehension of actual scarcity that justifies and compels the adoption of every means of relief which the exercise of the prerogative or legislation might afford. I have no confidence in such remedies as the prohibition of exports or the stoppage of distilleries. The removal of impediments to imports is the only effectual remedy." This will show that various expedients had been suggested for preserving the native supply of food so that a protective duty might be maintained, but no such plans would have sufficed to meet the now general failure of the staple crops in Ireland. Already a meeting had been convened at Kilkenny, under the presidency of the high sheriff, for discussing what remedial measures could be adopted. In Galway the distemper was spreading with frightful rapidity; from Drogheda reports came that the ravages were extending, and that potatoes which had appeared to be sound were found to be diseased after they had been pitted for fourteen days.

A government commission had been sent to inquire and report on the condition of the crops and on the best remedial measures to be adopted. Dr. Lyon Playfair wrote from Dublin to Sir Robert Peel, "I send you a draft copy of a report which I intend to offer to my colleagues. . . . You will see the account is melancholy, and it cannot be looked upon in other than a most serious light. . . . I am sorry to give you so desponding a letter, but we cannot conceal from ourselves that the case is much worse than the public suppose."

Further hesitation would be dangerous, and yet repeated cabinet councils failed to secure a complete agreement among the members of the ministry. Peel was in a minority in the desire to abandon, or virtually to abandon, the corn duties, and for a little while affairs seemed to be at a dead-lock. Time had to be spent in endeavours to assimilate the views of those to whom the nation was looking for relief. But it was felt that some decisive step could not be long delayed, and that the repeal of the corn-laws alone would give the necessary relief to a nation already on the brink of starvation because of the total failure of the one article of food of home growth on which they principally relied.

"Interference with the due course of the laws respecting the supply of food is so momentous and so lasting in its consequences," wrote Sir Robert in a second letter to Sir James Graham, "that we must not act without the most accurate information." The corn duties once removed could never be reimposed, and this was the difficulty which divided the cabinet. While ministers were undecided how to act, the nation murmured, and the murmur would soon take a threatening tone. At a meeting in Dublin, presided over by the Duke of Leinster, it was resolved that the committee should represent to the lord-lieutenant that famine and consequent pestilence were immediately imminent unless the government should without hesitation or delay take the most prompt measures to provide for the people, and to organize means for the distribution of food throughout the land. They called on the lord-lieutenant forthwith to order the ports of Ireland to be opened for the importation of Indian corn, rice, and other articles suited for human food.

The Anti-Corn-law League was indefati-

gable, and its chief supporters allowed themselves little rest. Meetings were held in which the immediate repeal of the corn-laws was urged with increasing force and fire; innumerable publications and appeals were distributed all over the country, and most important additions were made to the ranks of those who had worked hard and sacrificed much, to a cause which they now saw must be successful unless the Irish people were to be abandoned to increasing want and misery.

A letter had been addressed by Lord Ashley to the electors of Dorsetshire which was eagerly read all over the kingdom, and in which he declared his opinion that the destiny of the corn-laws was fixed, and that the leading men in the great parties of the legislature were by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition. For nearly a month after this, however, there were reports of disagreement in the cabinet, and nothing was done. What the nature of the disagreement was did not transpire, but it was understood that it related to the opening of the ports. We now know that Sir Robert Peel had determined to act according to his convictions, and that he was prepared—if need were—to sacrifice his great position, the support of old and respected friends, the leadership of a dominant party. By successive stages of conviction he had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived for at least an important mitigation of the tax on grain imported from abroad, and not only the failure of the English wheat harvest but the destruction of the potato crop in Ireland had hastened his intentions. That he had changed the opinions with which he had entered parliament there could be no doubt—but so had most of his contemporaries; and, at all events, the change had been so gradual, and yet, from his high position, so conspicuous, that nobody could pretend to be surprised even when it reached to the relinquishment of the corn duties. Nor was there any strong expression of surprise that he should, by acting in accordance with his convictions, also relinquish high station—perhaps the highest station that any minister had ever filled —and lay himself open to the censure, and even the denunciation of those who, because they could not follow him in his conclusions, charged him not only with political, but with personal treachery. Indeed, as we have seen, he had repeatedly and distinctly intimated that it must not be supposed he had reached any final point beyond which he would promise not to carry the liberation of articles of consumption from restrictive duties. He had also emphatically declared that he was prepared (as perhaps he foresaw he should need to be prepared) to suffer the loss of confidence of those who had long supported him, and an abatement of the friendship of some whose regards were valuable to him, and to submit to the personal as well as the parliamentary invective of those who persisted in demanding that he should occupy the position of a statesman whose opinions had undergone no change, and on whose policy altered conditions and the social and political progress of a quarter of a century had made no impression. Already Peel was in greater sympathy with men outside the cabinet than with any except two or three of his colleagues. There were men, for instance, like Lord Morpeth, who had much of his former Whiggism to forget when he joined the League, and with his subscription of £5 to the fund sent a letter to Mr. Baines, saying, "I wish to record in the most emphatic way I can, my conviction that the time is come for a final repeal of the corn-laws, and my protest against the continued inaction of the state on the present emergency." This declaration was received with almost frantic delight at the meeting at Leeds where it was first made known, and it produced scarcely less lively satisfaction among the free-traders in London. But the cabinet could not work together. In a memorandum after a meeting on the 31st of October, where continued dissensions prevented any decision being arrived at, Peel wrote, "The calling of parliament at an unusual period on any matter connected with a scarcity of food is a most important step. It compels an immediate decision on three questions: Shall we maintain unaltered? shall we modify? shall we suspend the operation of the corn-laws? The first vote we propose—a vote of credit, for

instance, for £100,000 to be placed at the disposal of the lord-lieutenant for the supply of food—opens the whole question. Can we vote public money for the sustenance of any considerable portion of the people, on account of actual or apprehended scarcity, and maintain in full operation the existing restrictions on the free import of grain? I am bound to say my impression is that we cannot."

Lord Stanley wrote on the following day to Sir Robert saying how difficult it was to express the regret with which he saw how widely he differed from him and Graham on the necessity for proposing to parliament a repeal of the corn-laws. "I foresee," he said, "that this question, if you persevere in your present opinion, must break up the government one way or the other; but I shall greatly regret indeed, if it should be broken up, not in consequence of our feeling that we have prepared measures which it properly belonged to others to carry, but in consequence of difference of opinion amongst ourselves." There seemed to be little chance of an agreement. The council had been adjourned to the 6th of November, and Sir Robert Peel then proposed to issue immediately an order in council, reducing the duty on grain in bond to one shilling per quarter; to open the ports to the temporary admission of all grain at a small rate of duty; to call parliament together on the 27th of November to ask for an indemnity, and to announce the intention of submitting immediately after the recess a modification of the existing corn-laws. Only Sir James Graham, the Earl of Aberdeen, and Mr. Sidney Herbert supported these propositions, and again nothing was done. The excitement throughout the country was intense. The Dublin Mansion House Relief Committee issued a series of resolutions declaring that already a third of the potato crop of Ireland had been destroyed by disease; that the ravages of the blight were expanding more and more daily; that the approaching and imminent famine and pestilence could only be obviated by immediate measures for promptly securing food and employment for the people. The resolutions concluded with an impeachment of ministers for not opening the ports or calling parliament to meet at an earlier date than usual. At the meetings of the League in various parts of the country, memorials were adopted calling on the government to open the ports.

During this period of anxiety and agitation Lord John Russell was in Edinburgh, and thence he published a letter to the electors of London which both at the time and afterwards had some effect, inasmuch as in it he renounced his former demands for a fixed duty, and declared that his views on the general subject of the corn-laws had in the course of twenty years undergone a great alteration. Considering how frequently he himself had lingered, and how late was his conversion to that free-trade against which his "fixed duties" had been regarded as more mischievous than the alterable and therefore terminable sliding scale, the free-traders were rather amused and not a little annoyed at the gravity with which he proposed to give them his aid when they had practically ceased to care for it. After reproving the ministers for having met and separated without affording any promise of timely relief, he said, "Forethought and bold precaution may avert any serious evils, indecision and procrastination may produce a state of suffering which it is frightful to contemplate. . . . It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. In 1841 the free-trade party would have agreed to a duty of 8*s.* per quarter on wheat, and after a lapse of years this duty might have been further reduced and ultimately abolished. But the imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction within a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. . . . 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. But if this end is to be achieved, it must be gained by the unequivocal expression of the public voice. It is not to be denied that many elections for cities and towns in 1841 and some in 1845 appear to favour the assertion that free-trade is not

popular with the great mass of the community. The government appears to be waiting for some excuse to give up the present corn-laws. Let the people, by petition, by address, by remonstrance, afford them the excuse they seek. . . . Let the removal of restrictions on the admission of the main articles of food and clothing used by the mass of the people be required in plain terms, as useful to all great interests and indispensable to the progress of the nation."

It may be easily believed that the appearance of this letter still further embarrassed the ministry, since if those members of the cabinet who had held out were now to yield, it would appear as though their agreement had been brought about by the declarations of a political rival, while, should any of the members resign and the prime minister carry his proposals (which were of course not known to the public), it would appear as though he had adopted those views to retain office against the bids made by the leader of the opposition.

But the cabinet would not agree, and when on the 25th of November they again met to prepare instructions for the Irish famine commissioners, Sir Robert Peel contended that the proposed instructions were inconsistent with a determination to maintain the existing corn-laws, and he could not consent to their issue without reserving on his own part the power to propose to parliament some measure of immediate relief. He was still in a minority, but the staunch old Duke of Wellington, with what politicians of a different stamp would naturally regard as inconsistent loyalty, stood firmly by his friend, and did not shrink from proclaiming alike his own opinions and the strong admiration and regard which led him to subordinate them. "I am one of those," said he, "who think the continuance of the corn-laws essential to the agriculture of the country in its existing state and particularly to that of Ireland, and a benefit to the whole community. . . . In respect to my own course my only object in public life is to support Sir Robert Peel's administration of the government of the queen. A good government for the country is more important than corn-laws or any other consideration; and as long as Sir Robert Peel possesses the confidence of the queen and of the public, and he has strength to perform the duties, his administration of the goverment must be supported."

The action of political leaders on both sides were in favour of the demands of the League. Only in the cabinet was there effectual obstruction, though of course Protectionists like the Duke of Richmond denied the urgent need of the country, denounced the repeal of the corn-laws, and refused to believe that ministers would be guilty of such "perfidy" as to attempt to open the ports. Great meetings of the League continued to be held in the Free-trade Hall at Manchester. The attendance from the neighbouring towns was very numerous. At one of them, arrangements having been made with the railway companies for trains to return after the proceedings were closed, the audience numbered more than eight thousand. Hundreds went away unable to gain admittance. On the platform were the representatives of an amount of wealth and capital such as had never before been collected in the north of England. Mr. Wilson, having taken the chair, introduced Mr. Cobden, who started at once into the object of the meeting, which was to point out the remedy for the famine which, in consequence of the inclemency of the season, threatened our own island, and to avert the misery, starvation, and death of millions in Ireland. The natural and obvious remedy was to open the ports. Russia, Turkey, Germany, and Holland had done so, and why should not our government follow the example? Mr. Henry Ashworth, of Turton, followed, and he was succeeded by Mr. Bright, who, in a telling speech, compared the then state of the country under the corn-law with what it would be when freed from that odious monopoly.

When the latest of the series of cabinet councils were being held a startling communication was made to the public. On the 4th of December the *Times* announced that it was the intention of government to repeal the corn-laws, and to call parliament together in January for that purpose. Some ministerial papers doubted, and then indignantly denied this. Some journals said that it could not be known to

the *Times*, because the fact could transpire only through the breach of the cabinet oath. Others said that it might fairly be a matter of inference from the general policy being understood; but to this there was the objection that the *Times* asserted that its news was not a matter of inference, but of fact; and the ordinary government papers persevered in denying the truth of the news altogether. The *Times* was roundly abused by other newspapers, whom it satirized contemptuously in return, haughtily asserting that its intelligence would be found correct within an assigned period. Meantime the general conviction was complete, that the *Times* had some peculiar means of information. One report was that the Duke of Wellington had come down to the Horse Guards in great wrath, swearing, as he threw himself from his horse, at the pass things had come to when the corn-laws were to be given up; but, besides that such a freak was not very like the shrewd and loyal Duke of Wellington, there was no reason here why the *Times* should be exclusively in possession of the information. The announcement was made on the 4th of December. On the 5th the *Standard* exhibited a conspicuous title to a counter-statement, "Atrocious fabrication by the *Times;*" at the Corn Exchange there was immense surprise, not so much displeasure as might have been expected, and an instant downward tendency in the price of grain. The *Times* still declared "that parliament would meet early in January, and that a repeal of the corn-laws would be proposed in one house by Sir R. Peel and in the other by the Duke of Wellington." The free-traders so far gave weight to the assertion as to announce everywhere, with diligence, that they would accept nothing short of total repeal; not a shilling nor a farthing of duty should be imposed without sound reason shown.

On Sunday, the 7th of December, it was rumoured that the Duke of Wellington had yielded; on Tuesday it was asserted that he had withdrawn his assent. On Thursday it was known that ministers had resigned. It appeared that the startling announcement of the *Times* was substantially true. The cabinet had, on Wednesday, assented to Sir Robert Peel's proposition that the ports should be opened, and that new financial arrangements, including a repeal of the existing corn-laws, would be laid before parliament.

It was understood that when the premier discovered his inability to move his cabinet onward he immediately made his position known to Lord John Russell, then in Scotland, who consequently proceeded to London, where he arrived at the time when ministers had departed to Osborne House to tender their resignation to the queen. On the following day Lord John Russell was trying to form a cabinet; the League was preparing for any emergency that might arise, and for continuing the struggle against the corn-laws until they were totally repealed. On Saturday, December 13th, upwards of seventy of the principal subscribers to its funds in Manchester and the neighbourhood met at the League rooms, and resolved unanimously that an appeal to the public should be made for a fund of £250,000, and that a meeting should be held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday 23d, for that purpose. Before that time arrived, Lord John Russell had relinquished his attempt to form a ministry; and Sir Robert Peel returned to office with much greater power to effect the reform than the Whig party possessed. But this did not lessen the determination of the free-traders to put forth all their energy, for it was seen that a desperate struggle was still to be endured. The announced meeting in the Manchester Town Hall was held on the 23d of December, and was attended by almost every merchant and manufacturer of eminence in the town and neighbourhood. Mr. Robert Hyde Greg was called to the chair, and in a short and pithy speech called upon the meeting to cash the cheque which the League had drawn upon them. He then introduced Mr. George Wilson, who rendered an account, on behalf of the treasurer, of the receipts and expenditure, by which it appeared that there was a balance in hand of £12,033. The accounts were passed. A resolution was then moved by Henry Ashworth, Esq., of Bolton, and seconded by Mr. Alderman Kershaw, to the following effect:—"That

this meeting hereby expresses its high sense of the invaluable services which the Anti-Corn-law League has rendered to the cause of free-trade; and in order to enable the council to make renewed and increased exertions for the repeal of the corn and provision laws, a subscription in aid of the great fund of £250,000 be now commenced." The chairman then called upon the assemblage to back their words by their deeds, and becomingly set the example, on behalf of himself and partner, by giving £1000. The meeting hailed this spirited commencement with loud cheers, which were renewed when Mr. James Chadwick gave the second £1000. From this time for an hour and a half cards were placed in the chairman's hands nearly as fast as he could read them, from, or on behalf of, individuals subscribing their thousands; seven, five, four, three, two, and one hundreds, and smaller amounts. Twenty-three persons and firms gave in their names for £1000 each, twenty-five for £500, fifty-one for sums of from £200 to £400, sixty-one for sums between £100 and £150, and about fifty for sums of £50 each. At the close of the meeting the chairman announced that the amount subscribed was £59,165.

Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleugh were the two members of the cabinet who would not consent to support a measure involving the ultimate repeal of the corn-laws, and, thinking it would be injurious to the public interest if he should fail to adjust the question, and at the same time doubting whether he should be able to conduct the proposal to a successful issue, Sir Robert Peel went without further delay to tender his resignation to the queen.

Her majesty and the prince consort had during the autumn been on a visit to Germany, the Thuringian Forest, and the prince's birthplace. On the way home they had been received at Antwerp by the King and Queen of the Belgians, and the town was illuminated in their honour. From the Scheldt, where the royal yacht awaited them, they proceeded to Treport in response to the earnest invitation of the King of the French that they would pay him another visit at Chateau d'Eu on their homeward journey—although they had previously been his guest there in 1843 and he had made a return visit to Windsor Castle. On this second visit to Treport, as on the first, they received from Louis Philippe and his family a warm and almost overwhelming welcome, his majesty going on board the royal yacht to receive them, and afterwards taking them into his state barge, which, however, could not, or did not go inside the port, but was taken outside so that they had to submit to be dragged over the sands in a bathing-machine, which, the queen tells us, "did very well."

This was just at the time of the excitement about the "Spanish marriages," and it was on returning to the royal yacht on the following evening after this visit, that Louis Philippe in conversation with her majesty and Lord Aberdeen, who had accompanied her, said he never would hear of Montpensier's marriage with the Infanta of Spain until it was no longer a political question, which would be when the Queen of Spain was married and had children. The meaning of this assurance we shall have to consider in another page.

All the doubts that had arisen as to the probability of Sir Robert Peel becoming the trusted friend of the sovereign as well as prime minister of England had disappeared. He was held in high esteem not only by the queen but by Prince Albert, whose confidence he had won by the honesty and independence of his character. The correspondence between the prince consort and Sir Robert shows that he had been received on terms of familiar regard—and probably in that rather simple and unconventional royal household, the chief display of dignity and the kind of reticence which is supposed to exist between the sovereign and even the most illustrious subject, was on the side of Peel himself, who was perhaps a little too conscious of what was due to his own self-respect to assume a confidence which the manner of his reception might well have warranted. It should be remembered, too, that he was not by birth or even by position one of the aristocracy of the country—and chiefly on this ground he refused the garter which the queen was anxious to bestow on

him, as the only way in which she could mark her deep sense of his honour and integrity and of the valuable and faithful services that he had rendered both to the crown and the country. It was well known, he said, that he possessed her majesty's confidence, and the general impression to that effect would not be strengthened by this mark of her favour. As far as personal feeling went he would rather decline it. He sprang from the people, and was essentially of the people, and such an honour in his case would be misapplied. His heart was not set upon titles of honour or social distinctions. His reward lay in her majesty's confidence, of which, by many indications, she had given him the fullest assurance; and when he left her service the only distinction he coveted was that she should say to him, "You have been a faithful servant, and have done your duty to your country and to myself!" It was after the passing of the grant to Maynooth that the offer was made to him through Lord Aberdeen. The queen was so sensible of the importance of the measure, and of the courage and ability with which it had been carried in face of a marked opposition from Peel's own supporters and amidst a storm of invective, that she desired to give the prime minister some distinctive mark of confidence.

But by that time the prime minister had become a trusted friend, and in the correspondence between himself and the prince, no less than in numerous references made by the queen herself in her journals, and in those passages in the *Life of the Prince Consort*, by Mr. Theodore Martin, which received her majesty's endorsement, there are numerous evidences of the esteem with which he was regarded in the royal family. For there was more than a royal *household* now. The domestic life of the young queen had already ripened and expanded in the light of maternal affection. The royal record of the return home from their visit to Germany closes with the words—"We drove up straight to the house (at Osborne), for there, looking like roses, so well and so fat, stood the four children . . . much pleased to see us." It was Sir Robert Peel who had advised the purchase of the estate at Osborne as a delightful and quiet retreat—not too far from London, and with all the advantages of domestic retirement.

It was to Osborne, then, that he carried his resignation, and, to quote his own words, "her majesty was pleased to accept it with marks of confidence and approbation which, however gratifying, made it a very painful act to replace in her majesty's hands the trust she had confided in me."

The queen at once intimated her desire to call upon Lord John Russell to form a ministry, and he was hastily summoned from Edinburgh for that purpose. Peel wrote to the queen that the principle on which he was prepared to recommend the reconsideration of the laws affecting the import of the main articles of food was in general accordance with that referred to in the concluding paragraph of Lord John Russell's letter. He wished to accompany the removal of restrictions on the admission of these articles with relief to the land from such charges as were unduly onerous. He would support measures founded on that general principle, and would exercise any influence he might possess to promote their success. But Lord John Russell wanted more than this, and again, a few days later, Peel wrote to her majesty that he had been asked for assurances amounting substantially to a pledge that he would support the immediate and total repeal of the corn-laws; but that he "humbly expresses his regret that he does not feel it consistent with his duty to enter upon the consideration of this important question in parliament fettered by a previous engagement of the nature of that required."

Lord John Russell, however, considered that he had sufficient promise of support to induce him to make the attempt to form a government, though the summons was sudden and the time was short. The queen reluctantly intimated to Sir Robert Peel that as their political relation was about to terminate she wished to see him at Windsor to bid him farewell; but during the twenty-four hours that elapsed before his arrival at the castle her majesty had received a letter from Lord John with his humble duty, stating that he found it impossible to form an administration.

The cause of this failure was the refusal of Lord Grey[1] to enter the cabinet on the ground, as it was understood, that he could not countenance the probable policy of Lord Palmerston in the event of the latter being foreign secretary during the critical period through which we were believed to be passing in relation to France and America. Some bitter reproaches were cast upon Lord Grey by the Whigs, but he remained silent; and Lord John Russell was too doubtful of the position of the Whig party to venture on forming a ministry without him.

On Sir Robert Peel entering the room after his arrival at Windsor, the queen 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." She observed that he might naturally require time for reflection and for communication with his colleagues before giving a decisive answer, but with characteristic sagacity he begged permission to decide on resuming office at once, that he might return to town and, without any appearance of vacillation, announce that he had accepted the appointment of prime minister. Of this the queen cordially approved, and the result was that on his return he immediately called a meeting of those of his late colleagues who were within reach. Lord Stanley still declined to accept office, but the Duke of Buccleugh wrote to say that seeing the position in which her majesty was placed, and the only alternative left to her in the event of his (Sir Robert's) failure—perceiving "the disastrous consequences that must ensue and the critical state of the country"—he felt it his imperative duty to make every personal sacrifice, and he was therefore ready to give his support to the administration. It was therefore only necessary to appoint a colonial secretary in place of Lord Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel naturally turned to the statesman whose indefatigable attention to details no less than his eminent financial ability had already stood him in such good stead. It was known, too, that in a policy which involved the principles of free-trade William Ewart Gladstone would be mostly in advance of his colleagues—and the intimation that he had been requested to fill the vacant office was matter for congratulation to all those who desired the complete and final repeal of the corn-laws.

Of course Mr. Gladstone's acceptance of office in a ministry pledged to this final measure was inconsistent with his continuing to represent Newark as a nominee of the Duke of Newcastle, and he issued an address in which he said—"By accepting the office of secretary of state for the colonies I have ceased to be your representative in parliament. On several accounts I should have been peculiarly desirous at the present time of giving you an opportunity to pronounce your constitutional judgment on my public conduct, by soliciting at your hands a renewal of the trust which I have already received from you on five successive occasions, and held during a period of thirteen years. But as I have good reason to believe that a candidate recommended to your favour through local connections may ask your suffrages, it becomes my very painful duty to announce to you on that ground alone my retirement from a position which has afforded me so much of honour and satisfaction. It is for those who believe the government to be acting according to the demands of public duty, to testify that belief, however limited their sphere may be, by their co-operation." The result of his retirement was that Mr. Gladstone, though he had an important place in the cabinet, was without a seat in the House of Commons during the session, when his able support of the government during the debate on the extinction of the corn-laws would have been of incalculable value. He had just previously published a pamphlet on *Recent Commercial Legislation*, dealing with the subject of reductions of customs duties, in a manner so able and exhaustive that it had been recognized as the work of a high authority on questions of finance. The results of the remission of duties in relation to British and foreign trade, and the policy of removing as far as possible the charges on the materials of industry in order

[1] Lord Howick, who had succeeded to the title on the death of his father, the former leader of the Whigs, in July, 1845.

to enable the British workman to meet the opposition manifested abroad to prevent his entering foreign markets, were the principal subjects of the essay.

We have seen what was the position taken by the Anti-Corn-law League during the crisis. At a monster meeting at the Manchester Free-trade Hall on the 15th of January, 1846, Mr. Cobden said, "Whatever course is proposed by Sir Robert Peel, we as free-traders have but one course to pursue. If he proposes a total and unconditional repeal, we shall throw up our caps for Sir Robert Peel. I am anxious to hear now, at the last meeting before we go to parliament, that we occupy as much an isolated position as we did at the first moment of the formation of the League. We have nothing to do with Whigs or Tories. We are stronger than either of them; and if we stick to our principles we can beat them both." That this was no idle boast had already been indicated, and was immediately to be proved. The dreaded "alternative" referred to by the Duke of Buccleugh in case Sir Robert Peel should fail to form a government after the breaking down of Lord John Russell's attempt was that the queen would have to send for Mr. Cobden. The Duke of Wellington's loyal adhesion to his friend the prime minister was characteristic, but it is surely not too much to say that his unflinching support of the repeal of the corn-laws, which was largely instrumental in carrying the measure through the House of Lords, and indeed the rapid passing of the bill in the upper house, was occasioned by the dread of the free-trade leaders being called to power.

"Bad opinion of the bill, my lord!" said the duke to a Protectionist peer who complained that he must vote against the government because he had such a bad opinion of the bill; "you can't have a worse opinion of it than I have; but it was recommended from the throne, it has passed the Commons by a large majority, and we must all vote for it. The queen's government must be supported."

Peel's resignation had created immense excitement in France, and his resumption of office was regarded as of great importance. Doubtless he was in a position of far greater authority than before, during the short term for which he remained in power and passed the repeal of the corn-laws. "I resume power," he wrote to a correspondent, "with greater means of rendering public service than I should have have had if I had not relinquished it. I feel like a man restored to life after his funeral service has been preached, highly gratified by such condolence on his death as I received from the king and our valued friend M. Guizot."

The queen at the opening of parliament referred distinctly to the necessity for a relaxation of the restrictions on the admission of food supply, and it was understood that whatever change was impending, there must be a long step taken in the direction of a remission of the tax on corn. The question was whether it would be only a temporary or a permanent measure, and whether it would result in the total abolition of the duty on corn. Even after the passing of the address to the royal speech this anxiety was not allayed, although Sir Robert Peel had made it evident by his explanations not only that his opinions had undergone considerable change, but that the measures he was about to propose were due not to the exceptional condition of Ireland and to the potato famine, but to the general principles which he had found himself conscientiously compelled to adopt.

On the opening of the government statement in the House of Commons the scene was exceedingly animated, and the house was crowded in expectation of hearing Sir Robert Peel's explanations. He acknowledged that the prospects of famine in Ireland had been the subject of the frequent cabinet meetings, but he said it would be unfair to make that cause occupy the prominent place. The laws which regulated the importation of food were the primary, the grand subject of the deliberation of the cabinet. On the question of the corn-laws his opinion had undergone a complete change. This announcement was received with triumphant cheers from the opposition benches, with profound silence from the ministerial. Then the prime minister proceeded with great ability to show that all the grounds on which "protection to native industry" was

advocated had been proved to be wholly untenable. He went on as if he were about to conclude with a motion for the immediate and total abolition of the corn-law. "Protection," he said, "was not a labourer's question, for during the last three years prices had been low and food abundant, and during that period the working-classes had been better off than during the preceding three years. High prices did not produce high wages, nor *vice versâ*. In the last three years, with low prices and abundance of food, wages were comparatively high and labour was in demand; in the three years preceding, with high prices and scarcity, wages were low and employment was scarce. Experience thus proved that wages were ruled by abundance of capital and demand for labour, and did not vary with the price of provisions. Again, increased freedom of trade was favourable to the prosperity of our commerce. In three scarce and dear years, namely, from 1839 to 1841, our foreign exports fell off from fifty-three millions in value to forty-seven millions. But in three years of reduction of duties and low prices, namely, from 1842 to 1844, the value of our exports rose from forty-seven millions to fifty-eight millions. Even deducting the amount of the China trade, a similar result was shown. Nor was the reduction in the customs duties unfavourable to the revenue. In 1842 there was an estimated loss of a million and a half; in 1843, a smaller one of £273,000; but in 1845 there was a reduction, at an estimated loss to the revenue of no less than two millions and a half. The total amount of the various reductions effected in three years exceeded four millions sterling; and many of the duties were totally abolished; the loss, therefore, not being compensated by any increased consumption. Had four millions been lost to the revenue? He believed that on the 5th of April next the revenue would be found to be more buoyant than ever. Sir Robert Peel referred to other proofs of prosperity resulting from reduced import duties, and then adverted to his own position and declared that "he would not hold office on a servile tenure."

Notice had been given that on the evening of Tuesday, January the 27th, Sir Robert Peel would state what measures he had to propose. The house was crowded in every part, and Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge were present to hear the debate. Sir Robert spoke for three hours and a half. The duty on Russian tallow was to be reduced from 3*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* the cwt., and that on the coarser fabrics of linen, cotton, and woollen was to be abolished. The duty on the finer to be diminished from 20 to 10 per cent. A reduction from 22*s.* 10*d.* to 15*s.* the gallon was to be made on French brandy and Geneva, and foreign free-grown muscovado sugar was to be 5*s.* 10*d.* instead of 9*s.* 6*d.*, while the duty on clayed sugar was to be 8*s.* instead of 11*s.* 10*d.* the cwt. Indian corn and buck-wheat were to come free of duty; on butter the duty was to be reduced from 20*s.* to 10*s.*, and on cheese from 10*s.* to 5*s.* The duty on live animals and fresh and salted meat and vegetables was to be abolished. As to wheat, oats, barley, and rye, he proposed that on the 1st of February, 1849 (in three years), they should be admitted duty free, subject only to a small nominal registration tax, and meanwhile the duties to be levied on wheat were reduced to 10*s.* per quarter when the price was under 48*s.* per quarter. At every rise of one shilling per quarter in the market price the duty was to be one shilling per quarter lower, till wheat should be at 54*s.*, and the duty at 4*s.*, after which the duty was not further to change. The existing price of wheat being 54*s.* the duty would at once be reduced from 16*s.* to 4*s.* a quarter. All British colonial wheat and flour was to be admitted at once at a nominal rate of duty.

As a compensation or alleviation for this great change, some local burdens were to be revised with a view to their economical collection and application, and the highway rates, which were then under the control of 16,000 local functionaries, would be placed, by union of parishes, &c., under the management of 600. The law of settlement was to be altered so as to give residents of five years in towns a status, and thus save rural districts from a flood of pauperism, thrown upon them in times of commercial and manufactur-

ing revulsion. Various other charges would be taken off county rates, and placed on the consolidated fund, as expenses of convicted prisoners, of prosecutions, &c., which were to be wholly or partly borne by the state. The state would encourage agriculture by lending money at a moderate rate of interest on adequate security for the drainage and other improvement of estates; and the newly-constituted board for the inclosure of commons and the exchequer bill commissioners was to be the machinery for this purpose. It was agreed that the debate on Sir Robert Peel's propositions should be postponed till Monday, the 9th February.

The country was ready to respond to this invitation. It had the assurance that the League would seek no compromise; that Sir Robert Peel's measure was not the League's measure; and that if the members of the League could throw it out and replace it with one of their own they unquestionably would. There was no fear of embarrassing the prime minister. The conviction was that, looking at the bitterness of his opponents, he would be more embarrassed if the free-traders departed one iota from their first demand. Amid that universally iterated demand the triumphant return of Lord Morpeth for the West Riding of Yorkshire gave additional energy to the agitation, as a demonstration from the constituency which so fully and fairly represented public opinion in England.

On Monday, February 9th, the propositions of the government came under discussion. After a protracted debate the second reading was carried on the 27th of March.

During the debate the whole ground which had been so long contested was retrodden, and arguments for and against protection were turned and twisted in the vain effort to renovate them into fresh interest. It is not necessary even to recapitulate them, but we may glance for a moment at the position (a position of courage and dignity) which Peel assumed from the outset, and it is desirable that we should endeavour to understand the situation, since this story of the repeal of the corn-laws and the ushering in of free-trade is one of the most important in English history, and bears with remarkable force on subsequent problems and later events.

Sir Robert Peel had abandoned the opinions that a low price of food implied a low rate of wages, and that a heavy national debt and a high rate of taxation must be accompanied by protection against competition with foreign industry. During the past three years, high prices and low wages had been existing together, and that he considered to be a proof that wages did not vary with the price of provisions, but he was very decided in the belief that the amount of crime did. In the year 1842 there had been an increase in crime and commitments. In 1843 there was a turn, and a decrease began and continued to 1845, and that in an increasing population. With respect to crimes connected with sedition, discontent, and disaffection to the government, there had been only a single prosecution for an offence of that nature during the whole of 1845, because the crime of sedition did not exist. In 1845 there were 422 fewer persons sentenced to transportation than in 1842, and 1701 fewer during the last three years than in the three preceding. It had been a period of comparative abundance and low prices, and it was impossible to resist the inference that employment, low prices, and comparative abundance contributed to the diminution of crime. By the removal of protection our domestic industry and the great social interest of the country had been promoted, crime had diminished, and morality had improved. On the question of "reciprocity," which was dealt with at a much later stage of the debate on the extension of free-trade, Sir Robert admitted that in making the great reductions on the import of articles, the produce and manufacture of foreign countries, he had no guarantee to give that other countries would immediately follow our example. Wearied with long and unavailing efforts to enter into satisfactory commercial treaties with other nations, we had resolved to consult our own interests, and not to punish those other countries for the wrong they did us in continuing their high duties on the importation of our products and manufacture. There had been no communication with any foreign govern-

ment on the subject of those reductions. He might be told, and truly, that many foreign countries which had benefited by our relaxations, had actually applied to the importation of British goods higher rates of duties than formerly. He relied upon that fact as a conclusive proof of the policy of the course we were pursuing. It was a fact that other countries had not followed our example, and had in some cases levied higher duties on our goods. But what had been the result on the amount of our export trade? It had greatly increased. Among other reasons by which this was to be accounted for, were our acting without wishing to avail ourselves of the assistance of these other nations, and that the very precautions which they took against the ingress of our commodities were a burden, and the taxation increasing the cost of his productions had disqualified the foreigner from competing with us. Our exports—whatever were the tariffs of other countries, or however apparent the ingratitude with which they treated us—had been constantly increasing. By the remission of our duties on the raw material, by inciting our skill and industry by competition with foreign goods, we had defied competitors in foreign markets, and had even been able to exclude them. Notwithstanding hostile tariffs the declared value of British exports had increased above £10,000,000 during the period which had elapsed since the relaxation of duties on our part. He said, therefore, that these hostile tariffs, so far from being an objection to continuing that policy, were an argument in its favour. It was in fact a free-trade policy that the prime minister announced, and it was received with ringing cheers by those men who had so long and so arduously fought for the principles which he now enunciated. The members of the League would have preferred the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the corn duties, but the proposals of the government came so near to this that their cause was virtually won, and Lord John Russell, who had already made known to the house the circumstances which prevented his forming a ministry, felt that he was pledged to accept and to support as wide a scheme as that now presented to the country. It may well be imagined, however, with what dismay, with what scarcely restrained fury and bitterly expressed anger, these declarations of Sir Robert Peel were received by the Protectionists, by that agricultural or landed interest which had formerly so faithfully supported him. It was not to be wondered at, for they had been left without a leader, without a definite status in parliament. They were compelled to sit and listen to a reversal of all the theories which they had been accustomed to regard as the wisdom of practical politics, and that by the minister to whom they had given their loyal adhesion, and whom they had till lately followed, not always without misgiving, but without any open signs of disaffection. They had, it is true, begun to some extent to rally round that exponent of their dissatisfaction whose taunts and sarcasms had played like sudden lightning about their cause; but charges of inconsistency and of treachery were of little avail against a minister who at the very beginning of the session had said: "Whether holding a private station or in a public one, I will assert the privilege of yielding to the force of argument and conviction, and acting upon the results of enlarged experience. It may be supposed that there is something humiliating in making such admissions. I feel no such humiliation; I should feel humiliation if, having modified or changed my opinions, I declined to acknowledge the change for fear of incurring the imputation of inconsistency. The question is whether the facts are sufficient to account for the change, and the motives for it are pure and disinterested. Nothing could be more base on the part of a public man than to protect himself from danger by pretending a change; on the other hand nothing could be more inconsistent with the duty he owes to his sovereign and his country than if, seeing reason to alter his course, he is precluded from that alteration by the fear of being taunted with it. . . . I may, without irreverence, be permitted to say that, like our physical frame, our ancient constitution is 'fearfully and wonderfully made'—that it is no easy task to ensure the harmonious and

united action of an ancient monarchy, a proud aristocracy, and a reformed House of Commons. These are the objects which we have attempted to accomplish, and I cannot think they are inconsistent with a pure Conservatism. Power for such objects is really valuable, but for my own part I can say, with perfect truth, that even for these objects I do not covet it. It is a burden far above my physical, infinitely beyond my intellectual strength. The relief from it with honour would be a favour and not a punishment. But while honour and a sense of public duty require it I do not shrink from office. I am ready to incur its responsibilities, to bear its sacrifices, to confront its honourable perils; but I will not retain it with mutilated power and shackled authority. I will not stand at the helm during the tempestuous night if that helm is not allowed freely to traverse. I will not undertake to direct the course of the vessel by observations taken in the year 1842. I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest. I do not desire to be the minister of England, but while I am minister of England I will hold office by no servile tenure. I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interest, and providing for the public safety."

The agricultural party had found a leader —or it may be more correct to say that a leader had been found for them—in the person of Lord George Bentinck, a well-known nobleman to whom reference has already been made in a previous page. He was a familiar though not in a parliamentary sense a distinguished person in the house. A man of good presence, noted for his constant devotion to horse-racing, on which he was an almost supreme authority, though he had never been successful in his endeavours to run a winning horse for "the Derby." He was, as his name implied, a descendant of an eminent follower of William of Orange, and had, as he said, sat in eight parliaments without having taken part in any great debate; he had a weak voice, found it difficult to arrange and condense what he had to say, and was unaccustomed to the mastery of details and the marshalling of facts, which are as essential to the success of the leader of a party, as skill in debate and quickness of apprehension, in neither of which he held a noticeable position.

Perhaps Lord George Bentinck would scarcely now be remembered by the general public with much definite interest, but for the biography in which his keen supporter—who had so immediate a part in inducing him to undertake the leadership of the Protectionists —describes him.[1] This biography, written with the consummate skill of the practised romancist, without being untruthful in its description, may be said to throw a peculiar and perhaps a poetical light upon the figure of the leader, to whom the writer was so loyal. Throughout the debates in which Lord George Bentinck took a leading part, not only the influence and so to speak the "cramming" of Mr. Disraeli may be readily traced, but his prompting and even the example of his parliamentary or unparliamentary invective may be frequently detected. It is a remarkable and suggestive indication of the character and unbounded patience of Disraeli, that he was for so long satisfied to be second to the man whose social position better fitted him to be the recognized chief of the party, and that he should have kept himself in the background and worked with unremitting perseverance to sustain the leader, behind whom he sat with watchful interest. Until Bentinck's sudden and lamented death he never moved a step to take any higher place than adviser and lieutenant. Still more suggestive, perhaps, are the high expressions, not only of regard but of admiration for the object of his political loyalty which Mr. Disraeli employs in the biography to which we have referred. Even those defects which in an opponent would have moved his scornful antagonism, are invested with the appearance of consistent if not altogether admirable qualities, and care is taken to show how they were relieved or controlled by noble traits of character, or by the sudden and successful exercise of hitherto unsuspected abilities. Doubtless the fine presence, frequently cordial and even jovial manners, and frank and grate-

[1] See vol. i. page 332.

ful expressions of obligation, may have won upon the nature of Disraeli, and have aroused a loyalty which once excited was neither slow nor irregular; but it is difficult to read his praises of Lord George Bentinck without fancying that the encomiums become somewhat more exaggerated as the apparent necessity for justifying them advances, precisely as the denunciations of Peel grow more violent and sometimes more fantastic after the writer has, as it were, persuaded himself that he is bound to vindicate his earlier attacks, and to prove that they were not ill-directed. It is exceedingly difficult to imagine the author of *Coningsby* seriously writing some of the passages in the *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, as for instance where he quotes in eulogy some of his leader's speeches, noted then, as since, for a remarkable agglomeration of figures, which he had studied with enormous pains, but seems never to have known how to handle intelligibly. One of these quotations is on the subject of the application of guano to land, and the means of the country to sustain even a much increasing population, to prove which, says Mr. Disraeli, "he entered into one of the most original and interesting calculations that was perhaps ever offered to the House of Commons." The Norfolk authorities had, according to Lord George, proved that two cwts. of guano would add ten tons per acre to the turnip crop, but he gave three cwts., lest he should exaggerate the quantity, and then two million cwts. of guano would add six million six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty tons to the natural unmanured produce of the crop; and as it was considered that a ton of swedes would last twenty sheep three weeks, twenty sheep feeding on a ton of turnips in three weeks would make thirty pounds of mutton, but to be safe in his estimate, he would assume that one ton of turnips made only half the quantity.

Then the biographer comes in thus, "'Multiply, then,' exclaimed Bentinck with the earnest air of a crusader, 'six million six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty by fifteen, and you have no less than ninety-nine million nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand and nine hundred pounds of mutton as the fruits of one hundred thousand tons of guano; which at ninety-two pounds per man, the average Englishman's allowance, affords meat for one million eight hundred and sixty thousand nine hundred and fifty-five—nearly two million of her majesty's subjects.' This is a specimen of those original and startling calculations to which the house was soon to become accustomed from his lips." Well, it was somewhat of an example, but is it conceivable that Disraeli the humorist wrote this with a grave face?

These "original and startling calculations" were delivered during the debate on the 27th of January, on which occasion Prince Albert attended to listen to the discussion. He was accompanied by the master of the horse, and went, as the queen herself has assured us, merely as the Prince of Wales and the other royal princes do, to hear a fine debate, which is so useful to princes, but he naturally felt unable to do so again, for Lord George Bentinck and some of his followers chose to consider the presence of the prince consort "the unfair and unwise manœuvre of the minister" to give the semblance of the personal sanction of her majesty to the government measure. Lord George in concluding his speech intimated, that if so humble an individual as himself might be permitted to whisper a word in the ear of the illustrious and royal personage who, as he stood nearest, so was justly dearest to her who sits upon the throne, he would take leave to say that he could not but think he (the prince) listened to ill advice when, on the first night of that great discussion, he allowed himself to be seduced by the first minister of the crown to come down to that house and give *éclat*, and as it were by reflection from the queen to give the semblance of a personal sanction of her majesty to a measure, which, be it for good or evil, a great majority at least of the landed aristocracy of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland imagined fraught with deep injury, if not ruin, to them—a measure which, not confined in its operation to this great class, is calculated to grind down countless smaller interests of the empire, transferring the profits of all these interests, great and small alike, from Englishmen, from Scotch-

men, and from Irishmen to Americans, to Frenchmen, to Russians, to Poles, to Prussians, and to Germans. Of course this was exceedingly unpleasant for the prince consort, and it was not calculated to enhance the cause of protection, for it was evidence of a failing interest when such a circumstance could be so dragged into the heat of debate.

There is no need now to follow the leader of the "third party" in his subsequent efforts; nor in the bitter attacks on Peel, in one of which at a later period, when the Irish Coercion Bill was being discussed, the prime minister was accused of having hunted Canning to death on the question of Catholic emancipation, on which it was alleged he had in 1827 stated that he told Lord Liverpool in 1825 that he had changed his opinions. It was perhaps to be expected that the Protectionists would fight with a certain fury, and the fashion of the fighting was that of an age that was already passing away, and has only been revived at heated intervals and amidst great political excitements. Sir Robert warmly and emphatically denied the charge, and it scarcely affected his ultimate position as the great minister who had gone out of office for the sake of a conscientious regard to his convictions.

It was in allusion to Sir Robert Peel's representation of "an ancient monarchy" as part of the constitution of the country, that Lord George Bentinck made the reference to the presence of the prince in the house, and he also spoke of the "paid janissaries" and the renegades who supported the minister. Indeed, by that time he seemed to have become apt at adopting the strong expressions which had so frequently been used in defending the interests of his party and attacking the premier.

To return, however, to the Corn Bill: the tactics of Lord George Bentinck were to postpone the division as long as possible. There were certain seats in parliament vacant by death or resignation; and it was sought to tide over the debate first beyond the Easter recess, and then to as late a date as possible. Time, it was thought, might be on the side of the landed interest if the nation and the house could by any means be brought to an altered opinion. "This night," said Sir Robert Peel on the sixth night of the debate, "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 advantages which God and nature have given us, and the destiny for which we are intended. We stand on the confines of Western Europe, the chief connecting link between the Old World and the New. The discoveries of science, the improvements in 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 atmosphere of prohibition? Is this the country to stand shivering on the brink of exposure to the healthful breezes of competition?" So much for the general question of free-trade; then addressing the agriculturists in particular, he exclaimed, "When the years of dearth may have come. . . when you are exhorting a suffering people to fortitude under their privations. . . 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

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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 hours of scarcity the supply of food!"

Lord George Bentinck brought forward denials supported by statements which were little more than contradictions. The government commission to Ireland had created an alarm. The potatoes rotted because they were dug up before they were ripe. The apprehensions of famine were altogether a mistake.— There was evidently no compromise. The Protectionists had drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard; but, on the other hand, the leading free-traders had rallied round the minister. The evening after Sir Robert Peel made his statement, John Bright spoke with enthusiasm in his defence. "I watched the right honourable baronet go home last night," he said, "and I confess I envied him the ennobling feelings which must have filled his breast after delivering his speech—a speech, I venture to say, more powerful and more to be admired than any speech ever heard in this house within the memory of any man in it. . . . There is not," he continued, turning to the Protectionist party, "a man in your ranks who would dare to sit on that bench as the prime minister of England, pledged to maintain the existing law. . . . When the right honourable baronet resigned he was then no longer your minister. He came back to office as the minister of his sovereign and of the people—and not again as the minister of a class who had made him such for their own selfish objects."

Cobden was certain of the result. The landed interest might have their pocket boroughs and their nomination counties, but every town numbering more than 20,000 inhabitants would be against them. He wound up by saying, "We have set an example to the world in all ages. We have given the world the example of a free press—of a representative government—of civil and religious liberty—and we are going, I trust, to give them an example more glorious than all—that of making industry free, and of giving it the advantage of every clime and every latitude under heaven."

The bill went into committee with a considerable majority for the government, and though Mr. Villiers put his annual motion for the immediate abolition of the corn-laws, it was understood to be only for the assertion of the principle to which the League adhered. They could do no better now than support the proposed measure.

The member for Shrewsbury had already spoken with his wonted animation, and had, by the adroitness with which he sprung to the front, placed the stamp of genius, and of the genius of statecraft, upon the former successes which had made him the mouthpiece of the Protectionists. He was now little less than their leader; we have his own account of the opportunity which brought him to the front. "There had been a general understanding that the great question was not to be entered into on this occasion, and men are not disposed to embark in discussion under such circumstances unless supported by a disciplined following. It seemed that the curtain was about to fall, and certainly not to the disadvantage of the government. In their position the first night of the session passed in serenity was comparatively a triumph. With the elements of opposition, however considerable, so inert and desponding, the first night might give the cue to the country. Perceiving this a member, who, though on the Tory benches, had been for two sessions in opposition to the ministry, ventured to rise and attack the minister. The opportune in a popular assembly has sometimes more success than the weightiest efforts of research and reason. The minister, perhaps too contemptuous of his opponents, had not guarded all his approaches. His depreciation of those party ties by which he had risen, in an assembly, too, in which they are wisely reverenced; his somewhat ostentatious gratitude for the favour of successive sovereigns; his incautious boast that his Conservative government had discouraged sedition and extinguished agitation, when it was universally felt that he was about to legislate on the most important of subjects in deference to agitation; and above all his significant intimation

that an ancient monarchy and a proud aristocracy might not be compatible with a reformed House of Commons—at least unless he were minister—offered some materials in the handling of which the least adroit could scarcely fail. But it was the long-constrained passion of the house that now found a vent far more than the sallies of the speaker that changed the frigid silence of this senate into excitement and tumult."

"I should have abstained from obtruding myself on the house at the present moment," said Disraeli, in the speech to which he refers, "had it not been for the peculiar tone of the right honourable gentleman. I think that tone ought not to pass unnoticed. At the same time I do not want to conceal my opinions on the general subject. I am not one of the converts. I am perhaps a member of a fallen party. To the opinions which I have expressed in this house in favour of protection I still adhere. They sent me to this house, and if I had relinquished them, I should have relinquished my seat also. I must say that the tone of the right honourable gentleman is hardly fair towards the house, while he stops discussion upon a subject on which he himself has entered with a fervency unusual to him. Sir, I admire a minister who says that he holds power to give effect to his own convictions. I have no doubt that the right honourable gentleman has arrived at a conscientious conclusion on this great subject. The right honourable gentleman says it is not so much by force of argument as by the cogency of observation that he has arrived at this conclusion. But, sir, surely the observation which the right honourable gentleman has made might have been made when he filled a post scarcely less considerable than that which he now occupies. What, sir, are we to think of the eminent statesman, who, having served under four sovereigns, who, having been called to steer the ship on so many occasions and under such perilous circumstances, has only during the last three or four years found it necessary entirely to change his convictions on that important topic which must have presented itself for more than a quarter of a century to his consideration? Sir, I must say that such a minister may be conscientious, but he is unfortunate. I must say also that he ought to be the last man in the world to turn round and upbraid his party in a tone of menace. Sir, there is a difficulty in finding a parallel to the position of the right honourable gentleman in any part of history. The only parallel I can find is an incident in the late war in the Levant, which was terminated by the policy of the noble lord opposite. I remember when that great struggle was taking place, when the existence of the Turkish empire was at stake, the late sultan, a man of great energy and fertile in resources, was determined to fit out an immense fleet to maintain his empire. Accordingly a vast armament was collected. It consisted of many of the finest ships ever built. The crews were picked men, the officers were the ablest that could be found, and both officers and men were rewarded before they fought. There never was an armament which left the Dardanelles similarly appointed since the days of Solyman the Great. The sultan personally witnessed the departure of the fleets; all the muftis prayed for the success of the expedition, as all the muftis here prayed for the success of the last general election. Away went the fleet, but what was the consternation of the sultan when the lord high admiral steered at once for the enemy's port! Now, sir, the lord high admiral on that occasion was very much misrepresented. He too was called a traitor, and he too vindicated himself. 'True it is,' said he, 'I did place myself at the head of this valiant armada; true it is that my sovereign embraced me; true it is that all the muftis in the empire offered up prayers for my success. But I have an objection to war; I see no use in prolonging the struggle; and the only reason I had for accepting the command was that I might terminate the contest by betraying my master.' It is all very well for the right honourable gentleman to come forward to this table and say, 'I am thinking of posterity; although, certainly, I am doing on this side of the table the contrary to that which I counselled when I stood upon the other; but my sentiments are magnanimous, my aim is heroic, and, appealing

to posterity, I care neither for your cheers nor for your taunts.' But we may ask ourselves what were the means, what the machinery, by which the right honourable gentleman acquired his position, how he obtained power to turn round on his supporters and treat them with contempt and disdain? Well do we remember, perhaps not without a blush, the efforts we made to raise him to the bench on which he now sits. Who does not remember 'the sacred cause of protection,' for which sovereigns were thwarted, parliament dissolved, and a nation taken in? Delightful indeed, to have the right honourable gentleman entering into all his confidential details, when, to use his courtly language, he 'called' upon his sovereign. Would his sovereign have called on him, if, in 1841, he had not placed himself, as he said, at the head of the gentlemen of England? It is all very well for the right honourable gentleman to take this high-flying course, but I think myself—I say it with great respect for gentlemen on this side of the house and the other, I say it without any wish to achieve a party triumph, for I believe I belong to a party which can triumph no more, for we have nothing left on our side except the constituencies which we have not betrayed—but I do say that my conception of a great statesman is of one who represents a great idea—an idea which may lead him to power; an idea with which he may identify himself; an idea which he may develop; an idea which he may and can impress on the mind and conscience of a nation; that, sir, is my idea of what makes a man a great statesman. I do not care whether he is a manufacturer or a manufacturer's son. That is a grand, that is indeed a heroic position. But I care not what may be the position of a man who never originates an idea—a watcher of the atmosphere—a man who, as he says, takes his observations, and when he finds the wind in a certain quarter trims his sails to suit it. Such a man may be a powerful minister, but he is no more a great statesman than a man who gets up behind a carriage is a great whip."

In his modesty the narrator of the circumstances under which this extraordinary attack was uttered has scarcely done himself justice as to the result of his skilful grasp of the situation and his prompt use of the opportunity. It was he who then gave a voice and an articulate expression to the rage, we might almost say the desire for revenge, which was consuming the body of men who, believing that they had been betrayed and deserted, yet found no speaker adequate to represent their feelings. They were lighted by the flash of this sudden outburst. It was as an electric shock to their drooping energies, and though they knew that they were defeated beyond the present power of recovery, they might yet become a party.

The former part of Mr. Disraeli's speech had been full of statistics, which, however, were but the introduction to its real meaning and intention, and Sir Robert Peel in his reply said, "I foresaw that the course which I had taken from a sense of public duty would expose me to serious sacrifices. I foresaw, as its inevitable result, that I must forfeit friendships which I highly valued; that I must interrupt political relations in which I took a sincere pride; but the smallest penalty which I contemplated was the continued venomous attacks of the member for Shrewsbury. Sir, I will only say of that honourable gentleman that if he, after reviewing the whole of my political life—a life of thirty years before my accession to office in 1841—if he then entertained the opinion of me which he now professes, it is surprising that in 1841, after that long experience of my public career, he should have been prepared to give me his confidence. It is still more surprising that he should have been ready, as I think he was, to unite his fortunes with mine in office, thus implying the strongest proof which any public man can give of confidence in the honour and integrity of a minister of the crown."

Disraeli denied that he had ever been directly an applicant for place in 1841, or at any other time. This was of course true, but it was not unknown that friends of the member for Shrewsbury had been interested in obtaining for him some official recognition during the early part of the Peel administration—that administration which he had now come to characterize as "political pedlars who had

bought their party in the cheapest market and sold it in the dearest"—while the premier was described as one who had been "a trader on other people's intelligence,"—whose "life was, in fact, one great principle of appropriation—the political burglar of other men's ideas—who, after deserting his friends, acted as if they had deserted him." Sir Robert had a few words for these representations of his conduct towards the Protectionists. He had explained more than once what were the circumstances under which he felt it to be his duty to take the course which he had pursued. He had felt in the previous November that there was just cause for apprehension of famine and scarcity in Ireland, and those apprehensions, though they might be denied now, were at least shared then by the Protectionists. He brought forward some of the strong declarations then made by members of that party in favour of a suspension of the corn-laws. He might have been wrong, he said, but his impression was first that his duty towards a country threatened with famine required that that which had been the ordinary remedy under all similar circumstances should be resorted to—namely, that there should be free access to the food of man from whatever quarter it might come. He was prepared to give the best proof which public men can give of the sincerity of their opinions, by tendering his resignation of office and devolving upon others the duty of proposing this measure; and if these laws were once suspended, and there was unlimited access to food, the produce of other countries, he and those with whom he acted felt the strongest conviction that it was not for the public interest—that it was not for the interest of the agricultural party—that an attempt should be made permanently to reimpose restrictions on the importation of food. He could not propose the re-establishment of the existing law with any guarantee for its permanence.

He had acted with Mr. Huskisson in 1822, 1825, and 1826 in revising the commercial system and applying to that system the principle of free-trade. In 1842, after his accession to office, he prepared a revision of the corn-laws. Had anything taken place at the election of 1846 which precluded that revision? Was there a public assurance given to the people of this country at the election of 1841 that the existing amount of protection to agriculture should be retained? When he made this inquiry there were cries of "Yes," to which he quickly retorted, "There was, was there? Then if there was, you were as guilty as I! What was the assurance given? If it was that the amount of protection to agriculture which existed in 1840 and 1841 should be retained, opposition ought to have been made by you to the revision of that system in 1842. Why was the removal of the prohibition on the importation of foreign meat and foreign cattle assented to? That removal must have been utterly at variance with any assurance that the protection to agriculture which existed in 1840 and 1841 should be retained. Yet that removal was voted by the house by large majorities; and after the bill of 1842 was I not repeatedly asked the question, 'Now that you have passed this bill establishing a new corn-law, will you give a public assurance that to that you will at all times adhere?' Did I not uniformly decline to give any such assurance? I said I had no intention of proposing an alteration of the law at the time when the question was put to me; but I distinctly declared that I would not fetter for ever my discretion by giving such a pledge." Sir Robert's speech went on with an able exposition of the situation in which the government was placed, and of the continued conditions which had wrought a change in his opinions with regard to the retention of a duty on grain, which, after all, would not satisfy the agricultural party, and would amount to giving an ineffectual protection with all the odium that would attach to giving an adequate one.

There is no need to follow the whole course of the discussion. Sir Robert foresaw and was warned of the result. In the course of the final debate, at the conclusion of an eloquent speech, he said, "I am not surprised to hear honourable members predict that my tenure of power is short. But let us pass this

measure, and while it is in progress let me request of you to suspend your indignation. This measure being once passed, you on this side, and you on the opposite side of the house, may adopt whatever measures you think proper for the purpose of terminating my political existence. I assure you I deplore the loss of your confidence much more than I shall deplore the loss of political power. . . . When I do fall, I shall have the satisfaction of reflecting that I do not fall because I have shown subservience to a party. I shall not fall because I preferred the interests of party to the general interests of the community; and I shall carry with me the satisfaction of reflecting that during the course of my official career my object has been to mitigate monopoly, to increase the demand for industry, to remove the restrictions on commerce, to equalize the burden of taxation, and to ameliorate the condition of those who labour."

On the 15th of May the division was taken at four o'clock in the morning, and the Corn Importation Bill, as it was called, was passed by 327 votes to 229, giving a majority of 98 votes. In the House of Lords it was opposed by the Duke of Richmond, who described it as "only the first of a series of attacks that would shake the foundations of the throne, cripple the church, endanger the institutions of the country, and plunge a happy and contented people into misery, confusion, and anarchy." Lord Stanley also opposed it, declaring that it was for their lordships to protect the people against those whom they had chosen to represent their opinions, and that the reward would be the thanks of a grateful and admiring people, who would then justly exclaim, "Thank God, we have a House of Lords!" Lord Brougham earnestly supported the measure by one of his most vigorous speeches, in which he spoke of Peel as "one of the greatest ministers who ever ruled the destinies of a country;" but the rapidity with which the bill finally passed was due chiefly to the Duke of Wellington, who, on the second reading, said, "I shall ever lament any breaking up of the habits of confidence in public life with which your lordships have honoured me; but I will not allow this occasion to pass, even if this night should possibly be the last upon which I shall give you my advice, without giving my counsel as to the vote which I think your lordships should give on this occasion." The advice was not to reject a measure which had passed by such large majorities in the House of Commons, and it was sound counsel, for those who remembered what had been the effect of the opposition of the lords to the reform bill could scarcely have desired to provoke a collision which must ultimately put their house in antagonism to the country.

Peel had undergone so much during the debates on the repeal of the corn-laws that it is scarcely to be wondered at, if he looked forward to the inevitable resignation of office with something like a sense of relief. It is asserted, indeed, that though he controlled his temper in the house, and over and over again refused to be led into personal retorts, he was so irritated by Disraeli's attacks, that on the latest occasion to which we have referred, he asked Lord Lincoln (afterwards the Duke of Newcastle) to carry a challenge to his remorseless antagonist, and that on Lord Lincoln's refusal, he would have sought another second, but for the remonstrances of his friend and threats of application to a magistrate. If this is a true story, it was very fortunate that he was diverted from his purpose, as such a step would have been most injurious to the cause and to his reputation. Doubtless he saw this himself on reflection; but he had just left the house, and the clamorous cheers, jeers, and taunts of those who had been his followers, and some of whom had professed to be his friends, had goaded and almost maddened him.

Nor was he yet to escape from a continuation of such attacks both by Lord George Bentinck and the now prominent politician who shared with that nobleman the confidence of the Protectionist party.

On the 21st of June, in anticipation of the passing of the bill by the House of Lords, he addressed a memorandum to his colleagues in the cabinet, in which he submitted for their consideration "whether, after the passing of the Corn Bill and the Customs Bill, 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 added "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. . . . I am decidedly of opinion that we ought not to retain office after we have lost power." Nearly all the other members of government agreed with this opinion, and Sir Robert's expectations were very shortly realized.

The sufferings and want of the people in Ireland, because of the failure of the potato crop, had been followed by a great increase in violence and crime in many of the agrarian districts. In 1844 the number of such offences had been 1495; in 1845 they were 3642, and were still rapidly increasing. A bill for the protection of life and property in Ireland had been brought into the House of Lords by Lord St. Germans, and received for promotion in the Commons by Sir James Graham. The state of the country was such that some immediate measure appeared to be necessary. At Clonmel cannon had been stationed at each end of the town, the streets were full of soldiers and police, and the mob had broken into all the bakers' shops, and taken out all the food they could lay their hands on. The banks and shops were shut, and the whole place was in a state of siege. Carrick-on-Suir had been sacked, the meal and provision stores broken into by the starving, or by the riotous who instigated the starving. Mayo was in a state of famine; a boat proceeding from Limerick to Clare was boarded by a number of famished peasants, and her cargo of corn and Indian flour taken away. Robbery, murderous assaults—unlawful use and possession of arms—attacks on houses by firing into them—the administration of unlawful oaths—were reported chiefly from the district between Cavan on the north and Tipperary on the south.

The proposed bill gave ample power to the lord-lieutenant to proclaim a district where heinous offences had been committed, to appoint salaried magistrates, to increase the constabulary force, and where it was thought necessary to arrest persons who were out of their dwellings between sunset and sunrise. It had passed the first reading, and now came on for the second reading on the 8th, from which it was adjourned to the 12th of June. It was understood that the bill would then be opposed by the Liberals, and it was now certain that it would be also opposed by the Protectionists. There were rumours of a strange coalition between these parties; but this Lord John Russell emphatically denied. The result was, however, that both Lord George Bentinck and Disraeli were still violent in their antagonism, and Lord George gave some colour to the rumour referred to by calling on the opposition members, "who might indeed have profited by the treason, but could not surely honour the traitor," to join the Protectionists in punishing him. "It is time," he exclaimed, "that atonement should be made to an insulted country, the betrayed honour of parliament, and the betrayed constituencies of the empire." It was then that he spoke of Sir Robert Peel being supported by "paid janissaries and some seventy other auxiliaries, who, while they support him, express disgust at his conduct," and it was then that the charge was brought, which Peel emphatically contradicted and brought letters in order to disprove, that though he had vigorously opposed Catholic emancipation in 1827, he had written a letter to Lord Liverpool in 1825, stating that he had changed his views on the Catholic question, and that the time had come for a settlement. There was much repeated denunciation, and many venomous expressions, but Peel had already landed in a serener atmosphere in the opinion of the country, and though he felt the attacks bitterly, they scarcely told on his reputation with the great majority even of those who were opposed to him. The words in which Cobden closed the debate were full of meaning. They struck fire. He intimated that he and his friends would vote against the measure on its

own inherent merits, certainly not from any want of confidence in the minister. "If the division this night be adverse to the government, I will say that should the right hon. baronet choose to retire from office in consequence of that vote, he carries with him the esteem and gratitude of a larger number of the population of this empire than ever followed any minister that was hurled from power. . . . I tender to the right honourable baronet my heartfelt thanks for the unwearied perseverance, the unswerving firmness, and the great ability with which he has during the last six months conducted one of the most magnificent reforms ever carried in any country through this House of Commons."

The majority presented a combination of members opposed to the measure on its merits, but not to the premier,—of those whose way to office would now be opened up by its defeat,—and of those who would risk any consequence in resenting their defeat on the corn-laws.

The division was received by the house in silence, and its results were neither unexpected nor deplored by either of the parties interested. For the second reading there were 219 votes; against it, 294. By a coincidence which was at least noticeable, the bill for the repeal of the corn-laws passed the House of Lords on the same day (the 26th June), in which the ministry which had achieved that important measure was defeated in the House of Commons.

When Sir Robert Peel rose there was a profound silence, and in the majority of the house a profound admiration and sympathy. He was equal to the occasion. "I admit," said he, "that the withdrawal of the confidence of many of our friends was the natural result of the measures we proposed; and I do think, when proposals of such a nature are made, apparently at variance with the course which ministers heretofore have pursued, and subjecting them to the charge or taunt of inconsistency, upon the whole it is advantageous for the country and for the genuine character of public men that the proposal of measures of that kind, under such circumstances, should entail that which is supposed to be a fitting punishment, namely, expulsion from office. I therefore do not complain of it; anything is preferable to attempting to maintain ourselves in office without a full measure of the confidence of this house.

"In reference to our proposing these measures, I have no wish to rob any person of the credit which is justly due to him for them. But I may say that neither the gentlemen sitting on the benches opposite, nor myself, nor the gentlemen sitting around me—I say that neither of us are the parties who are strictly entitled to the merit. There has been a combination of parties, and that combination of parties, together with the influence of the government, has led to the ultimate success of the measures. But there is a name which ought to be associated with their success. It is not the name of the noble lord the member for the city of London, neither is it my name. The name which ought to be and which will be associated with the success of these measures is the name of the man who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason enforced by an eloquence the more to be admired, because it is unaffected and unadorned — the name which ought to be and will be associated with these measures is the name of Richard Cobden. Without scruple, sir, I attribute the success of these measures to him.

"I shall leave office, I fear, with a name severely censured by many honourable gentlemen, who, on public principle, deeply regret the severance of party ties, not from any interested or personal motives, but because they believe fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—to constitute a powerful instrument of a government; I shall surrender power, greatly censured, I fear, by many honourable gentlemen who, from no interested motives, have adhered to the principle of protection, as important to the welfare and interest of the country; I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who, from less honourable motives, maintains protection for his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in those places which

are the abode of men whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow—a name remembered with expressions of good-will when they shall recreate their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

The words of the last paragraph of this fine speech are engraved on the pedestal of the statue of Sir Robert at Peel Park, Salford. They were not likely to be forgotten by those who had long laboured and waited for the abolition of taxes on the necessaries of life.

The account of the scene in the house has been given with graphic force and picturesque effect by his opponent, in terms which are rather those of the narrator who recalls the fight, than of the gladiator who was in the front rank of the combatants.

"At length," wrote Mr. Disraeli in his *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, "about half-past one o'clock the galleries were cleared, the division called, and the question put. In almost all previous divisions where the fate of a government had been depending the vote of every member, with scarcely an exception, had been anticipated; that was not the case in the present instance, and the direction which members took as they left their seats was anxiously watched. More than one hundred Protectionist members followed the minister; more than eighty avoided the division—a few of these, however, had paired; nearly the same number followed Lord George Bentinck. But it was not merely their numbers that attracted the anxious observation of the treasury bench as the Protectionists passed in defile before the minister to the hostile lobby. It was impossible that he could have marked them without emotion — the flower of that great party which had been so proud to follow one who had been so proud to lead them. They were men to gain whose hearts and the hearts of their fathers had been the aim and exultation of his life. They had extended to him an unlimited confidence and an admiration without stint. They had stood by him in the darkest hour, and had borne him from the depths of political despair to the proudest of living positions. Right or wrong, they were men of honour, breeding, and refinement, high and generous character, great weight and station in the country, which they had ever placed at his disposal. They had been not only his followers but his friends; had joined in the same pastimes, drank from the same cup, and in the pleasantness of private life had often forgotten together the cares and strife of politics.

"He must have felt something of this while the Manners, the Somersets, the Bentincks, the Lowthers, and the Lennoxes passed before him. And those country gentlemen, 'those gentlemen of England,' of whom, but five years ago, the very same building was ringing with his pride of being their leader—if his heart were hardened to Sir Charles Burrell, Sir William Jolliffe, Sir Charles Knightley, Sir John Trollope, Sir Edward Kerrison, Sir John Tyrrell, he surely must have had a pang when his eye rested on Sir John Yarde Buller, his choice and pattern country gentleman, whom he had himself selected and invited but six years back to move a vote of want of confidence in the Whig government, in order, against the feeling of the court, to install Sir Robert Peel in their stead.

"They trooped on: all the men of metal and large-acred squires, whose spirit he had so often quickened and whose counsel he had so often solicited in his fine Conservative speeches in Whitehall Gardens: Mr. Bankes, with a parliamentary name of two centuries, and Mr. Christopher from that broad Lincolnshire which protection had created; and the Mileses and the Henleys were there; and the Duncombes, the Liddells, and the Yorkes; and Devon had sent there the stout heart of Mr. Buck, and Wiltshire the pleasant presence of Walter Long. Mr. Newdegate was there, whom Sir Robert had himself recommended to the confidence of the electors of Warwickshire as one of whom he had the highest hopes; and Mr. Alderman Thompson was there, who, also through Sir Robert's selection, had seconded the assault upon the Whigs led on by Sir John Buller. But the list is too long, or good names remain behind.

"When Prince Metternich was informed at Dresden, with great ostentation, that the

emperor had arrived — 'Yes; but without his army,' was the reply. Sir Robert Peel was still first minister of England as Napoleon remained emperor for a while after Moscow. Each, perhaps, for a moment had indulged in hope. It is so difficult for those who are on the pinnacle of life to realize disaster. They sometimes contemplate it in their deep and far-seeing calculations, but it is only to imagine a contingency which their resources must surely baffle; they sometimes talk of it to their friends, and oftener of it to their enemies, but it is only as an insurance of their prosperity and as an offering to propitiate their Nemesis. They never believe in it.

"The news that the government were not only beaten, but by a majority so large as seventy-three, began to circulate. An incredulous murmur passed it along the treasury bench.

"'They say we are beaten by seventy-three!' whispered the most important member of the cabinet, in a tone of surprise, to Sir Robert Peel.

"Sir Robert did not reply, or even turn his head. He looked very grave, and extended his chin, as was his habit when he was annoyed and cared not to speak. He began to comprehend his position, and that the emperor was without his army."

He may have been without his former army, for they had revolted from his generalship, but his reputation had made him, if not the commander, in a certain sense, the hero of a larger army still. Parliament was adjourned to the 3d of July, and Sir Robert Peel left Westminster Hall leaning on the arm of Sir G. Clerk. A large concourse of people was waiting outside to see him. Every head was bared, the crowd made way for him, and many accompanied him in respectful silence to the door of his house.

Perhaps the acute reader may discover in Mr. Disraeli's descriptions and analyses of the statesman who was once his chief, and for whom he had professed a personal esteem, some of the causes of the desertion of Sir Robert Peel's government by the politician who became first the spokesman and afterwards the leader of the country party. It is suggestive that Mr. Disraeli had privately expressed admiration for the prime minister even while he was constantly assailing him with all the powers of unsparing sarcasm and ingenious epigram. The sarcasm was mitigated and the epigram reduced to literary expression when the leader of the Protectionists came to write a review of the repeal of the corn-laws after Sir Robert Peel's death; but it is a curious inquiry whether the remarkable blending of political and personal disparagement which distinguishes these recollections indicate the survival of a bitter memory of supposed neglect and of political affront, or are, as it were, the recurrent expressions of mislike and distrust which the assailant thought he *should* have felt for one whom he so persistently attacked. The animosities are not unlike those of a slighted lover who feels that he ought to hate, and who is ready to depreciate, the object of his former regard; but at the same time they display much insight and keen perception, and are expressed with a graphic vigour, which gives them painful force.

Take for instance the following estimate of Sir Robert Peel's manner in parliament.

"This remarkable man, who in private life was constrained, and often awkward, who could never address a public meeting or make an after-dinner speech without being ill at ease, and generally saying something stilted, or even a little ridiculous, in the senate was the readiest, easiest, most flexible and adroit of men. He played upon the House of Commons as on an old fiddle. . . . The manner in which he proceeded to deal with the duties on candles and soap, while all were thinking of the duties on something else; the bland and conciliatory air with which he announced a reduction of the impost on boot-fronts and shoe-leather; the intrepid plausibility with which he entered into a dissertation on the duties of foreign brandy and foreign sugar; while visions of deserted villages and reduced rentals were torturing his neighbours, —were all characteristic of his command over himself and those whom he addressed."

But in another paragraph we come to a higher kind of testimony.

"Nature had combined in Sir Robert Peel

many admirable parts. In him a physical frame incapable of fatigue was united with an understanding equally vigorous and flexible. He was gifted with the faculty of method in the highest degree, and with great powers of application, which were sustained by a prodigious memory; while he could communicate his acquisitions with clear and fluent elocution. Such a man, under any circumstances and in any sphere of life, would probably have become remarkable. Ordained from his youth to be busied with the affairs of a great empire, such a man, after long years of observation, practice, and perpetual discipline, would have become what Sir Robert Peel was in the latter portion of his life, a transcendent administrator of public business and a matchless master of debate in a popular assembly. In the course of time the method which was natural to Sir Robert Peel had matured into a habit of such expertness, that no one in the despatch of affairs ever adapted the means so fitly to the end; his original flexibility had ripened into consummate tact; his memory had accumulated such stores of political information that he could bring luminously together all that was necessary to establish or to illustrate a subject; while in the House of Commons he was equally eminent in exposition and in reply—in the first distinguished by his arrangement, his clearness, and his completeness—in the second, ready, ingenious, and adroit, prompt in detecting the weak points of his adversary, and dexterous in extricating himself from an embarrassing position."

Even these admissions must, however, be mitigated by a further criticism which is remarkably suggestive. We are told that thus gifted and thus accomplished, Sir Robert Peel had a great deficiency: he was without imagination. "Wanting imagination he wanted prescience. No one was more sagacious when dealing with the circumstances before him; no one penetrated the present with more acuteness and accuracy. His judgment was faultless, provided he had not to deal with the future. Thus it happened through his long career, that while he always was looked upon as the most prudent and safest of leaders, he ever, after a protracted display of admirable tactics, concluded his campaigns by surrendering at discretion. He was so adroit that he could prolong resistance even beyond its term, but so little foreseeing that often in the very triumph of his manœuvres he found himself in an untenable position. And so it came to pass that Roman Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and the abrogation of our commercial system were all carried in haste or in passion, and without conditions or mitigatory arrangements."

And again: "Sir Robert Peel had a peculiarity which is perhaps natural with men of great talents who have not the creative faculty; he had a dangerous sympathy with the creations of others. Instead of being cold and wary, as was commonly supposed, he was impulsive and even inclined to rashness. When he was ambiguous, unsatisfactory, reserved, tortuous, it was then he was perplexed, that he did not see his way, that the routine which he had admirably administered failed him, and that his own mind was not constructed to create a substitute for the custom which was crumbling away. Then he was ever on the look-out for new ideas, and when he embraced them he did so with eagerness and often with precipitancy; he always carried those novel plans to an extent which even their projectors or chief promoters had usually not anticipated; as was seen, for example, in the settlement of the currency. Although apparently wrapped up in himself, or supposed to be egotistical, except in seasons of rare exaltedness, as in the years 1844–5, when he reeled under the favour of the court, the homage of the Continent, and the servility of parliament, he was really deficient in self-confidence. There was always some person representing some theory or system exercising an influence over his mind. In his 'sallet-days' it was Mr. Horner or Sir Samuel Romilly; in later and more important periods it was the Duke of Wellington, the King of the French, Mr. Jones Lloyd, some others, and finally Mr. Cobden."

It may be worth while, as we are on the subject, to quote the opinion of the spokesman of the Protectionists on the oratory of the statesman to whom he offered such bitter opposition:—

"As an orator Sir Robert Peel had, perhaps, the most available talent that has ever been brought to bear in the House of Commons. We have mentioned that both in exposition and in reply he was equally eminent. His statements were perspicuous, complete, and dignified; when he combated the objections or criticised the propositions of an opponent he was adroit and acute; no speaker ever sustained a process of argumentation in a public assembly more lucidly, and none as debaters have united in so conspicuous a degree prudence with promptness. In the higher efforts of oratory he was not successful. His vocabulary was ample and never mean, but it was neither rich nor rare. His speeches will afford no sentiment of surpassing grandeur or beauty that will linger in the ears of coming generations. He embalmed no great political truth in immortal words. His flights were ponderous; he soared with the wing of the vulture rather than the plume of the eagle; and his perorations when most elaborate were most unwieldy. In pathos he was quite deficient; when he attempted to touch the tender passions, it was painful. His face became distorted like that of a woman who wants to cry but cannot succeed. Orators certainly should not shed tears, but there are moments when, as the Italians say, the voice should weep. The taste of Sir Robert Peel was highly cultivated, but it was not originally fine; he had no wit, but he had a keen sense of the ridiculous, and an abundant vein of genuine humour. Notwithstanding his artificial reserve, he had a hearty and a merry laugh; and sometimes his mirth was uncontrollable. He was gifted with an admirable organ; perhaps the finest that has been heard in the house in our days, unless we except the thrilling tones of O'Connell. Sir Robert Peel also modulated his voice with great skill. His enunciation was very clear, though somewhat marred by provincialisms. His great deficiency was want of nature, which made him often appear even with a good cause more plausible than persuasive, and more specious than convincing. He may be said to have gradually introduced a new style into the House of Commons, which was suited to the age in which he chiefly flourished, and to the novel elements of the assembly which he had to guide. He had to deal with greater details than his predecessors, and he had in many instances to address those who were deficient in previous knowledge. Something of the lecture, therefore, entered into his displays. This style may be called the didactic." . . .

There is something painful in the tone of much of this criticism, and in reading it we are unavoidably reminded of the presence of that ability for invective which belongs to the earlier displays of Mr. Disraeli's quarrel with O'Connell, and to that tendency towards personality in debate which is one of the least agreeable elements distinguishing the discussions of some public men in parliament thirty years ago. We are informed, for instance, that "Sir Robert Peel had a bad manner, of which he was sensible; he was by nature very shy, but, forced early in life into eminent positions, he had formed an artificial manner, haughtily stiff or exuberantly bland, of which, generally speaking, he could not divest himself. There were, however, occasions when he did succeed in this, and on these, usually when he was alone and with an individual whom he wished to please, his manner was not only unaffectedly cordial, but he could even charm. When he was ridiculed by his opponents in '41,' as one little adapted for a court, and especially the court of a queen, those who knew him well augured different results from his high promotion, and they were right. But, generally speaking, he was never at his ease, and never very content except in the House of Commons; even there he was not natural, though there the deficiency was compensated for by his unrivalled facility, which passed current with the vulgar eye for the precious quality for which it was substituted. He had obtained a complete control over his temper, which was by nature somewhat fiery."

It would appear that Mr. Disraeli attributed some of Sir Robert Peel's defects to his prosperity. "For so clever a man he was deficient in the knowledge of human nature. The prosperous routine of his youth was not

favourable to the development of this faculty. It was never his lot to struggle; although forty years in parliament, it is remarkable that Sir Robert Peel never represented a popular constituency or stood a contested election. As he advanced in life he was always absorbed in thought, and abstraction is not friendly to a perception of character, or to a fine appreciation of the circumstances of the hour."

Before permitting the image and character of Peel, as distinguished from his memory, and his work and influence, to pass from the page, we propose to frame in a few words of comment another very different sketch of one of the most influential men of the century. We have already seen those from the pen of the man who made a parliamentary position by attacking him. They are mostly cold and guarded, but are perhaps as favourable a study as could be expected from the author of the *Life of Lord George Bentinck.*

These studies of a distinguished statesman by a distinguished political and social critic do not always display the highest psychological qualities. The statement that Peel "had to deal with greater details than his predecessors" probably means that he had to deal with a greater number of them, which is, of course, true; and the number has been increasing ever since, so that Mr. Gladstone has to deal with still more. Sir Robert, however, was an exceedingly accurate man—a point which does not appear to have struck his critic, who was himself often lax both in his "facts" and his quotations. It is scarcely true that Sir Robert Peel "had a keen sense of the ridiculous, and an abundant vein of genuine humour." The Peelites had nearly, if not quite all of them, a *tendency* to a somewhat philistine solemnity. The founder of that academy was certainly no humorist, and his laughter was that of a rich Englishman full of affairs, with no time to spend over the nicer shades of comedy. Sir Robert was primarily and chiefly a man of business, and it is more than probable that his latent dislike of the young Disraeli began from the latter's genteel, airy, "literary" recklessness of carriage. Disraeli's very style of dress would irritate him. In calling him "the greatest member of parliament that ever lived," the author of *Vivian Grey* was coming near to the truth.

Sir Robert Peel at Drayton Manor was just the man we might expect to find him. Mr. Alexander Somerville—"One who has Whistled at the Plough," was his signature in his Anti-Corn-law writings—has given the world some anecdotes gathered upon the spot, which are singularly truth-like, though not what is called striking. One of the poor men on the estate had been speaking of Sir Robert's kindly good sense, and wound up thus: "He is a good man for such as me and the poor, is Sir Robert. They say he is a great man in the parliament. Ay, we hear speak of him there, but we only know him at home; he is a good man at home." Mr. Somerville then takes us to "the parish clerk, lame and aged, who had fallen into misfortune while Sir Robert was in London, and seldom at Drayton, during his ministerial years. With this clerk I passed an hour or two in the church, on a week-day. He pointed out the burial-place of old Sir Robert and of Lady Peel, and the tablet erected to their memory by their 'beloved children,' and the coat of arms over it, with the family motto, *Industria.* 'This Bible and prayer-book from which I read,' he said, 'were given by old Sir Robert. This (entering a pew) is where the present Sir Robert sits; this is his Bible, you see his name written in it; here he kneels at prayer.'

"'He kneels here,' continued the clerk; 'and he sits in this corner just against me. One day I thought he looked harder out of that corner at me than usual; he had just come from London, after one of the longest times he had ever been away; and everybody was taking notice of how the parliament had worn him, and was making him gray; for, as we heard him say, it was a harder parliament for him that year than he had ever been in —all the trouble about taking off the corn-laws was on his head. Well, as I was saying, he sat in that corner on the very first day after he came home to Drayton, and looked more at me than usual; and I glanced at him, but not often, and thought to myself, 'How sore they are working you in London,

Sir Robert!' And what would you think? As it turned out, he *was* looking at me and noticing how I was altered with illness and misfortunes. When the service was over he stopped in the church and spoke to me, and asked if I had been ill. I told him my misfortunes, and he told me to go to a tailor (who was named) and get a suit of new black for Sunday, and to send to the manor. Well, you see, sir, I was not only made respectable in the outward man, but I was comforted within; and I have been much beholden to him, and my son was made sexton in my room. But we do not always die when we look as if we would. We live long upon the earth in these parts; and for myself, I have lived all the longer for Sir Robert. Only for him, I doubt if I should have been on the sunny side of Basset churchyard this day.'"

In parting with Peel, while remembering that it was he who *carried* the repeal of the corn-laws, we must not forget that he was a late convert to the opinions of others who would certainly have carried them with or without his help sooner or later. Nor need we omit to notice that we are indebted to him for the revival of the income-tax, which had slept since the time of Pitt, and which we have never since got rid of. It was hotly denounced by men like Lord John Russell and Macaulay—the latter of whom presented powerful petitions against it from Edinburgh, as a war-tax, excusable like impressment for the navy in time of war, or like the burning of a town in actual conflict between two armies, but in itself a most injurious expedient. There was a party then, as there is a party now—especially among *doctrinaire* Radicals—who justified the tax, and Mr. Roebuck was on that side. It is admitted by economists that in theory it is a perfect tax; but Mr. Mill, while admitting this, denounces it in the strongest terms on practical grounds, and recommends a carefully graduated house-tax instead. This, of course, is not the place for discussing the merits of direct and indirect taxation, but it may be added that the house-tax which in 1851 took the place of the old odious window-tax, was not considered by any party a satisfactory adjustment of the subject.

Sir Robert Peel was the intelligent friend of art, literature, and science, and a warm advocate for the admission, or rather the hearty introduction, of the poorest to their advantages. He was the steadfast advocate of the throwing open of parks, picture-galleries, and museums to the general public. The list of his acts of "patronage," as it is called, is a long one, but his way of conferring "favours" was in the highest degree honourable to him. To Thomas Hood he awarded a yearly pension of £100, which was continued to his widow. Faraday, the great chemist, received £300 per annum. Dr. Buckland, hooted as a heretic (for the side he took in geological advocacy), was created Dean of Westminster by Peel. To Mrs. Somerville he awarded a pension; and Mrs. Hemans and Frances Browne were equally fortunate. Not to mention the numerous cases in which he found government appointments for the sons of meritorious writers or artists, it may be recorded that it was at his hands that Southey and Wordsworth received their pensions of £300, James Montgomery, £150, Mr. M'Culloch and Mr. Fraser-Tytler, £200. In each case we speak now of a yearly pension, and it will be noticed that the awards are quite independent of political considerations:—James Montgomery, for example, was a Radical. Haydon, the painter, was not a particularly amiable man in his public relations, but his mournful appeal received instant attention from the most harassed politician in the country; and the awarding of the pension to Frances Browne is one of many facts which point to a good deal of minute observation on Peel's part.

And as to Peel's opponent we have now to regard him in a different light. In future, we have to contemplate Disraeli—afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield, and, in a special degree, the confidant of his sovereign—in a new attitude. He no longer presents himself to adverse criticism in the light of an adventurer, a vindictive or solicitous free-lance—he is now, or is about to become, a recognized political leader. The startling contrast between the recklessness of the *Runnymede Letters* and the dignified and courteous estimate of Lord John Russell, to which reference has been made, suggests a

new key-note, and to that we shall find the life of this remarkable man conform itself. Although he is always a humorist—though he is always an audacious and self-asserting alien, showing traces of the unhappy discipline of persecution and exilism through which his race and family had passed—he is now about to present himself before England and the world as a responsible leader of men, and his whole attitude is changed accordingly.

The Anti-Corn-law League had accomplished the work for which it had been organized, and its leaders determined to bring its active operations to a close. A meeting was held on the 2d of July at the Town Hall, Manchester, under the presidency of Mr. Wilson. Richard Cobden addressed the assembly, and congratulated them on the success which they had achieved, and on the instruction conveyed to the people, which would make it impossible ever again to impose the corn-laws. Speaking of Sir Robert Peel, he said, "If he has lost office, he has gained a country. For my part, I would rather descend into private life with that last measure of his in my hand, than mount to the highest pinnacle of human power." He concluded by moving "That an Act of Parliament having been passed, providing for the abolition of the corn-laws in February, 1849, it is deemed expedient to suspend the active operations of the Anti-Corn-law League; and the executive council is hereby requested to take the necessary steps for making up and closing the affairs of the League with as little delay as possible." It was subsequently resolved "that after the payment of the first instalment (20 per cent), the subscribers to the £250,000 League fund be released from all further liabilities." After settling some matters of detail, the proceedings of the meeting, and indeed the proceedings of the League itself, closed by Mr. Cobden's reminding them that they were under obligations to the queen, who was said to have favoured their cause as one of humanity and justice; and their last act before finally separating was to give three hearty cheers for her majesty.

To Mr. George Wilson, who had devoted almost his whole time to the League, and had laboured incessantly, repeatedly refusing to accept any remuneration, the members of the League unanimously determined to present a sum of not less than £10,000. To each of the members of the executive council, who had been constant in their efforts, and who had attended hundreds of meetings, a silver tea and coffee service was presented, and it then remained to make some suitable acknowledgment of the unremitting exertions of a leader who had sacrificed fortune, ease, leisure, private advantages, and, to a great degree, health, to the cause of which he had been the chief supporter and advocate. There was no difficulty in obtaining a large sum of money. The desire of the members of the League and of the free-traders of the United Kingdom was to retain Richard Cobden in parliament as the representative of their principles, and, at the same time, to secure his services to the public. In a very short time it was intimated that the sum of £80,000 had been placed at his disposal by the contributions of his countrymen; and by an equally spontaneous movement Mr. Bright was requested to accept the gift of a fine library, as an expression of the appreciation of free-traders throughout the country of his invaluable aid in the great work that had been accomplished.

Lord John Russell, in his *Recollections*, has recorded that he voted against the Protection of Life Bill, and so contributed to the fall of the Conservative ministry on Irish grounds. He thought it wrong to arrest men and to put them in prison on the ground that they *might* be murderers and housebreakers. They might, on the other hand, be honest labourers going home from their work. He thought every means should be adopted for discovering the perpetrators of crime and bringing them to justice, and for that purpose it was right to give the majority of a jury power to convict upon sufficient evidence a man accused of murder. But he did not think it right to send a man to prison upon evidence that he had been out at night without any further offence. It was, as we have seen, on the so-called "Irish Coercion" bill that Sir Robert Peel

went out of power, and Lord John Russell was at once sent for to form a government. He endeavoured to obtain the assistance of Lord Dalhousie, Lord Lincoln, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, but they would not join the Whig ranks, and for a moment he had to consider whether he could propose a junction with the Protectionists—but neither principle nor prudence would allow him to do so: that is what he tells us, and we may perhaps wonder how he could ever have entertained the notion after the Edinburgh letter. Still more may we wonder that he should have held a long and friendly conference with the Duke of Beaufort, which ended in his declining to ask for the assistance of the duke's friends in the formation of a new ministry. The Whig leader must have had little reliance on the power of his party to maintain a majority, and yet, as it turned out, the Conservatives were disorganized and never again existed in the sense of a party holding the position which it maintained under Peel. *That* Conservative body was never restored to power and influence after the resignation of its leader, and the Protectionists were in such a minority that it was possible for the Whig, or, as it was now called the Liberal government to hold its own without abandoning principle by a coalition with the landed or agricultural interest. Lord John of course was first lord of the treasury, Lord Cottenham was lord-chancellor, Lord Lansdowne president of the council, and Sir George Grey home secretary; Lord Palmerston was foreign secretary; Earl Grey colonial secretary, Mr. Charles Wood chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Clarendon president of the Board of Trade. Mr. Macaulay, who had been re-elected for Edinburgh by a large majority, did not like to accept any office which would divert him from his literary work, so he was made paymaster of the forces. Mr. Sheil accepted the office of master of the mint, for which he had the reproaches (easily answered) of Feargus O'Connor and the Young Ireland party. Sir John Jervis was attorney-general, the Earl of Bessborough lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Labouchere his chief secretary. The cabinet was, as the premier explained, not one which could be united on every measure likely to come up for discussion, but on the question of free-trade there was but one opinion. He was favourable to improvement in the representation of the people, but would not be a party to any scheme making an organic change in the franchise. There was some evidence, if not of timidity, at least of probable indecision in the new government therefore, and the first measure brought forward served the purpose of calling Lord George Bentinck to the front again. A new sugar duties bill was introduced, by which it was proposed to make the duties permanent, reducing the differential duties year by year till 1851, when they were to disappear entirely, and all sugar was to come in at the same rate of duty. Some compensations were to be given to the West India planters by encouraging the migration of free-negro labour from Sierra Leone and other parts of Africa, and by reducing the differential duty on West India rum from eighteenpence to a shilling. Sir Robert Peel, though he thought that free-labour sugar should have a longer period of protection, supported the bill, but Lord George Bentinck and the Protectionists opposed it. The result was a long debate and an amendment, which Lord John said would, if carried, cause the resignation of the ministry. On a division the government measure was carried by a large majority, and passed in the House of Lords against the opposition of Brougham and Stanley, and the Bishops of Oxford and London.

The difficulty was still Ireland, where famine and crime were increasing, and in fifty-eight districts the distress was beyond ordinary imagination to realize. The mortality was frightful. In Skibbereen alone, out of 62,000 inhabitants, 5000 died in three months and 15,000 were in such want that they could not tell on each morning how they were to procure food for the day.

At Bantry "died from starvation" was the verdict given at forty-three inquests held at the same time. Cattle were wounded in the fields by the famishing peasants, who sucked the blood of the animals to assuage the pangs of hunger. To reckless commercial speculations had been added the failure of the crops,

which had caused not a deficient harvest merely, but actual dearth. The estimated loss on the potato and oat crops for 1846 was £16,000,000. The Report of the Commissioners of Poor-law Inquiry in 1835 had stated that there were then between eleven and twelve hundred thousand agricultural labourers in Ireland whose average earnings did not exceed from two shillings to half-a-crown a week each;—that these with their families represented nearly two millions and a half of human beings, in distress and out of work thirty weeks in the year. Another commission was now appointed (1847), under the presidency of Lord Devon, and it elicited that these people were the worst housed, the worst fed, and the worst clothed of any in Europe. They dwelt in mud cabins with straw for beds, lived on spare meals of potatoes with the occasional addition of a herring or a little buttermilk, were nearly always hungry, and were clothed in rags. When the potatoes disappeared they had nothing, except where they could obtain the laver or sea-weed, or a few wild roots. It was, as Lord John Russell said, a famine of the thirteenth century with a population of the nineteenth.

The remedies proposed and adopted were a Poor-law Extension Act for Ireland and a Temporary Relief Act. It was computed that the extraordinary expenditure caused by the famine, and to be taken from the imperial exchequer, would be £8,000,000, in addition to £2,000,000 that had to be advanced. It was necessary, therefore, for the chancellor of the exchequer to borrow that amount, and this was done at £3, 7*s.* 6*d.* per cent; and to expedite its payment into the treasury, which was nearly exhausted by the demands made upon it, a discount of 5 per cent was allowed to contributors who would pay their contributions before the 18th of June, and 4 per cent to those who should pay them before the 10th of September.

Already the proposals of the government to suspend the operation of the corn bill and the navigation laws, with respect to Ireland, had passed both houses, so that, as far as Ireland was concerned, there was total repeal of the corn duties, and the change in the navigation laws was to facilitate the importation of food to Irish ports. At the very outset (in August, 1846), a measure had been passed giving power to the lord-lieutenant to summon a meeting of magistrates in any district where there was scarcity of employment, and enabling them to order the execution of public works most needed in the locality and to an extent in proportion to the want of employment. The charges were to be defrayed by a loan from the treasury. These works, however, were not for some time of any great importance, and in August, 1846, we find the turbulent Archbishop of Tuam addressing a letter to Lord John Russell in the *Freeman's Journal* in which he says:—

"It is not on the miserable and peddling scale of levelling hills on a mail-coach road that the physical wants of a numerous people are to be relieved, but by those extensive and necessary improvements which, while they mitigate distress, will afford to the government an adequate remuneration—such as the erection of quays and piers along the western and southern coasts, by which the existing misery would be relieved, and courage given to the hardy natives along those coasts to explore and cultivate the rich and abundant fisheries on which any benevolent statesman could draw for supplying the wants of the people. Those are public works which the people have a right to expect in return for the ample revenues with which their industry enriches the exchequer."

The archbishop's letter goes on to announce that the Irish people could not be diverted from "repeal" by the most dexterous application of Whig patronage, and he speaks bitterly of those who are in favour of infidel colleges, by which he means the institution by Peel at the time of the Maynooth grant of three colleges in Ireland—in Cork, Belfast, and Galway, in which the education was to be secular. They were to be affiliated to a new university, to be called the Queen's University in Ireland. It was, of course, intended to establish neutral unsectarian means of education, and the measure passed, but with the bitter opposition of the extreme supporters both of the Protestant and the Roman Church.

Sir Robert Harry Inglis, the ultra-Protestant, gave them the name of "the Godless Colleges." O'Connell, the pope, and the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland took up the word, and they remained subjects for controversy for many years.

But the administration of relief by employing the people on the roads and public works could not be successfully continued, even though the wages were to be carefully kept twopence a day below the agricultural pay in the district. The small farmers came to work, or to do what they called work, on the roads and drove out the famishing labourers.

"Labour," wrote the *Times*, "has been both injuriously enhanced and diverted. The alternative, or mere hope, of pottering a half-day on the road, or some such 'improvement,' has withdrawn labour from the fields of the few Irish agriculturists worthy of that name, from the railroads in progress, and to a very remarkable extent from this island. It is said that this year, when the demand for labour has been far beyond all precedent, there have been fewer Irishmen offering themselves for harvest or railway work than were ever known. The story among the Irish immigrants themselves is that their friends are staying at home in the hope of employment in their own neighbourhood from the recent and forthcoming grants. If we are dying of hunger, we must kill the milch cow for the sake of its flesh. We must, and there is an end of the question. But it is as well to remember that small measures of immediate and extraordinary relief are dearly purchased."

At the end of January, 1847, when the extension of the poor-law and the immediate relief acts were introduced, Lord John Russell announced that the labour-rate act would be withdrawn, as the landlords had grossly mismanaged its working; that the people would be immediately taken off the roads, and enabled to work on their own holdings, by being supplied with food through local relief committees, working in connection with the poor-law guardians. The sum of £50,000 was to be lent to buy seed for tenants on the security of the ensuing harvest, and £1,000,000 to be applied to the reclamation of waste land, which government was to have the power to purchase.

When nigh to the close of his career, Sir Robert Peel announced with respect to Ireland a creed which, so far as its principle is concerned, would satisfy the most exacting of Irish politicians or agitators. The principle is not for discussion in this place, nor are the measures taken for Irish relief in the latter years of this decade. But at or after the time of the Poor Law Extension Act (1847) and the Temporary Relief Act, the accounts given in evidence before committees, or otherwise authentically communicated to Parliament, of the state of things in that unhappy country at this time are so striking as to deserve notice. The Rev. H. Montgomery, in June, 1847, gave evidence of the most discouraging kind. "I have travelled," said he, "through a considerable portion of Ireland in the course of the last two years. From Roscommon to Clare on both sides, but especially on the Connaught side of the river, I saw an immense population apparently almost unemployed even in the early part of the harvest. In Roscommon, in Galway, and in Clare there were tens of thousands of people who appeared to be entirely idle, their fields overgrown with weeds, their houses in a state of ruin, their persons foul and wretched, and altogether in a state of destitution which I did not believe existed in any portion of the world. The idleness appeared to be universal; I saw scarcely any man working. The fields were overgrown with weeds. You might know a potato-garden by seeing a green leaf occasionally appearing amidst luxuriant weeds, whilst men and women were standing about or lying in the ditches in perfect idleness." Of the union of Kilrush in county Clare we have the following dreary record from the pen of Captain Kennedy, the communication being official, and dated in November of the same year (1847):—"The north and west of the union of Kilrush, including the divisions of Kilmurry, Kilmacduane, Killard, Killee, and a part of Moyarta, are in a most lamentable state. The parts on the coast are most densely populated with a turf-digging, sea-

weed gathering, fish-catching, amphibious population; as bad fishermen as they are agriculturists. They have no regular mode of gaining a livelihood. They are inert, improvident, and utterly without foresight. Lavish and constant expenditure may keep them from starvation; but it will require years of good management and well-devised measures to make them independent or self-supporting. A few acres of reclaimed bog, planted with potatoes, has heretofore supplied their wants, and rendered them content on the lowest possible scale of existence.

"In the district I have remarked upon I believe one-third of the population will be utterly without food at Christmas, two-thirds starving before February, and the whole devoid of food or money before May. Many of the habitations are no better than a fox-earth, and the inmates in their appearance, clothing, and mode of living hardly human. This class are comparatively content and uncomplaining. Their mode of scratching the land does not deserve the name of cultivation. Their attempts are inferior to that I have seen among North American Indians."

Details of a kind even more painful may well be omitted, for it is not easy to quote such things without being suspected, or at least accused, of an intention to point a one-sided moral.

It is with his views of improving the condition of Ireland that some of the most honourable recollections of Lord George Bentinck's career in parliament are connected. "When," wrote Mr. Disraeli, "Mr. Smith of Deanston was examined by a parliamentary committee, and asked what measure of all others would be the one most calculated to improve the agriculture and condition of Ireland, he did not reply, as some might have anticipated, that the most efficient measure would be to drain the bogs; but his answer was, 'Advance the construction of railways and then agricultural improvement will speedily follow.'

"To illustrate the value of railways to an agricultural population, Mr. Smith of Deanston said, 'that the improvement of the land for one mile only on each side of the railway so constructed would be so great, that it would pay the cost of the whole construction.' He added that there were few districts in Ireland in which railway communication could be introduced, where the value of the country through which the railway passed would not be raised to an extent equal to the whole cost of the railway. Arguing on an area of six hundred and forty acres for every square mile, after deducting the land occupied by fences, roads, and buildings, Mr. Smith of Deanston entered into a calculation of the gain derivable from the mere carriage of the produce of the land, and the back carriage of manure, coals, tiles, bricks, and other materials, and estimated the saving through those means on every square mile to more than £300, or something above £600 on 1280 acres abutting each mile of railway, this being the difference of the cost of carriage under the old mode of conveyance as compared with the new. Following up this calculation, he showed that fifteen hundred miles of railway would improve the land through which it passed to the extent of nearly two million acres at the rate of a mile on each side, and taken at twenty-five years' purchase, would equal twenty-four millions sterling in the permanent improvement of the land."

The subject led to much discussion, and Lord George was not backward with a very definite scheme. His proposition was, that for every £100 expended to the satisfaction of the imperial government in railway construction, £200 should be lent by government at the very lowest interest at which, on the credit of the government, that amount could be raised, so that if two millions were produced annually for four years by the Irish companies, the imperial government should advance an additional four millions, insuring in Ireland for four years the expenditure of six millions a year in public works of an useful and reproductive nature. "This proposition was recommended by Lord George as offering an ample security for the public loan. For this purpose he adduced evidence to show that the worst railroad ever yet constructed in this country, or Scotland, or Belgium, would afford an ample security under such circum-

stances. He assumed that the government would lend the money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and take the whole railway as security. Consequently a line paying £7 upon £300 expended would afford ample security for £200 lent by the state at £3, 10*s.* per cent, and he was therefore prepared to prove that a line which paid but a dividend of £2, 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent, would afford perfect security for the interest of the loan made by the government."

The accounts of the condition of the Irish peasantry at this time are more dreadful than any that are to be found out of ancient records of pestilence, war, and famine, and in most of the details very closely resemble them. Women and children picking up the refuse of the raw roots on which cattle have been fed on the deck of a steamer; gaunt corpses found nearly naked in bare and deserted huts; human skeletons crawling along the roads or leaning against the low stone walls; a story not of utter destitution and misery only, but of helplessness and abandonment of efforts for amelioration; graveyards where dogs fight in horrible contention, and where the bodies of the dead are scarcely covered by the earth lightly raked over them; people dying of want, in some cases where they have the price of bread, but finding none for sale in the bare and desolate place in which they stay, have not the heart to journey to the next town or village to buy a loaf or a quart of meal. We need not enter into these dreadful details, nor of the inadequacy of any hastily organized plan of relief to meet such widely extended and general destitution.

It is not surprising that crime increased, nor that the government had eventually to bring in a Coercion Bill only a little less stringent in some particulars than that upon which they had defeated the former ministry. Sedition almost ceased to be sedition, it was advocated so boldly and openly. Treason was shouted rather than talked, and the violent maledictions of John Mitchel, the extravagances of Smith O'Brien, and the fervid poetical denunciations of Meagher "of the Sword" (so called because he had said he did not see why the sword should not be taken up against England), had taken the place of the less revolutionary but far more effectual appeals of "the Liberator." For the Young Ireland party had superseded the more potent scheme by which O'Connell could repeatedly menace England with monster demonstrations, and yet not overstep the line of treason. The "Repeal year" had passed without repeal. The son of the great Agitator had been denounced in the columns of the *United Irishman*, which instructed its readers to use, in street fighting, muskets, vitriol, molten lead, broken glass for maiming the horses' feet. John O'Connell had been to Paris, and it had been represented that he there collected subscriptions for "the cause." "In the name of the country," said the *United Irishman*, "we disavow the scandalous negotiator." "Let no man in France dream that this dastard, this born slave and beggar, represents Ireland, or is in any manner authorized to offer Ireland's arm in war to any nation, least of all to England." "Ireland spurns him, and will yet curse the very name he bears." They were always in full cry for a fight, these gentlemen, and in that they entirely differed from the man who was superior to them all as a political leader. They quarrelled with him because he did not mean fighting; and as they had nothing better to do, they ended in quarrelling and fighting among themselves, or in inventing insulting epithets for each other. "The Repeal year" had come and gone, and Daniel O'Connell was dead.

But we must take another glance backward. We have told the story of the coming of free-trade, and it is necessary to return for a little while to other events which have been running parallel with the main narrative. In recounting the history of these years we must every now and then return on the main track, and see how some of the byways, the side issues, come into the highway of progress, or lead off from it. We have yet a few words to say before entering upon the year of revolutions, and touching here and there some topics that come into the decade with which we are now occupied. We have referred to the riots which took place in Lancashire, and to the designs of the Chartists in the early part of the queen's reign. Those disturbances spread

with the resistance to diminished wages. In the Potteries troops were sent to occupy the race-course, and both there and in Lancashire, and subsequently in the agricultural districts —where the labourers were suffering great distress at the very time that they were told to use physical force to prevent the meetings of the agents of the League—there were frequent fires, the work of incendiaries who burnt ricks, or first sacked and afterwards set light to dwelling-houses. We are told by Miss Martineau that Lady Peel received an anonymous warning that Drayton Manor would be burned down. A guard was procured to watch it, but no attack was made. A clergyman at Leeds had a message from a body of rioters who were coming his way, that they intended to sleep in his church; and he replied by assuring them that it was his intention to preach to them all night. They did not appear. There were many grotesque elements among the general sense of fear and violence, as there are sure to be where people of various callings and with different aims and views are either brought into coalition or collision. Among the most extraordinary and also the most brutal and sanguinary disturbances were those which took place in Wales. Their object was to destroy the numerous toll-gates, the charges made at which were a heavy tax on the small farmers of the rural districts, and sometimes absorbed the small profits of the humble produce which had to be carried through byroads and for a considerable distance to market. The tolls also added greatly to the price the people paid for manure and other necessary articles for their farms.

On the borders of Caermarthenshire and Pembrokeshire a number of gates which were believed to have been illegally set up were demolished, and the local magistrates, when the gates were once down, made known that they should oppose their re-erection, and themselves became trustees in order to prevent it. This was so much of a victory for the primitive people of the district that they began to hold secret meetings, where it was determined to repeat in grim earnest what was at first in the nature of a bold and only half-serious frolic, perpetrated in daylight and without concealment. If they could destroy all the objectionable gates and toll-houses in like manner, and persist in their destruction at every attempt to restore them, the trustees would be obliged to refrain, and the roads would become untaxed highways. Conspiracy among such a people was, like any other serious event, sure to be verbally associated with a passage of Scripture, and somebody found in the twenty-fourth chapter of Genesis and the sixtieth verse what were considered to be appropriate words: "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them." The leader of the rioters, disguised in a huge bonnet, cloak, and petticoats, was Rebecca, and his followers were his daughters, who were also called Rebeccaites. Probably there were several leaders, as the raids against the obnoxious toll-gates were frequent, and at considerable distances. During the winters of 1842 and 1843 the organization of this conspiracy was remarkable, and their mode of procedure astounding. The Rebeccaites were never seen by day, never caught by watching. If their presence was anticipated they were sure to be several miles away. The secrecy with which the members of the band worked, and the completeness of their intelligence, made it apparently easy for them to learn where there was a watch kept for them until the watchers were tired, and then, probably on that very night the weary toll-keepers would be aroused by a blast of cowhorns, the firing of shots, the sudden glare of torches, and the sound of saw and axe. The gang of stalwart desperados in women's clothes sawed down the gate-posts, chopped the bars in pieces, and if no resistance was offered, helped the toll-keepers to move out their furniture, before roof and wall and every stick and stone of the toll-house was levelled to the ground. It was all done with such rapidity, that while the astonished toll-man and his family were wondering and lamenting, they found themselves houseless amidst their furniture, as the wild weird gang went clattering away on their horses or ponies, or swiftly strode across the fields.

Soldiers were sent to guard the tolls, but it would have required a small army to protect

them all at once, and the cottars were interested in sending the dragoons on a wrong scent. About eighty gates were destroyed in Caermarthen alone, and there were few left in Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire. Only the old-fashioned and legitimate gates were untouched. Those that were levelled had been mostly put up on byroads leading to lime-kilns; and as the farmers burned their own lime for manure, this was creating a cruel impost of a shilling on every load of stone, lime, and coal brought from the kiln to the farm.

But a very short time elapsed before Chartist agitators went down to see whether they could not combine with the Rebeccaites in larger operations, and the small riot became a dangerous insurrection. The leaders were local Jack Cades; and under the influence of their evil advisers—the same school of Chartists who had already denounced free-trade and the new poor-law—they grew murderous and bloodthirsty. For a time they had it all their own way. They threatened to abolish justice fees, and tithes, to pull down the workhouses, and compel a reduction of rents. Police were disarmed, troops were misled, magistrates had their houses fired into; and at length Caermarthen workhouse was half pulled down by a mob numbering some thousands who entered the town, led by Rebecca on horseback, and carried among their weapons, saws and axes—brooms with which they were to sweep the very foundations of the building. The governor's house was nearly gutted, and he was ringing the alarm-bell when the soldiers arrived after a long journey. Hundreds of the rioters were arrested—some were slightly wounded. An end was coming to Rebecca and her children, for their new adherents were men who led them to acts which at once aroused public opinion against them. The meetings in the hills had few sympathizers where nightly incendiarism formed part of the procedure, and everywhere armed bands went destroying. Crimes were committed. One old woman who kept a toll-house begged to save her furniture, the thatch of her cottage having been set alight. A neighbour dared not help her to put out the flame; she ran back to the place, incautiously said she knew some of the rioters, and was shot dead. The coroner's jury, too terrified to bring in a true verdict, said she died from effusion of blood into the chest, which occasioned suffocation, but from what cause was unknown. A royal proclamation was issued and a royal commission was sent down to try the prisoners—a commission with a merciful intention, and accompanied by another commission to inquire into the grievances complained of by the rioters. The judge appointed for the first commission was Baron Gurney, who well expressed the sympathy which was originally manifested for the culprits, and for the poverty and distress which had occasioned the first offences. Three men sentenced to transportation addressed their friends and countrymen in a penitent spirit, and those whom they addressed were so conscious of their folly that they offered themselves as special constables. Light sentences were passed on other rioters, and many were discharged on the understanding that they would cease from their illegal acts and would keep the peace. The commission of inquiry discovered that the original grievances of the turnpike system were in themselves so burdensome and so widely extended that a measure of relief was imperatively necessary, and a bill was passed through parliament for the consolidation of turnpike trusts in South Wales. The leniency shown to the prisoners, and the honest desire to abate the intolerable extortions to which the people had been subjected, gave a new tone to legislation, and was naturally regarded as a fitting consequence of the reign of a young queen who had true sympathy with the sufferings of her people. This was a happy result, since the troubles that had arisen from the general distress had already begun to affect those expressions of loyalty which had been so universal. The court was engaged in a series of innocent pleasures, which, however, offered a contrast to the general sufferings of the people; and certain newspapers concerned in promoting disaffection had adopted the device of printing in parallel columns accounts of balls, festivities, and royal expenditure, and the reports of coroners' inquests, misery, star-

vation, and registrars' returns. The consequence was that there had been some manifestations of disloyalty, which were, however, not very decided. It was then that Sir Robert Peel, not only by his advice and practical suggestions, but by his admirable financial arrangements with regard to the royal expenditure, proved himself to be a faithful friend as well as a trusted minister. The festivities celebrating the christening of the Prince of Wales were followed by one or two quiet entertainments and state balls where the manufactures of Spitalfields and of Paisley were recognized in the dresses of the court. The hints of the premier were sufficient to confirm the royal household in the desire to encourage native industry, and to set an example of quiet unostentatious living, which was entirely in accordance with the tastes of the queen and the prince consort.

It was an anxious difficult time both for the sovereign and the minister, and the troubles were greatly increased by the condition of Ireland.

O'Connell had said, "The year 1843 is and shall be the great repeal year." It is not quite certain what he meant by repeal, and some of his followers afterwards accused him of meaning nothing but to deceive Ireland and play into the hands of the English government; but they were interested in depreciating him that they might themselves obtain a leadership which they neither knew how to maintain nor to distinguish. It would seem that O'Connell really intended to try whether, by continuing to show how extensive a power he wielded, and by promoting constant demonstrations, he could set up a demand for home rule, with a parliament on College Green, of which he, aided by the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, would be a sort of good-humoured dictator, or elected lord-lieutenant, owning the sovereignty of the queen, and with courts composed partly of law and partly of arbitration, where he would sit as judge. One thing was certain—he was no more prepared than ever to risk a revolution in Ireland, or to bring against his followers the physical force which would be used to prevent an actual repeal of the union. Whenever a determination was shown, to prevent by force, any of those vast public meetings which he could sway and command, he himself postponed or countermanded the assembly. It would appear that, with the power of insurrection always in his hand, he used it only as a stage-sword to flourish in the face of English authority, and never as a weapon actually to fight with. In this he was prudent. He knew well enough that in actual conflict with the power of England that weapon must be shattered.

O'Connell was unapproached as a leader of a Celtic people. Most of those who have aspired to hold a similar position have been so far below him in power, quickness of apprehension, humour, impulse, and changeful exaggerated expression, that they have been forced to borrow and repeat his sayings, often without acknowledgment, and have so used them as to deprive them of their original fire. O'Connell was reckless in statement, wild in appeal and in denunciation, but comparatively prudent in action. The ebullitions of the multitudes whom he addressed found vent in the excitement of the hour, and he could then still it and charm it away. He could move a people to enthusiasm, and then bid them wait till he told them what was their opportunity. Those who have come after him lacking the power to sway, have only succeeded in exciting a populace or a rustic gathering, and then leaving them to uncontrolled acts of violence and crime which must bring them into disastrous collision with the legal authorities. It was not untrue that the "Liberator's" agitations sometimes prevented rather than encouraged insurrection; but they could not go on for ever.

When Irish grievances had been removed what was left to demand? Those grievances were very far from being entirely removed in 1843, but there was no definite agitation that was big enough to serve the turn of the agitator, and his promise of repeal had been so long held over that he thought it was time something was done; so he announced it, and with wonderful tact and address proceeded to make some tentative movements.

It must be remembered, as Mr. Justin

M'Carthy points out in his excellent review of the character of O'Connell, that Catholic emancipation had been carried, at the time when it was granted, by virtue of O'Connell's bold agitation, and by the wise resolve of the Tory government not to provoke a civil war. The Irish peasant knew that O'Connell had demanded Catholic emancipation, and had been answered at first by a direct refusal; that he had said he would compel its concession, and that in the end it was conceded to him. When, therefore, O'Connell said that he would compel the government to give him repeal of the union the Irish peasant naturally believed that he would keep his word.

One of the first things he did was to carry a repeal petition to parliament by an overwhelming majority in the corporation of Dublin, and immediately afterwards he called a monster meeting at Trim, where 30,000 people were present. Both there and at the banquet which followed he spoke with his accustomed power. In May there was another great meeting at Mullingar, where it appeared that the Roman Catholic bishops were all repealers. The queen had expressed some intention of visiting Ireland at about that time, a purpose which was abandoned partly because of the excited condition of the country, though she would not have feared to commit herself to the loyalty of the people. It is remarkable to find O'Connell at a meeting of the Repeal Association at Dublin, after denouncing Wellington, Peel, Brougham, and others, for their "vindictive hatred of Ireland," saying, "When her majesty visits her Irish subjects she will hear of nothing but repeal from one end of the country to the other."

There is no need to quote from the speeches of the agitator at the "monster meeting," nor to describe the effect produced upon the people, many of whom had travelled thirty or forty miles to be present. The government was in no haste to take extreme measures, though the Holding of Arms Bill was passed during the summer, and the Irish chancellor, Sir Edward Sugden, removed from the commission of the peace, several magistrates who had taken part in repeal demonstrations. These gentlemen were afterwards chosen by O'Connell as justices in arbitration courts, in favour of which people were advised to abandon the established courts of law.

At length the great demonstration meeting was held on the 15th of August at the Hill of Tara, where O'Connell stood beside the stone said to have been used as a throne at the coronation of the ancient kings of Ireland. It has been said that there were present, near and around this hill, 2,000,000 persons. The crowds came in a sort of military order, and while some were leaving others were arriving. It was a great demonstration of numbers, and close round the hill stood a vast crowd, while the roads were filled with moving masses of people. O'Connell addressed them, promising that in twelve months more a repeal parliament would sit in College Green. His speech was less inflammatory than usual, for his allusions and references were usually in the highest degree exciting and were artfully chosen. It is significant that he, like some of the Irish orators of to-day, took his illustrations of Saxon cruelty and treachery from times at least as far distant as the days of Cromwell and Elizabeth. The massacre of the Irish chieftains, the slaying of the women of Wexford, these were held forth to the ignorant and fervid peasantry in such a manner that it appeared they might be repeated to-day but for the wholesome dread entertained by the government of the determination of the Irish people and of the confidence of O'Connell himself in the vindication of their national rights. The effect on such audiences may easily be imagined.

On Sunday, the 1st of October, another monster demonstration was held at the Rath of Mullaghmast in Kildare. O'Connell arrived in an open carriage wearing his scarlet velvet robe and gold chain as Lord-mayor of Dublin, and accompanied by a number of the corporation in their official robes. After he had addressed the meeting, a kind of cap of state or of freedom, made of green velvet lined with blue and shaped like an old Milesian crown, was placed on his head amidst general acclamation. He compared his feelings to those

of Malachi when he wore the collar of gold "which he tore from the proud invader." He said he would wear it while he lived and have it buried with him when he died. At the banquet which followed this meeting he spoke of the massacre of Irish chiefs at Mullaghmast in the reign of Elizabeth. "Three hundred and ninety Irish chiefs perished here! They came confiding in Saxon honour, relying on the protection of the queen, to a friendly conference. In the midst of revelry, in the cheerful mirth of the banquet-house, they were surrounded and butchered. None returned save one. Their wives were widows, their children fatherless. In their homesteads was heard the shrill shriek of despair, the cry of bitter agony. Oh, Saxon cruelty! How it cheers my heart in all its misery to think you dare not attempt such a deed again! Let every mother who hears me think of the moment when each gallant chief left his home with a parting to his wife and babes. Let her—oh let her imagine for a moment that husband, the father of those children, brought home to her a bruised and bloody corpse! In the pride of manhood, in the confidence of strength, with sinewy arm capable, if but prepared, to defend her from any foe did he leave her; next day he was brought home in all the inanity of death, powerless to defend, incapable of affording anything but bitter grief, interminable sorrow! Oh, England, England! thy crimes have filled the cup of bitterness. The hour of the vengeance of God, I greatly fear me, cannot be far from you; but thou, O Ireland, hast days of glory still before thee!"

It is certain now that O'Connell did not at any time mean to employ force for the attainment of his ends. But it is equally certain that he wished the English government to see that he had the command of an immense number of men, and probably even to believe that he would, if needs were, hurl them in rebellion upon England if ever she should be embarrassed with a foreign war. It is certain, too, that many of O'Connell's most ardent admirers, especially among the young men, were fully convinced that some day or other their leader would call on them to fight, and were much disappointed when they found that he had no such intention. The government at last resolved to interfere. A meeting was announced to be held at Clontarf on Sunday, October 8, 1843. Clontarf is near Dublin, and is famous in Irish history as the scene of a great victory of the Irish over their Danish invaders. It was intended that this meeting should surpass in numbers and in earnestness the assemblage at Tara. On the very day before the 8th the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation prohibiting the meeting as "calculated to excite reasonable and well-grounded apprehension," in that its object was "to accomplish alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm by intimidation and the demonstration of physical force." O'Connell's power over the people was never shown more effectively than in the control which at that critical moment he was still able to exercise. The populations were already coming into Clontarf in streams from all the country round when the proclamation of the lord-lieutenant was issued. No doubt the Irish government ran a terrible risk when they delayed so long the issue of their proclamation. With the people already assembling in such masses the risk of a collision with the police and the soldiery, and of a consequent massacre, is something still shocking to contemplate. It is not surprising, perhaps, if O'Connell and many of his followers made it a charge against the government that they intended to bring about such a collision in order to make an example of some of the repealers, and thus strike terror through the country. Some sort of collision would almost undoubtedly have occurred but for the promptitude of O'Connell himself. He at once issued a proclamation of his own to which the populations were likely to pay far more attention than they would to anything coming from Dublin Castle. O'Connell declared that the orders of the lord-lieutenant must be obeyed, that the meeting must not take place, and that the people must return to their homes. The "uncrowned king," as some of his admirers loved to call him, was obeyed, and no meeting was held.

From that moment, however, the great power of the repeal agitation was gone. The

government had accomplished far more by their proclamation than they could possibly have imagined at the time. They had, without knowing it, compelled O'Connell to show his hand. It was now made clear that he did not intend to have resort to force. From that hour there was virtually a schism between the elder repealers and the younger. The young and fiery followers of the great agitator lost all faith in him. It would in any case have been impossible to maintain for any very long time the state of national tension in which Ireland had been kept. It must soon come either to a climax or to an anti-climax. It came to an anti-climax. All the imposing demonstrations of physical strength lost their value when it was made known that they were only demonstrations, and that nothing was ever to come of them. The eye of an attentive foreigner was then fixed on Ireland and on O'Connell—the eye of one destined to play a part in the political history of our time which none other has surpassed. Count Cavour had not long returned to his own country from a visit made with the express purpose of studying the politics and the general condition of England and Ireland. He wrote to a friend about the crisis then passing in Ireland. "When one is at a distance," he said, "from the theatre of events, it is easy to make prophecies which have already been contradicted by facts. But, according to my view, O'Connell's fate is sealed. On the first vigorous demonstration of his opponents he has drawn back; from that moment he has ceased to be dangerous." Cavour was perfectly right. It was never again possible to bring the Irish people up to the pitch of enthusiasm which O'Connell had wrought them to before the suppression of the Clontarf meeting; and before long the Irish national movement had split in two.

The government at once proceeded to the prosecution of O'Connell and some of his principal associates. Daniel O'Connell himself, his son John, the late Sir John Gray, and Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, were the most conspicuous of those against whom the prosecution was directed. They were charged with conspiring to raise and excite disaffection among her majesty's subjects, to excite them to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution of the realm. The trial was in many ways a singularly unfortunate proceeding. The government prosecutor objected to all the Catholics whose names were called as jurors. An error of the sheriffs in the construction of the jury-list had already reduced by a considerable number the roll of Catholics entitled to serve on juries. It therefore happened that the greatest of Irish Catholics, the representative Catholic of his day, the principal agent in the work of carrying Catholic emancipation, was tried by a jury composed exclusively of Protestants. It has only to be added that this was done in the metropolis of a country essentially Catholic, and on a question affecting indirectly, if not directly, the whole position and claims of Catholics. The trial was long. O'Connell defended himself, and his speech was universally regarded as wanting the power that had made his defence of others so effective in former days. It was for the most part a sober and somewhat heavy argument to prove that Ireland had lost instead of gained by her union with England. The jury found O'Connell guilty along with most of his associates, and he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £2000. The others received lighter sentences. O'Connell appealed to the House of Lords against the sentence. In the meantime he issued a proclamation to the Irish people commanding them to keep perfectly quiet and not to commit any offence against the law. "Every man," said one of his proclamations, "who is guilty of the slightest breach of the peace is an enemy of me and of Ireland." The Irish people took him at his word and remained perfectly quiet.

O'Connell and his principal associates were committed to Richmond Prison in Dublin. The trial had been delayed in various ways, and the sentence was not pronounced until May 24, 1844. The appeal to the House of Lords—we may pass over intermediate stages of procedure—was heard in the following September. Five law lords were present. The lord chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) and Lord

Brougham were of opinion that the sentence of the court below should be affirmed. Lord Denman, Lord Cottenham, and Lord Campbell were of the opposite opinion. Lord Denman, in particular, condemned the manner in which the jury-lists had been prepared. Some of his words on the occasion became memorable, and passed into a sort of proverbial expression. "Such practices," he said, "would make of the law a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." A strange and memorable scene followed. The constitution of the House of Lords then and for long after made no difference between law lords and others in voting on a question of appeal. But they had an undoubted right to do so; and it is even certain that in one or two peculiar cases they had exercised the right. If the lay lords were to vote in this instance the fate of O'Connell and his companions could not be doubtful. O'Connell had always been the bitter enemy of the House of Lords. He had vehemently denounced its authority, its practices, and its leading members. Nor if the lay peers had voted, had confirmed the judgment of the court below, could it have been positively said that an injustice was done by their interference. The majority of the judges on the writ of error had approved the judgment of the court below. In the House of Lords itself the lord chancellor and Lord Brougham were of opinion that the judgment ought to be sustained. There would, therefore, have been some ground for maintaining that the substantial justice of the case had been met by the action of the lay peers. On the other hand, it would have afforded a ground for a positive outcry in Ireland if a question purely of law had been decided by the votes of lay peers against their bitter enemy. One peer, Lord Wharncliffe, made a timely appeal to the better judgment and feeling of his brethren. He urged them not to take a course which might allow any one to say that political or personal feeling had prevailed in a judicial decision of the House of Lords. The appeal had its effect. A moment before one lay peer at least had openly declared that he would insist on his right to vote. When the lord chancellor was about to put the question in the first instance to ascertain in the usual way whether a division would be necessary, several lay peers seemed as if they were determined to vote. But the appeal of Lord Wharncliffe settled the matter. All the lay peers at once withdrew, and left the matter, according to the usual course, in the hands of the law lords. The majority of these being against the judgment of the court below, it was accordingly reversed, and O'Connell and his associates were set at liberty. The propriety of a lay peer voting on a question of judicial appeal was never raised again so long as the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords was still exercised in the old and now obsolete fashion.

Nothing could well have been more satisfactory and more fortunate in its results than the conduct of the House of Lords. The effect upon the mind of the Irish people would have been deplorable if it had been seen that O'Connell was convicted by a jury on which there were no Roman Catholics, and that the sentence was confirmed, not by a judicial, but by a strictly political vote of the House of Lords. As it was, the influence of the decision, which proved that even in the assembly most bitterly denounced by O'Connell he could receive fair play, was in the highest degree satisfactory. It cannot be doubted that it did something to weaken the force of O'Connell's own denunciations of Saxon treachery and wrong-doing. The influence of O'Connell was never the same after the trial.[1]

His release was celebrated by a triumphal procession, but nothing could alter the fact that it was also a triumph of the justice and leniency of that Saxon government which he had so often implied was characterized by cruelty and oppression. When he was set free he left the prison on foot with his sons and a few friends, escorted by a crowd which he dismissed with a speech from his balcony; but next morning he went back to the prison. A triumphal car was brought, a lofty car constructed for the occasion, on which, a dozen feet above the heads of the crowd, he stood drawn up to his full height and wearing

[1] Justin M'Carthy. *A History of Our Own Times.*

the repeal cap. On a lower stage of the car were his grandsons in green velvet tunics and caps with white feathers. In a big coach sat the lawyers employed on his behalf bearing the monster indictment. The proceedings ended by O'Connell again addressing the crowd from the balcony. The Clontarf meeting, he said, he hoped would not be necessary, as its principle had been vindicated by the trials. He would speak further of his plans at "Conciliation Hall," which was the name given by himself to the Repeal Hall. At that meeting Mr. William Smith O'Brien, member for Limerick, was his great friend and supporter. It was he who shook the hand of the Liberator for some seconds in front of the platform—it was his hand that was pressed in return to O'Connell's heart amidst a roar of enthusiastic applause. Alas! they were soon to be quarrelling and denouncing each other, for the days of O'Connell's power were over, and suspicion followed on the part of the men who could never command the same influence, and had no plans more practicable than his. There were more demonstrations, but they had no ultimate effect. His was still a voice in parliament, and he attended the banquets of the Anti-Corn-law League, where the charm of his eloquence aided the cause in which he took a warm interest, but he had no longer a plan or a policy which he could put forward to silence his opponents. Nor could he or any one else have hoped to set up a standard of repeal at a time when Ireland must depend on the immediate and effectual legislation of the English parliament for the purpose of averting the famine of about half the population. When the Whig government succeeded that of Sir Robert Peel after the repeal of the corn-laws, O'Connell was reinstated in the commission of the peace, and was on the side of the ministry. According to the taunts of the Young Ireland party, which afterwards made such a miserable fiasco, he had "surrendered;" but the famine would have made organized political disturbance an atrocity for any man who had lost the power of controlling and restraining the multitudes who had once responded to his appeals. He grew sick, and his face was clouded with a mournful, wistful expression. He could scarcely bear to hear or read about Ireland. In the first session of 1847 he delivered his last speech in the house, and it has been described in a few picturesque and pathetic words by the once vindictive antagonist whose anger against him had been provoked by language such as perhaps only these two men were capable of making so irritating and injurious. Mr. Disraeli's reference to that last evening of O'Connell in the House of Commons is full of fine suggestion, and seems to imply that the early quarrel, bitter as it was, had been practically consigned to oblivion long before. He says:—

"It was understood that the house would adjourn for the Easter recess on the 8th inst. There were therefore only two nights remaining for government business before the holidays. On the first of these (Friday, April the 3d) Mr. O'Connell had announced that he should state his views at length on the condition of Ireland and the causes of the prevalent agrarian outrages. Accordingly, when the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate was read he rose at once to propose an amendment to the motion. He sat in an unusual place—in that generally occupied by the leader of the opposition—and spoke from the red box, convenient to him from the number of documents to which he had to refer. His appearance was of great debility, and the tones of his voice were very still. His words, indeed, only reached those who were immediately around him, and the ministers sitting on the other side of the green table, and listening with that interest and respectful attention which became the occasion.

"It was a strange and touching spectacle to those who remembered the form of colossal energy and the clear and thrilling tones that had once startled, disturbed, and controlled senates. Mr. O'Connell was on his legs for nearly two hours, assisted occasionally in the management of his documents by some devoted aide-de-camp. To the house generally it was a performance in dumb-show, a feeble old man muttering before a table; but respect for the great parliamentary personage kept all as orderly as if the fortunes of a party hung upon his rhetoric; and though not an accent

reached the gallery, means were taken that next morning the country should not lose the last and not the least interesting of the speeches of one who had so long occupied and agitated the mind of nations."

Truly some of his latest words in parliament are better worth remembering than many of the brilliant but reckless outbursts of the days of his power as an agitator. "I am afraid," he said, "that the house is not sufficiently aware of the extent of the misery; I do not think that its members are sufficiently impressed with the horrors of the situation of the people of Ireland: I do not think they understand the miseries, the accumulated miseries under which the people are at present suffering. It has been estimated that 5000 adults and 10,000 children have already perished from famine, and that twenty-five per cent of the whole population will perish unless the house will afford effective relief. They will perish of famine and disease unless the house does something speedy and efficacious; not doled out in small sums, not in private and individual subscriptions, but in some great act of national generosity calculated on a broad and liberal scale. If this course is not pursued parliament is responsible for the loss of twenty-five per cent of the population of Ireland. I assure the house most solemnly that I am not exaggerating. I can establish all I have said by many and many painful proofs, . . . the necessary result must be typhus fever, which in fact has broken out, and is desolating whole districts. It leaves alive only one in ten of those whom it attacks."

It was the appeal—one might almost say the pathetic wail—of a dying man, feeling that he himself had lost the power to aid in the work that was so imminent. He was about to make a journey to Rome, and, as it was feared, to die there, though there were some hopes that a more genial climate might somewhat restore his health. Preparations were made by the pontiff, Pius IX., to give a fitting reception to him for whom he entertained affection and esteem as the champion of the Catholic cause; but "the Liberator" never reached the scene where triumphal arches were being erected in his honour. He was taken so seriously ill at Genoa that he could proceed no further, and there he died. His life had been one of great and constant excitement, and its latter years had been full of heavy anxiety, and at last of disappointment, which had changed his aspect and left him worn and broken. His heart was embalmed and carried to the Eternal City. His body was taken back to Ireland, there to be laid in the cemetery of Glasnevin, followed to the grave by a vast procession of at least 50,000 persons of various opinions; Orangeman and Ribbonman walking side by side, and headed by the Lord-chancellor of Ireland, the Lord-mayor of Dublin, and a number of archbishops, bishops, and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. The crowd assembled in and around the churchyard was as immense a demonstration as had ever arisen at his living summons, and the whole country united in showing respect for his memory. It was felt that many measures of justice had been achieved far earlier than they would otherwise, because of his persistent and energetic demands, and the agitation which he maintained against sluggish or unwilling legislation. It was scarcely time then to recognize all that O'Connell really accomplished or stimulated to accomplishment; but the work he had done was more appreciated abroad, where his efforts for the liberation of his co-religionists were spoken of with admiration which found expression in the eulogium pronounced on him by Lacordaire, by whom the question was asked, "Where is the man in the Church since the time of Constantine who has at one stroke enfranchised six millions of souls?"

We have already spoken of the visit of the queen and the prince consort to France in the autumn of 1843, and of the enthusiastic welcome given them by Louis Philippe and his family. He made no secret of the fact that he had been treated by continental sovereigns as a parvenu monarch, and that this visit of the Queen of England was of political as well as social importance to him; but it should also be remembered that when Duke of Orleans he had been on terms of intimate friendship with the queen's father, the Duke of Kent, and also

with the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, while as the Duchess of Kent, her majesty's mother, was a princess of Coburg, sister to King Leopold, the friendly association extended to both families, and especially since the marriage in 1832 of the widowed Leopold with the Princess Louise of Orleans. The reception was unconventionally hospitable, and during their stay at the Chateau d'Eu the visit was one pleasant series of fêtes and family parties. It had, or was intended to have, no political significance whatever, and it was not till afterwards that the cordial relation which subsisted between the two nations seemed likely to be disturbed. On the 24th of January, 1844, the father of the prince consort had died at Gotha after a very short illness, and the prince was obliged to leave home on the melancholy duty of visiting the old home to settle the family affairs. He returned after this first separation from the queen since their marriage to celebrate the royal birthday with gifts and garlands and expressions of unaltered affection. A few days afterwards the royal household was surprised by an intimation that Nicholas, the Emperor of Russia, was on his way to England on a friendly visit. A friendly visit it was, and the queen and Prince Albert made it a domestic and private one, for they entertained their imperial guest with no little address, and contrived to make him feel that he was received really as a private guest. The King of Saxony was also on a visit at Buckingham Palace at the same time. The emperor's object was really political, inasmuch as he announced first, that though he knew he was taken for an actor he was really thoroughly straightforward, saying what he meant and fulfilling what he promised. He avoided discussion of political affairs with the queen; but he was free enough in his conversations with Peel and Lord Aberdeen, and also with Prince Albert. His great desire was to stand well with England, and he assured everybody he came near, that he was the frankest fellow alive; which, perhaps, he thought he was, but telling people so scarcely assured them of the fact. "Lord Durham," said he, "was sent to me, a man full of prejudices against me. By merely coming to close quarters with me all his prejudices were driven clean out of him. This is what I hope by coming here to bring about with you, and with England generally. By personal intercourse I trust to annihilate these prejudices. For I esteem England highly; but as to what the French say of me I care not, I spit upon it." From which, of course, people concluded that one of the objects of his visits was to counteract any damaging alliance between England and France in view of the probable fall of Turkey. He had become possessed with the idea, which ultimately proved so fatal, that Turkey was in a moribund state and must soon fall to pieces. "I do not covet one inch of Turkish soil for myself," he said to Sir Robert Peel, "but neither will I allow anybody else to have one." The only reply he obtained was a general assent to the principle involved, with the further remark that England would keep in view that there should be no government in Egypt too powerful to close the passage across that country to its commerce and its mails. As to France, Sir Robert Peel said it was, and would be, one of the great objects of his policy to see that the French throne upon the death of Louis Philippe descended without convulsion to the next legitimate heir of the Orleans dynasty. The same language was held by the prince.[1]

England was therefore distinctly desirous of maintaining the *status quo*, and the emperor took very little by his visit except a warm welcome and a simple and attentive hospitality, for which he frequently expressed great gratitude both in words and by caresses. The queen, in her correspondence with King Leopold, describes his manner and appearance, and makes some simple but acute observations on his character, with which she was in the main favourably impressed. In spite of his dignified and graceful manners and his extreme, almost alarming civility, his attentions and *politesses*, his face seldom smiled, the expression of his eyes was severe and unlike anything her majesty had ever seen before, giving the impression of a man who was not happy, and on whom the burden of his im-

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.*

mense power and position weighed heavily and painfully. Lady Lytton says in one of her letters, "The only fault in his face is that he has pale eyelashes, and his enormous and very brilliant eyes have no shade, besides which they have the awful look given by occasional glimpses of white above the eyeball—which comes from his father Paul, I suppose—and gives a savage wildness for a moment pretty often." The emperor was exceedingly popular especially among the ladies, for he was a great admirer of female beauty, and remained attentively faithful to those whom he had known and admired on his former visit, years previously. He distributed snuff-boxes and other presents, founded an annual £500 racing prize at Ascot, and was dignified, courteous, and grateful, and he left with mutual regrets. The visit was noted uneasily by political parties in France, but there was no reason for it. Louis Philippe was to visit England in September. "Our motives and politics are *not* to be exclusive, but to be on good terms with all," said the queen in the letter to Leopold; "and why should we not? we make no secret of it."

Louis Philippe's desire to visit the queen at Windsor Castle was accentuated by the satisfactory settlement of the Tahiti difficulty. The notes of dissatisfaction were still heard in France, but both the king and Guizot were determined to prove by their presence here the friendly feelings which they entertained towards this country.

The Tahiti affair was as follows. For some time past France had needed a fresh colony which could be made a naval station, and after some consideration had determined to take possession of the island of Tahiti, where English missionaries had long been established. The inhabitants had been civilized, and most of them had been instructed in the religion of Christianity. The missionaries had acquired great influence, and were the trusted advisers of Queen Pomaré, who promoted those interests which were calculated to raise her people to the rank of a nation under British protection.

Admiral Dupetit-Thouars was commissioned by the French government to induce her to place the island under the protection of France. With this design he made his expedition, and having anchored in the roads sent ashore a number of missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church.

Pomaré had at length consented to accept the protection and to yield to the representation of these ambassadors of France, in opposition to the protestations of the English residents, until the arrival of Mr. Pritchard, who had been made British consul for the island. By his influence she was emboldened to resist the demands of Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, and once more displayed her own flag, refusing to pull it down in obedience to the admiral's orders.

Without waiting for instructions he landed a considerable force, formally took possession of the island in the name of the King of the French, and arrested the English consul, disregarding the protests of the queen and the presence of a British vessel of war in the roads. A number of the inhabitants resisted, and, hastening to arm themselves against the invasion, retreated to the mountains. A conflict took place in which several lives were lost, the houses of the English missionaries were demolished and their property destroyed.

Acts like these were only to be interpreted as a desire to provoke hostilities with England unless they were disowned by the government under which they were committed. Such was the opinion of Louis Philippe, who, with his cabinet, was astonished at the course taken by the commander of the expedition. The admiral had acted without orders, and it was necessary not only to disavow the violence which he had displayed, but to make the compensation demanded by the British government. It was a difficult crisis. M. Guizot was firm, and, in spite of the taunts of the war party, insisted on making reparation. By the queen's visit to France, and the return visit of the king, a spirit of mutual conciliation was established, which was thoroughly in accordance with the disposition of Louis Philippe. His whole reign had been devoted to the cultivation of the arts of peace and the commercial and internal prosperity which a friendly understanding between France and

the other countries of Europe was best likely to secure. But events were moving fast, and the year of revolutions saw Louis Philippe, who had failed to recognize the signs of the times, once more in England as an exile.

No apology is needed for recalling a rather humorous anecdote, as related by Guizot himself, of an occurrence while he was staying at Windsor Castle, at the time that he was ambassador to England, in 1840. It was told in a letter to his daughter.

"This is my second adventure; it will make you laugh, but pray do not laugh at it before company, as it might find its way into some newspaper, which would annoy me. On Wednesday evening, at Windsor, the queen retired at eleven o'clock; we stayed behind talking for half an hour. At midnight I set out to find my own apartment, and I lose myself in the galleries, saloons, and corridors. At last I slowly open a door, taking it for mine, and I see a lady beginning to undress, attended by her maid. I shut the door as fast as I can, and begin again to search for my own room. I at last find some one who shows me the way. I go to bed. The next day, at dinner, the queen said to me laughingly, 'Do you know that you entered my room at midnight?' 'How, madam, was it your majesty's door that I half opened?' 'Certainly.' And she began laughing again, and so did I. I told her of my perplexity, which she had already guessed, and I asked if, like St. Simon or Sully, I should ever write my memoirs she would allow me to mention that I had opened the Queen of England's door in Windsor Castle at midnight as she was going to bed. She gave me permission, and laughed heartily."

M. Guizot is one of the most puzzling figures of the century. He was of Huguenot descent, and his father lost his life in the troubles of 1793–94. He was himself a deeply religious man; his private life and his books mark him for a genuine, austere, unbending child of the old Protestant faith; and yet it is impossible to make sense of all this when we recollect what is only too mournfully certain, namely, that, though not corrupt himself or capable of enriching himself basely, he more than winked at such corruption in others, and proved a tool in the hands of his master, Louis Philippe. That he jockeyed the Queen and Prince Consort, with Lord Aberdeen at their side, in the matter of the Spanish marriage is only too well known, as that base story is only too deeply engraven in the history of Europe. The important part of it is that in 1846, for "the aggrandizement of France," Guizot carried, over all opposition, the marriage of Isabella of Spain to a cousin who was perfectly well known to be an imbecile. The sequel is well known. France gained nothing. Guizot and his master were overthrown in 1848. In the court of Isabella no secret was made of the practical deposition of the so-called husband, and the setting up of a *menage à trois*. The general bearing of all this upon morality at Madrid and on the sad story of Spanish politics are topics which need not detain us. Guizot, whose works on European history, English constitutional history, Shakspere, Calvin, &c. &c., are in many respects admirable, and in all intelligent, never showed either in his life or his writings much sense of the virtues of truth and justice. In this respect he curiously resembled Bacon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE YEARS OF REVOLUTION AND INTERNATIONALITY.

The French Revolution of 1848—Spanish Marriages—Abdication of Louis Philippe—The Manchester School—Revolution and Reaction—Mazzini—Kossuth—Louis Blanc—Görgei—Victor Hugo—Young Italy—Mr. Gladstone on the Pope—Chartism—The 10th of April, 1848—Rome and French Intervention—Literature of Progress and Reform—Leigh Hunt—Carlyle—The Church in England and Scotland—Cardinal Wiseman—The Durham Letter—Lord John Russell and Popery—Popular Excitement—General Progress—Prince Albert and the Fine Arts—The "Great Exhibition."

We have it on the authority of Mr. Cobden that 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 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 flight and abdication of Louis Philippe and of the proclamation of the republic. Mr. Cobden was sitting by the side of Mr. Hume when the tidings reached their bench. Sir Robert Peel was on the opposite front seat alone, his powerful party having been broken and scattered by his great measure of corn-law repeal. "I'll go and tell Sir Robert the news," exclaimed Mr. Hume; and stepping across the floor he seated himself by his side and communicated the startling intelligence. On returning to his place he repeated in the following words the commentary of the ex-minister:—"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. It is what these people (pointing with his thumb over his shoulder to the Protectionists behind him) wanted me to do, but I refused."

Louis Philippe, for all his pleasant familiar gossipy manners and his social accomplishments, was a member of a younger branch of the Bourbons, and was unfortunately not altogether free from the selfishness and duplicity which had been the characteristic of the race. Added to this, he could never realize that he was elected king of the French, instead of being hereditary king of France, and this led him to neglect those principles of constitutional freedom to represent which he had been placed on the throne. To protect his family and establish a dynasty he refused to initiate reforms which he should have been the first to sanction, and they were therefore forced upon him by revolution when he had no longer the power to claim credit for them. By the means which he took to preserve the privileges of the crown and to establish the succession, he lost both, and he and his family became refugees and exiles from the country which they had been invited to rule.

The cornfields and vineyards yielded abundantly, and the country was growing wealthy. There had, however, arisen a passion for speculation. Complaints and denunciations began to be heard against the corruptions and dishonesty of government officials, their shameful influence on the elections, and their scandalous exhibition of political immorality.

But to these complaints had been added another grievance which had moved the attention and excited the disgust of Europe, and at the same time caused deep dissatisfaction among those reformers who saw in the indecent haste with which the king hurried on a marriage between his youngest son and the Infanta of Spain, another proof of the unscru-

pulous efforts he was prepared to make for the aggrandizement of his family by matrimonial alliances with the reigning houses of Europe.

There is no need in this page to recapitulate the unsavoury story of the relations of the Regent Christina of Spain with the man whom she ultimately married. That marriage was only permitted by the pope on the conditions that all laws and decrees should be annulled which excluded the family of Don Carlos, and that the young Queen Isabella should marry the Prince of Asturia, the son of Don Carlos, in whose favour his father resigned all claims to the crown. This marriage did not seem to be very probable, although it was doubtless designed to set at rest the contending claims which had for so long disturbed Spain. Several suitors were proposed for the infanta, for everybody seemed concerned in preventing everybody else from taking some artful advantage by this alliance, and so obtaining, as it was supposed, undue influence in Europe. The young queen herself, who seems to have been the last person to be consulted, was believed to have some partiality for her cousin Don Enrique, second son of Don Francisco de Paula, and an officer in the Spanish navy.

But Louis Philippe had already begun to play a deep and treacherous game, which, if we are to regard his actions with suspicion, will partly account for his anxiety to preserve the good-will of England, and to sustain in the eyes of Europe a kindly half paternal attitude in relation to our own royal family. English politicians—and especially Lord Palmerston, who, as foreign minister, had always, perhaps too actively, expressed anxiety to checkmate any attempt to reduce English interests abroad—had regarded French influence in Spain with some misgiving ever since the accession of the young queen. The Regent Christina was herself a relation of the Orleans family, and on abdicating the regency in 1840 had fled to France, and was met by the king outside Paris, and received with military honours. This was so remarkable that inquiries were made all over Europe what it could mean. A new insurrection arose in Madrid against the Regent Espartero, with whom she had left her two daughters. When the insurgents—besieging the royal palace, and only prevented from seizing the princesses by the halberdiers—declared that they came in the name of Christina, and when she first denied that they had her authority, and then appeared to prevaricate about it, people began to think that they knew who was at the back of the plot. Espartero abdicated in his turn, came to England, and was welcomed by a dinner at the Mansion House. In his speech at the close of the year 1843 Louis Philippe expressed his deep interest in the young Queen of Spain, who had just been declared of age when she was only thirteen, and expressed a hope that Spain would thereafter be more tranquil, a hope which he said was strengthened by the complete understanding existing between the Queen of England and himself.

Louis Philippe and his minister Guizot had always insisted that the young queen should take a husband from the house of Bourbon. At one time it was even hinted that the king meant to marry her to the Duc d'Aumale, and her sister, the infanta—a mere child—to the Duc de Montpensier, so that one of his two sons might be sure of the Spanish dynasty. The "good understanding" was the voluntarily conceded assurance that the interests of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg Cohary, one of the Coburg family, and distantly related to Prince Albert, would not be promoted in any way by England. This prince was spoken of as a suitable husband for the young queen, and he was doubtless an eligible one; but it was distinctly declared, on more than one occasion, that England would remain neutral. There were serious objections to a marriage of the infanta with one of the French princes, and the marriage of the young queen to either of them was of course still more objectionable, but England would at all events promise that no favour should be given to any suitor whose connection with the Spanish throne should be injurious to France. It will be remembered that on the visit of our queen to Louis Philippe, in September, 1845, the cunning old man had told Lord Aberdeen, as they were looking contemplatively over the side of the royal yacht, that he had thought of the infanta for the Duc de Montpensier;

but in order that there should be no cause for jealousy or uneasiness in England he had resolved not to proceed with the match until the queen (her sister) should be married and should have children. As the queen was then only sixteen there seemed to be no hurry, and the king spoke with some deliberation as though in a friendly conversation, to which Lord Aberdeen had been summoned by Guizot. All this took place on board the yacht shortly before its arrival off Tréport, but the subject was renewed afterwards by Guizot, who urged Aberdeen to promote actively the marriage of the Queen of Spain to the Comte de Traponi, a Bourbon prince of the house of Naples. But Aberdeen, on behalf of England, would promote nothing and oppose nothing, although the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier, even under the promised conditions, was objectionable. He thought that sufficient time must elapse to enable some modifications to be made.

Lord Aberdeen's government went out, and Lord Palmerston, whom Louis Philippe and Guizot detested, came into office, and began to make some little disturbance on the subject, which was greatly increased by the rather injudicious wording of some despatches in reference to it.

The plotting king and his obstinate minister saw how to avail themselves of an utterly false pretence that England having promised to *oppose* the candidature of the Coburg suitor, his claims were now to be favoured by our government. On these subterfuges the marriages of the queen and the infanta were hurried forward, the distinct pledges given by Louis Philippe were ignored, or rather explained in a manner which was worthy of a *farceur* rather than of a king. The truth is, that while he had committed himself by his own cupidity and his minister's obstinacy, he was still anxious not to arouse the active opposition of England, and he caused his wife to write to the queen, and afterwards sent a letter to the Queen of the Belgians that it might come to Victoria through a pacific medium. Gay, cunning old man, he was intriguing against himself; plotting not to gain but to lose a crown, and to involve France in an alliance to attempt which had before proved disastrous and would again become fatal to the national honour.[1]

"I shall tell you precisely," he said, "in what consists the deviation on my side. Simply in my having arranged for the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier not before the marriage of the Queen of Spain—for she is to be married to the Duc de Cadiz at the very moment when my son is married to the infanta, but before the queen has a child. That is the whole deviation, nothing more, nothing less." It could not have been much more. On the 10th of October, 1846, the Duc de Montpensier married the infanta, a mere girl, who was immediately received by the French king at his palace; and Isabella (as it was believed by cruel oppression of statecraft) took her cousin Don Francisco d'Assis, Duc de Cadiz, elder brother of the Don Enrique, to whom it was believed that her affections were engaged. It was believed also that Louis Philippe had contrived this marriage for the reason that no issue was to be expected, and that Montpensier would therefore be next to the throne.

"The affair of the Spanish marriages is the first grand thing that we have effected completely single-handed in Europe since 1830," said Guizot, in addressing the French chambers on the 5th of February, 1847. But even while he spoke the first rumble of the revolution was muttering.

Not for years had there been more evidences of the luxury to be enjoyed by the upper classes. Seldom had there been a more brilliant season; but it was a season of distress for the poor of Paris, and the storm was gathering. The control of public affairs was left in the hands of the ministry, who disregarded the demands for increased liberty, extension of the franchise, and measures of reform—especially with regard to the corrupt practices of

[1] The wretched fiasco of Spanish marriages has been tragic in its consequences. The demoralised Queen Isabella was deposed in 1868. In 1848 the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier were refugees in England. In March, 1870, Don Enrique, the king's brother, was killed in a duel by Montpensier; and the question of a successor to Isabella, in which the Emperor Napoleon III. persisted in interposing with arrogant assumption, was the proximate (though perhaps not the real) cause of the Franco-German war of 1870.

government officials who held a place in the chamber.

Among the most prominent reformers were Odillon Barrot, Ledru Rollin, and Lamartine. Barrot, a .Constitutionalist, was earnest, moderate, and free from passion and the extreme views of the Republicans; Rollin was violent, erratic, and ambitious of personal influence; Lamartine was eloquent, fervid, and unpractical, he was a poet and his theories had no realistic sustaining power, but he was for a time to hold a foremost place in the struggle that now began. Public meetings were summoned in various parts of the country, and several banquets were held, at which advanced reformers were invited to be present.

The middle classes of Paris, and with them the national guard, were no longer ready to support the king, still less the ministry of M. Guizot, which they regarded with undisguised aversion. The cry for reform had been justified by the legal proceedings taken against the minster of public works, General Cubières, and other persons, for official bribery.

The first of the reform banquets, as they were called, was held at Château Rouge, near Paris, in the month of July, but it was quickly followed by forty or fifty similar assemblies in the various towns of France. They were not all alike. In some of them the representatives of constitutional government,—men who still held to the monarchy, but advocated electoral reform,—were present; while others were attended by the actual Democrats, like those at Dijon who drank to "the advanced guard of the Mountain;" or at Macon, where the toast was, "The declaration of the rights of man."

These latter meetings were not attended even by the leaders of the opposition. They, however, had agreed to attend a banquet of the electors of the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, which was announced to take place in the month of February, 1848. It was to be held in a private house, and its intention was to afford the electors an opportunity of stating their wishes in favour of parliamentary reform. It was to be a peaceable and orderly meeting, such as had been held in other parts of the country without interference from the authorities; and those who proposed it observed the requirements of the law by making known their intention to the commissary of police for the district.

The commissary forbade the meeting on the ground that it was an assembly of a political character, and likely to lead to a breach of the peace. His refusal was founded on a police regulation of 1831. The president and vice-president of the banquet had been already chosen at previous meetings.

M. Boisset, the deputy for the arrondissement, was to be chairman, supported by the lieutenant-colonel of the twelfth division of National Guards. The matter was brought before the Chamber of Deputies, and M. Duchâtel, the minister of the interior, avowed that the banquet had been forbidden by his direction.

The government, foreseeing the events which might arise from such an agitation, had drawn a large number of troops into and around Paris. They were computed to consist of 55,000 men.

The night before the struggle commenced was passed in silence—the silence of a city reflecting before action. The morning did not prognosticate a fatal day. No arms were concealed under garments; no rage was depicted on men's faces; inquiring and inoffensive knots of people constantly moved along the boulevards, gathering numbers as they went; other crowds streamed in from the suburbs of Paris; they appeared desirous rather to observe what was occurring than to meditate any act. The event appears to have been engendered by the very curiosity which awaited it.

At the Chamber of Deputies, Odillon Barrot placed upon the table an impeachment of ministers, signed by fifty-three deputies. Committees of insurrection sat constantly in the secret societies. Troops bivouacked in the streets and squares, and fresh forces continued to arrive. The mob began to fight, not in numbers or at any particular point, but by disarming isolated posts, and firing random shots with the muskets taken from the armourers' shops. Barricades had sprung up

but were abandoned as the insurgents were attacked by volleys from the soldiers. On the 23d February the National Guard was called to arms, and assembled legion by legion. This force consisted only of citizens who paid personal or direct taxes. They represented the higher and middle classes of society, and amounted to 85,000 men. They consented to muster, but demanded the dismissal of the ministry, and refused to countenance any attack on the people by the soldiery. The Municipal Guards, on the contrary, attempted to disperse the people, but were prevented by the National Guards, who compelled them to surrender their colours. In the evening the troops began to fire on the crowd before the Hotel Guizot, where the accidental discharge of a gun had been mistaken for an attack. Reports were circulated that Guizot had resigned, and that the king had sent for Thiers to form a new ministry; but that single shot had precipitated the insurrection. Numbers of people, and many innocent passengers, were killed or wounded, though no order had been given to the troops to fire. In vain the general strove to counteract this fatal mistake, the crowd became organized, retaliation had begun, large wagons were brought along the streets to carry the lifeless bodies of the slain through the city. This torch-light procession took its way to the Rue Montmartre amidst weeping and cries of execration; in one carriage a man standing with his feet in blood raised from time to time the bleeding corpse of a woman and exhibited it to the multitude. The people were possessed with fury, they rushed to their houses to arm, and when they reappeared dispersed to the most populated parts of Paris to summon fresh combatants. The clang of bells summoned them to various quarters of the city, the streets were unpaved, fresh barricades arose on every hand, and the noise of firing continued during the night. The insurrection was complete, and the morrow brought revolution. Ministerial proclamations were torn down, and even the assurance of Barrot that the king had consented to reform failed to appease the people, who had been joined by the National Guards, and with them were approaching the Tuileries. The king saw that all was lost, when, after mounting his horse and riding in front of the troops in a court-yard of the palace, he heard the few cries of *Vive le Roi!* drowned by shouts of *Vive la Reforme!* He chose to abdicate rather than to give orders to the troops, and with the queen, the royal family, and a few supporters, quitted the Tuileries as the mob entered to take possession and sack the royal apartments. Two hackney-carriages were standing by the obelisk near the Pont Tournant; the king, who was dressed in plain attire, entered one with the queen, and the Duchesse de Nemours with her children the other. They were driven off on the road to St. Cloud, escorted by a detachment of cavalry, and the king and queen proceeded to Dreux. The next day, after some interruptions, they reached Trouville. On the 2d of March, under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Smith, they took a passage on the express steamer at Havre, and landed at Newhaven on the following morning. The Duc de Nemours remained to protect the widowed Duchesse d'Orleans, who had taken her two sons to the House of Deputies, where Barrot, who had joined with Thiers in supporting her claim to a regency, rose and made an eloquent appeal on her behalf. A crowd of armed men broke in with cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" and "*Dechéance!*" No speaker could be heard; the duchesse and her children left the hall accompanied by several deputies, who took her through by the official passage. M. de Lasteyrie made his way out by pushing aside the crowd, and perceiving a company of National Guards outside the door called to them to form lines to protect the Duchesse d'Orleans, who was following him, which they immediately did. In the confusion the duchesse was for a short time separated from her sons, but they were carefully protected and restored to her. She left Paris that evening for the Chateau de Ligny, whence she proceeded to Ems, and afterwards to the Chateau of Eisenach, which her maternal uncle, the Grandduke of Saxe Weimar, placed at her disposal.

A provisional administration was formed, of which Lamartine was minister of foreign affairs; Crémieux, of justice; Ledru Rollin, of the interior; Goudchaux, of finance; Arago,

the naval department; Carnôt, of public instruction; Marie, of public works. General Bedeau was commander of the first military division, and Colonel Courtais commander of the National Guard, which was intrusted with the security of the capital.

The Municipal Guard was dissolved; General Cavaignac was made Governor of Algeria in place of the Duc d'Aumale.

After six years' confinement Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had contrived, with the assistance of the doctor who attended him (Dr. Conneau), to procure the disguise of a workman, and as at that time several masons and carpenters were employed in repairing the castle of Ham, he took advantage of an opportunity afforded him by some of those in charge to pass out of the door carrying a plank on his shoulder. This was on the 24th of May, 1846, and during his six years' incarceration he had written various pamphlets. In one of them, the *Fragmens Historiques,* he speaks of himself while he seems to be discussing the Duke of Monmouth, and compares the Bourbons to the Stuarts; but he was more fortunate than his historical parallel, for, after leaving the fortress of Ham, he once more reached England, where he remained amongst many of his former associates until 1848, when he offered his services to France, which, however, were not at the time accepted. He therefore remained in England till a later time, and we find him on the 10th of April enrolling himself as a special constable in the name of law and order to protect London from the possible results of the great Chartist demonstration which had been fixed for that date.

In referring to the position of England in foreign affairs we can scarcely avoid illustrating it by the celebrated debate on the Don Pacifico business, in which the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston was attacked, the attack ending in the inauguration of the Aberdeen government. Lord Palmerston made that wonderful speech of four hours and three quarters' duration, which has been so often quoted with honour. His defence availed little, and he had Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone both against him.

The last speech Sir Robert Peel ever delivered laid down in very plain language the principle of non-intervention. "The honourable and learned gentlemen (Mr. Roebuck) says there shall be no mistake as to the purport and import of my vote; that it is not a resolution simply of approval of the policy of the noble lord, but a resolution, the intention and meaning of which is this:—We are to tell the people of all foreign countries with whom we have any relations, that our power, so far as it is physically concerned, is not to be employed to coerce their rulers; but that in so far as the moral influence of this country and of this government is concerned, the world shall know that we are friendly wheresoever we find a large endeavour, on the part of any body of men, to vindicate to themselves the right of self-government. I am asked, What is the antagonistic principle? I have been challenged over and over again to declare it. I will declare it. The principle for which I contend is the principle for which every statesman for the last fifty years has contended—namely, non-interference with the domestic affairs of other countries unless there be some clear and undeniable necessity arising from circumstances affecting the interests of your own country. That is the antagonistic principle for which I contend. I affirm that the principle for which you contend is the principle contended against by Mr. Fox when it was employed in favour of arbitrary government; which was resisted by Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning at the Congress at Verona; the principle which was asserted by the Convention of France on the 19th of November, 1792, and was abandoned by that same Convention on the 13th of April, 1793, because France found it utterly impossible to adhere to it consistently with the maintenance of peace. It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intention will be mistaken, you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate, you will invite opposition to government. And beware that the time does not arrive, when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from

those whom you have excited, and leave upon their minds the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them! If you succeed, I doubt whether or no the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be best worked out by those who aspire to freedom by their own efforts. You will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference. For these reasons I give my dissent, my reluctant dissent, from the motion of the honourable gentleman. I would not evade the difficulty by silence or absence—I have stated the grounds upon which I protest against the resolution—the carrying of which, I believe, will give a false impression with respect to the dignity and honour of this country, and will establish a principle which you cannot carry into execution without imminent danger."

This principle of non-intervention was one to which Lord Palmerston was not naturally disposed, and Don Pacifico, who held himself to be a British subject, having a claim against the Greek government, Admiral Parker had, under our instructions, blockaded the Piræus. This policy Mr. Roebuck defended. Mr. Gladstone condemned it, and delivered a judgment upon Lord Palmerston's *Civis Romanus sum* principle which clearly foreshadowed the essence, if not so clearly the logic, of subsequent judgments of his. Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston were politicians of the old type. Earl Russell retained his "Britons, strike home!" way of looking at things to the last, and Lord Palmerston professed never to go lower than the function of "judicious bottle-holder" when the waters of strife were out on the Continent; the phrase is his own, and as "a judicious bottle-holder" his figure was once common in caricatures. Those Liberal members of the House of Commons who thought his foreign policy quite sincere and consistent united to subscribe five hundred guineas as the price of a portrait of him to be presented to Lady Palmerston—to whom a word is due in any history of the time, for she was a lady of great tact and ability, and exerted an extraordinary influence in political circles.

It was during the years which immediately preceded and those which immediately followed the repeal of the corn-laws that the party of the Philosophical Radicals merged in, or gave place to, another party, which was looked upon as the natural opposite of the Young England party. This was known as the Manchester School of politics, and was so distinguished, partly from the position which Manchester held as a great centre of trade liable to be affected by political convulsions, and partly because Mr. John Bright was member for that city. The great heads of the so-called Manchester School were, of course, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, but they had a considerable following both in parliament and out of it. Mr. Bright, as a member of the Society of Friends, was by the traditions of his personal history opposed to war, and by nature he hated it as much as a thing could be hated. Some of his grandest speeches have been made wholly or partly in denunciation of war from the Christian point of view. But unfortunately for his advocacy he was a man in trade, and the doctrine of "non-intervention" (in the quarrels of other nations) came to be called "cottoning" to despotism. Lord Palmerston, in spite of his *Civis Romanus sum* policy, was by natural and acquired tendencies an ally of the "party of order" (so-called) on the Continent and elsewhere, and during these restless years and more than restless months it was believed that he was pursuing a policy by no means favourable to even moderate ideas of liberty. The struggles and sufferings of the revolutionary party in Hungary, Italy, and Germany sorely tried the patience of a million or two of sympathizing Englishmen; and when Russia on the one hand and France on the other intervened, both of them, by general consent, playing the part of national bullies, interfering to help the strong against the weak, it was felt by some of the best minds in Great Britain and out of it that the theory of political non-intervention was now stretched as much as it would bear without rending. Some of the very foremost men of intellect and character spoke up aloud for interference; and the late Mrs. Browning, in her poem of *Casa Guidi Windows*, put the

case for the remonstrants with extraordinary power. As nothing that could possibly be quoted from parliamentary debates or diplomatic sources would give the faintest idea of the intensity of the feeling which existed in certain quarters in this country that England should step in, armed, between Italy and France, and between Hungary and Russia—and it is desirable that the case should be understood—we quote a few vivid lines from the greatest woman-poet that ever lived:—

"A cry is up in England, which doth ring
The hollow world through, that for ends of trade
And virtue, and God's better worshipping,
We henceforth should exalt the name of Peace,
And leave those rusty wars that eat the soul,—
(Besides the clippings of our golden fleece) . . .
. . . .
I love no peace which is not fellowship
And which includes not mercy. I would have
Rather the raking of the guns across
The world, and shrieks against Heaven's architrave,
Rather the struggle in the slippery fosse
Of dying men and horses, and the wave
Blood-bubbling . . . Enough said!—By Christ's own cross,
And by the faint heart of my womanhood,
Such things are better than a Peace which sits
Beside the hearth in self-commended mood,
And takes no thought how wind and rain by fits
Are howling out of doors against the good
Of the poor wanderer. What! your peace admits
Of outside anguish while it sits at home?
I loathe to take its name upon my tongue—
It is no peace. 'Tis treason, stiff with doom,—
'Tis gagged despair, and inarticulate wrong,
Annihilated Poland, stifled Rome,
Dazed Naples, Hungary fainting 'neath the thong,
And Austria wearing a smooth olive-leaf
On her brute forehead, while her hoofs outpress
The life from these Italian souls, in brief."

In the light and heat of such excitement as the poet gives voice to here the Manchester School came by its name and reputation. Nobody dreamt that Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright was on the side of oppression, much less of cruelty; but what the malcontents wanted was a revival of the policy of Cromwell in such matters as these; and no name was more frequently invoked than his by the anti-Manchester orators and writers. Lord Palmerston, during the year of revolution and the year of reaction, lost an amount of prestige which he never wholly recovered. But the blue-books at least prove that in some minor matters he acted with great dexterity.

One of the most successful and cruel of the Austrian commanders in the Italian and Hungarian affairs was Marshal or General Haynau. It was published in the British newspapers, and *officially communicated to the foreign office,* that this man had both publicly and privately flogged Hungarian ladies. One special case reported to Lord Palmerston by our minister abroad created a terrible "sensation" here. It was stated that Haynau had caused the wife of an officer, a lady of culture and position, to be publicly beaten with rods by his soldiers, and that the husband, maddened with the sight, shot himself on the spot. Two years afterwards Haynau happened to visit England, and, among other places worth seeing, went to Barclay and Perkins' enormous brewery, one of the "sights" of the world. It got noised abroad among the clerks and draymen that the visitor was Haynau. With a silent stealthiness that has never been accounted for, the whole army of draymen gathered together with their horsewhips, and, all in a storm of fury, flogged Haynau out of the place, and up or down Thames Street, till, in danger of his life, he "doubled" down an alley, and was sheltered by some poor person who did not know him. Haynau left England as soon as he was able, but wherever he went he was received by the people with studied contempt. The Austrian government applied to Lord Palmerston for compensation, and requested to know when the draymen would be prosecuted for the assault on the great marshal. The correspondence is very amusing, and at least puts the coolness of Palmerston in a strong light. He in various forms assured the Austrian government, with much politeness, that General Haynau must be left to his own motion in the matter in the usual course of law; but that if he would return to England and summon the parties who *were said* to have attacked him, the case would be duly tried before a magistrate, but that it would be necessary that "his excellency," the marshal, should identify the men who committed the assault. That the great marshal should again risk a climate so dan-

gerous as ours to men like him, in order to identify a hundred or so of big Englishmen with horse-whips, to whom he had probably never raised his eyes, was not a very feasible idea; and, to use the language of the reporters, the matter then dropped. But we shall discover, in a later stage of this narrative, that it was remembered by Austria, and that what subsequently happened was laid to the charge of "Manchester principles."

Of Irish troubles some account has already been given; the quarrels and *rapprochements* of O'Connell and Smith O'Brien, the break-down of the Liberator after his trial, and the exposure by the *Times* of the condition of his own estates; the preparations for revolution, and the failure of it. But the potato famine, which so seriously influenced the current of affairs in these islands, had other consequences besides precipitating the repeal of the corn-laws. One of these will seem trivial only to the thoughtless. Stimulated by government inquiries and private efforts, which in their turn were aided by public opinion, the latter took a new turn in the matter of bread-stuffs and the cooking of food. Two ideas now came into great prominency in literature and philanthropic effort; one of them was that food of all kinds should be economized by better cooking; the other was that less reliance should be placed upon Cobbett's "accursed root," and that substitutes should be found for it. Maize, or Indian corn, is now a very familiar thing to us all, but it was not so before the date of the potato-famine. Immense quantities were shipped to Ireland, and tragic scenes were enacted if vessels laden with the grain or meal happened to get aground in places distant from the regular ports. From this period dates the free use in these islands, not only of Indian corn, but of other products, such as haricot-beans, and much as the potato is still prized for the table, the failure of a few crops would not now excite absolute dismay.

Nothing is more common now than to come across some new combination of farinaceous foods, accompanied by certified analysis of its nourishing qualities. But this kind of thing, as well as the cheap cookery-books, dates from the years upon which this narrative is now pausing. It may perhaps be said that the great Alexis Soyer "began it." When he wrote his first cheap cookery-book, which sold by hundreds of thousands, he dedicated it to the Earl of Shaftesbury as a great philanthropist, and accompanied it with a characteristic account of what he had been doing for this country in his capacity of "Gastronomic Regenerator." While "actively employed under the authority of government in a mission to Ireland in the year 1847," it struck the "great man" that his "services would be more useful to the million" than if he "confined them to the wealthy few." But when he had resolved to "cure the disease of the multitude, that is to say, bad and wasteful cookery," he found himself baffled for want of knowledge of the poor in their own homes. "My readers," says he, "will easily perceive that whilst semi-buried in my fashionable culinary sanctorum at the Reform Club, surrounded by the *élite* of society, who daily honoured me with their visits in that lounge of good cheer, I could not gain through the stone walls of that massive edifice the slightest knowledge of cottage life.

"Determined to carry out my long-thought-of project, I cheerfully bade adieu to my wealthy employers, leaving them in a most thriving condition, regretting only my fair visitors; and, like a joyful pilgrim of the olden time, I set forth on my journey, visiting on my route every kind of philanthropic and other useful institution, but more especially the domains of that industrial class, the backbone of every free country—the people."

The result of Soyer's travels in Ireland and elsewhere, though his account of them reads like a magniloquent piece of pleasantry, was much more than a joke, and no little offence was taken by some of the younger of the Irish party in Dublin that so much should be made of the tour of a French chêf to teach the Irish people how to cook, at a time when the country was in such deep distress. But Soyer's prescription for the salvation of Ireland—Sir Robert Peel's chief difficulty, the chief difficulty of every British statesman—

is given in truly amusing terms in his record of a conversation he had with the then lord-lieutenant of the country, Lord Bessborough.

"In an interview granted by his excellency his lordship asked me if I could account for the generality of the people being so poor; when I replied, 'Easily, my lord: why, they actually manure the land with gold to reap copper.' 'How do you make that out?' was his excellency's inquiry. 'Why, my lord, they waste tons of good fish on the ground to grow a few potatoes.' 'In your opinion, why do they it?' 'Why, my lord, because they know how to cook potatoes to perfection, and are totally ignorant of the way to cook fish.' 'Well, I believe you are right,' said his lordship; 'but how could the evil be remedied?' 'Easily,' I replied. 'I would first show them how to cook their food, no matter how simple such food might be, and prove to them that the maize or American flour, now so much in use, if properly prepared would be a blessing instead of a curse; also the necessity of using with their food other vegetables besides potatoes, as well as instruct them in several plain ways of cooking fish, which could be had in abundance all the year round at a very cheap rate; it would, at the same time, give employment on the coast to thousands of indolent people, as well as circulate an immense deal of money in the interior of the country, and much improve the condition of these poor wretched beings, who only seem to have been born to live between poverty and starvation. My plan would be to have public lecturers appointed, whose duty it should be to go round as often as the agricultural lecturer, and teach the people how to cook the food which that person now endeavours to make them cultivate. Until this is done this country will never emerge out of the semi-barbarous state in which it is at present.'"

As the relations between England and the sister island are not yet quite satisfactory, the politician can easily draw his own inferences. But it is a fact that from that time to the present—more recently under the pressure of high prices for meat—increased attention has been paid in this country to variety in food, and to the careful and economical preparation of it.

In the year 1848 the spirit of revolution was abroad all over Europe, and although our own islands escaped with a "scare" in England and a small "rising" in Ireland, an effect was produced here which has never been forgotten. On one hand, the multitude learned two lessons: first, that they have enormous power, and, secondly, that they must fail in any revolt unless their organizations be perfect and their military training as good as that of the standing armies of the governments. On the other hand, the "party of order" (a phrase which from this time becomes common, and usually bears a sinister meaning) took alarm once for all, and have since guided and governed themselves more or less in the light of the events of 1848. The year 1849 was called the year of reaction, and in some respects it was so, but the haunting terror of 1848 remained. In dealing with the events of the year of revolution, however briefly, a few sketches of the leading spirits of the revolt abroad and at home may help to give colour to the rest.

Kossuth, Mazzini, Görgei, Lamartine, Louis Blanc, and Garibaldi are all names which are popular, or were so, and which suggest pretty clear images to most men's minds, though some of them have much faded. As a popular orator, Louis Kossuth, the great leader of the Hungarian revolt, holds the first rank, and after the failure or treachery of Görgei, was a familiar figure both in England and America, and a general favourite. He was a lawyer, though of noble birth, and, as editor of a newspaper and deputy to the diet, advocated what to the Austrian mind were extreme liberal measures. As we are now simply sketching the man, we will merely say that in time he found himself in prison. While there, he asked for something to read, and above all, something in English. This was rather alarming, and he was told that he must have nothing political, which, to the Austrian mind, meant much the same as English. Kossuth was a man of extraordinary faculties as a linguist, and this was well known. He replied, "Oh, no; I only want to learn the language. Give me Shakspere,—you don't call him political, do you?" It was amusing

to hear him tell this story to five thousand people. His pronunciation of our language was never so good as Mazzini's, and he always called the national poet "Shackspur." Still, the anecdote was always received with rounds of cheers, in which it was interesting to see the peaceable Richard Cobden and the fiery Douglas Jerrold join. The first time Cobden heard Kossuth speak he himself proposed "three times three" for the patriot, and was, to use his own word, "the fugleman," the whole assembly of many thousands standing as they cheered. However, the Austrian jailers decided that Shakspere and a dictionary were not politically corrupting, and with the assistance of two or three books Kossuth acquired his astonishing mastery of the English language. This story he was, for obvious reasons, fond of telling, and, indeed, he was a dexterous as well as a most thrilling orator. He had none of the simplicity or the solemn earnestness of Mazzini, and both dressed and spoke with an eye to effect, though of course not in any vulgar sense. He was a man of strong emotions, and his evident love of home and friends endeared him to the English wherever he was known. But his set manner, when a speech was to be made, his semi-military frogged coat, and a tendency to "protest too much," had an effect upon the mind of sceptical listeners which was not utterly and beyond suspicion felicitous. If it had not been for "Shackspur" and his evident delight when his wife was directly included in the homage paid to himself, he would have run some risk of being called un-English and too fond of applause for a hero.

Joseph Mazzini, admittedly the "father of Italian freedom," was a very different man. He also was a powerful speaker, and was even a greater master of English than Kossuth; but to describe him as an orator would seem, in the eyes of his friends, to degrade him. Kossuth had a slightly flat face, and his head was not as high as it was broad. Mazzini's head and features were of a very different stamp. Though he was not orthodox (being a disciple of Lamennais), he was a profoundly serious man, and his friends always maintained, with his concurrence, that his natural vocation was that of a teacher of religion. There was no frogged coat in *his* case; his dress and general get-up was that of a poor, or, at least, ascetic man, and when you would have seen Kossuth at a party in the house of some rich lion-hunter, you would have found Mazzini in obscure and even mean lodgings, reading or praying, or planning to help some poor exile, or perhaps sharing a scanty meal with his landlady or some visitor who habitually fed better than he did. Of his compassionateness and self-denial, even in childhood, authentic stories are related which are not excelled in beauty by anything in the lives of the saints.

When a boy of six years old he burst into tears at the first sight of human misery. He was an extraordinarily weakly child, and had never before been outside the inclosed grounds of his parents' house. His astonishment at seeing a beggar, ragged and wretched, was overwhelming. He ran to him (as well as he was able, for his limbs were feeble), embraced him weeping, would not rest till his mother had given him something, and never afterwards seemed quite free from the thought that there was suffering in the world. We speak now of his mere childhood. As a little boy, and as a youth, he was very exceptionally studious, and appeared to be chiefly occupied with religion, poetry, and the means of improving the world. It was clear from the first that he was one of the self-devoted order of human beings, and yet there was nothing priggish about him, for he was universally beloved by his young friends. Whatever he thought wrong, however, he steadfastly refused to do or to assent to, and acts of non-compliance (with rules and customs) which led practically to the persecution of others, were excused in him, so great was the force of his character. When very early in life he had got himself placed under the ban of the Austrian government; his father, thinking to compel him to some act of submission, withheld the supplies (he was yet at the university), and if it had not been for the tender care of his mother, who aided him secretly, he might have been placed in a difficult position. His mother, anxious that no barrier of feeling should be

placed between father and son, kept from him his father's resolve, and the fact was not made known till after the death of the son. To the last day of her life this devoted mother watched over him. While he was in England he had at first times of the most extreme poverty, partly arising from the difficulty he had in finding any work that he was capable of, and partly from his own kindness to his brother exiles. He knew what it was to be forced to pawn his boots for dry bread, while he was working at the central warp of Italian freedom. His mother knew him too well ever to do anything so risky as to send him two coats at a time, for he was sure to give one away. That he "conspired" in safety and secrecy, without risk to himself, is not simply erroneous, it is nonsense. The amount of danger that he incurred in times of actual warfare, both in Rome, during the republican triumvirate, and out of it, was at least as great as that which many generals have encountered, though he was weak in frame and no soldier, and how he usually escaped the continental police, who were on his track a hundred times, will always be one of the marvels of history. Guiseppe Mazzini was a man of middle height, rather less than more, and well formed, though not robust. He had large dark eyes, a serious smile, a noble head and carriage, and great sweetness of manner, except when he was speaking of the sufferings of other human creatures, or of what he called, "with a cutting Italian accent, *mattêr-ri-alism*," which he very much hated. His mastery of English was extraordinary, but of course he often made little mistakes; for instance, in speaking of the present life as contrasted with another, or the divine life, he used to say "here down" instead of "down here." From pride and vanity he was totally free, and it will be remembered that on more than one occasion, when his countrymen wanted to do him public homage, he declined to be drawn into any "manifestation," and gravely rebuked them for wanting to "throw up their caps before the work was done" (if we may quote the language of Mr. Cobden in 1845). He never married, or (so far as is known) thought of marrying; but he always spoke and wrote with the most reverential tenderness of woman's love as the greatest gift of heaven. While the world at large thought he was doing nothing but "conspiring" and entrapping others into Austrian dens, this remarkable man was denying himself the common solaces of human life, and doing the work of an almoner and a teacher (secular and religious), among his poor countrymen in the neighbourhood of Hatton Garden. While men like Sir James Graham perhaps fancied he was cheapening daggers or bombs, he was probably bargaining for an ox-cheek or two to make soup of for the poor, or lecturing on Dante to an audience of enraptured organ-grinders, or teaching the Lord's prayer to a grubby brown *bambino* somewhere out Saffron Hill way. Such was Joseph Mazzini.

Of a similar type, though of his comparative energy it is not so easy to judge with precision, since he was a great sufferer from heart-disease, was Daniel Manin, the leading spirit at Venice in the great year of revolution. No patriot ever left a higher reputation for purity, forbearance, and practical sagacity. He was the superior of Mazzini in science, in exactness of thought, and in wise docility, but his inferior in high enthusiasm and perhaps in pertinacity of choice. Mazzini's guiding idea was the republic with Rome for capital. Manin was ready to accept the house of Savoy and the monarchy as a middle term for getting rid of the Austrian tyranny. In this respect he was at one with Garibaldi, and most men will think that he and the great soldier were right. Readers of the contemporary records must be on their guard (while following partisan memoirs) against heeding the complaints made by hot Mazzinians of the willingness of Garibaldi, Manin, and others to treat with Victor Emmanuel.

A profound interest attaches to the story of Italy and Hungary in 1848–9 and subsequently; an interest which is independent of any political creed, and which goes to the roots of the question of progress. Does freedom move faster when her friends proceed by leaps, as it were, not hesitating to disregard the established order, or when they proceed more slowly and break no law or social convention? This was the question which was held up before the

face of the world in the year of revolution, and it stirred British thought to its depths; a great increase of *general* intellectual activity following the political spasm, as is usually, if not invariably, the case. England did not escape a slight shock, but in her case the answer was decisive in favour of order, nor was there, in a land of free discussion, any excuse for even a whisper of civil war.

It is one of the terrors of revolution by war that both sides are often debarred from choosing their instruments, or liable to mistake them. Felice Orsini, whom we shall encounter again, was a type of patriot not beloved by the British mind, but in its despair the cause of Italian freedom could not keep him at arm's length. He is mentioned here because he was a type—a man of great physical power, and an open-hearted and disinterested man of revolt, but not of the highest *morale*. There were too many patriots like him abroad and active in the years 1848–9, and it must be borne in mind that in the heat and hurry of events the best men could not always tell whose hand to clasp.

Turning to France we find in the same year a group of patriots whose personalities do not loom so large. Whatever admiration we may feel for lettered enthusiasts like Lamartine and Victor Hugo, or steadfast people's men like Louis Blanc, we cannot class them with Manin, Garibaldi, or Mazzini. They come much nearer to the Kossuth type, though (except Victor Hugo) they must on the whole take place even below the great Hungarian. The magnificent powers of Victor Hugo, by general consent the greatest French poet of the century, place him altogether apart. But all these men, without exception, had a volatility which made them a little suspected, or a little smiled at by English politicians. It may be added that in Hungary, Franz Deak, the constitutionalist, was somewhat similar to Manin in Italy. He was opposed to the revolutionary war, and did not relish office under Kossuth.

The most prominent, the most worthy, and the most unworthy of the leaders of such half-attempts at revolt as we had in our own country are still such familiar figures that it is hardly worth while to sketch them even with the lightest pencil. Feargus O'Connor, a pure demagogue, consumed with vanity, and not without a touch of the scamp in him, will be best seen in the passing portrait he drew of himself in somewhat later days, when he had lost nearly all the sound sense he ever had. He was a strange hybrid, and somewhat resembled the late Dr. Kenealy. A very different verdict must be passed upon the unfortunate Mr. Ernest Jones, a sincere Radical, an eloquent speaker, and a much nearer approach to a poet than scores of verse-writers who bore the name while he was living. He was a little prone to paradox, and was, perhaps, over contentious; but he was spoken of with respect even by the least amiable journalists and politicians on the side opposite to his own. He was a barrister, but had given up his professional prospects, as well as family position and fortune, to devote himself to what he believed to be the best methods of advancing the welfare of the multitudes. Comparatively late in life he died of a cold caught in an election contest. Absolutely disinterested, not to say self-sacrificing devotion to political ideas is so rare in England that even those whom this gentleman had offended—and they were many—spoke respectfully and regretfully of him after his untimely death.

Other figures will speak for themselves as they appear in the course of the story. Perhaps a special word is due to Mr. John Mitchel, who also died comparatively early, in America, whither he had fled after escaping from custody as a convict transported for high treason. In that regard Mitchel undoubtedly deserved his fate, but he was a man of great general ability, fiery eloquence, and, so far as human eyes can judge, of entire disinterestedness.

The English genius is not favourable to secret associations for political purposes, nor are such societies necessary in a land of free discussion. But something must be said of these bodies on the Continent, and of the particulars in which they were feebly parodied in England. Mazzini, when young, had joined the *Carbonari*, and had been greatly amused with the trivial pomposities of their

ceremonies of initiation,—which he took care should not be imitated in the society of "Young Italy" which he founded at Marseilles. Benjamin Disraeli has sketched the initiation of a young Lancashire Radical into a trades'-union, and a few sentences from his description of the scene will be more entertaining and more suggestive than any collection of details.

"One of the silent masks pinioned his arms; and in a moment the eyes of the helpless friend of Devilsdust were bandaged.

"Conducted by these guides, it seemed to Mick that he was traversing interminable rooms, or rather galleries, for, on stretching out his arm while one of his supporters had momentarily quitted him to open some gate or door, Mick touched a wall. At length one of the masks spoke, and said, 'In five minutes you will be in the presence of the Seven—prepare.'

"At this moment rose the sound of distant voices singing in concert, and gradually increasing in volume as Mick and the masks advanced. One of these attendants now notifying to their charge that he must kneel down, Mick found he rested on a cushion, while at the same time, his arms still pinioned, he seemed to be left alone.

"The voices became louder and louder; Mick could distinguish the words and burthen of the hymn; he was sensible that many persons were entering the apartment; he could distinguish the measured tread of some solemn procession. Round the chamber, more than once they moved with slow and awful step.

"'Brethren,' said a voice that seemed a presiding one, 'before we proceed to the receipt of the revenue from the different districts of this lodge, there is, I am informed, a stranger present, who prays to be admitted into our fraternity. Are all robed in the mystic robe? Are all masked in the secret mask?'

"'All!'

"'Then let us pray!' And thereupon, after a movement which intimated that all present were kneeling, the presiding voice offered up an extemporary prayer of power and even eloquence. This was succeeded by the Hymn of Labour, and at its conclusion the arms of the neophyte were unpinioned, and then his eyes were unbandaged.

"Mick found himself in a lofty and spacious room lighted with tapers. Its walls were hung with black cloth; at a table covered with the same material were seated seven persons in surplices, and masked, the president on a loftier seat; above which, on a pedestal, was a skeleton complete. On each side of the skeleton was a man robed and masked, holding a drawn sword, and on each side of Mick was a man in the same garb, holding a battle-axe. On the table was the sacred volume open, and at a distance, ranged in order on each side of the room, was a row of persons in white robes and white masks, and holding torches.

"'Michael Radley,' said the president, 'do you voluntarily swear, in the presence of Almighty God and before these witnesses, that you will execute with zeal and alacrity, so far as in you lies, every task and injunction that the majority of your brethren, testified by the mandate of this grand committee, shall impose upon you in furtherance of our common welfare, of which they are the sole judges; such as the chastisement of nobs, the assassination of oppressive and tyrannical masters, or the demolition of all mills, works, and shops that shall be deemed by us incorrigible? Do you swear this in the presence of the Almighty God, and before these witnesses?'

"'I do swear it,' replied a tremulous voice.

"'Then rise and kiss that book.'

"Mick rose slowly from his kneeling position, advanced with a trembling step, and bending, embraced with reverence the open volume.

"Immediately every one unmasked. Devilsdust came forward, and taking Mick by the hand led him to the president, who received him, pronouncing some mystic rhymes. He was covered with a robe and presented with a torch, and then ranged in order with his companions. Thus terminated the initiation of Dandy Mick into a Trades'-union."

But it must not be forgotten that the author of *Tancred*, *Sybil*, and *Coningsby* was a writer of romances, and that we are not putting this

forward as a description, the details of which would apply to any particular meeting. That some such ceremony had been adopted in more cases than one there need be little doubt.

It is certain that since those early Chartist days the system of secret societies has much increased in our own country, and especially in connection with "international" objects. But spies and concealed confederations are correlative things, and the former institution is not yet flourishing in England, though it exists.

There is one more very remarkable figure —not English—connected with the year of revolution in Europe, and with events that have taken place here since. This figure is Pope Pius IX. The alarm created in this island by a certain brief or rescript of his is not yet forgotten even as a popular topic, and it has made an indelible mark in history. Besides that, he had afterwards taken a course which led Mr. Gladstone himself to use language such as this:

"I do not hesitate to say," writes Mr. Gladstone, "that the policy of the pope is an incentive to general disturbance—a premium upon European wars. It is in my opinion not sanguine only, but almost ridiculous, to imagine that such a project could eventually succeed; but it is difficult to overestimate the effect which it might produce in generating and exasperating strife. It might even to some extent disturb and paralyze the action of such governments as might interpose for no separate purpose of their own, but only with a view to the maintenance or restoration of the general peace. I would pay an unbroken reverence to all ministers of religion, and especially to one who fills the greatest see in Christendom. But I see this great personage, under ill advice, aiming heavy, and, so far as he can make them so, deadly blows at the freedom of mankind, and therein not only at the structure of society, but at the very constitution of our nature, and the high designs of Providence for trying and training it. I cannot under the restraints of courtly phrase convey any adequate idea of such tremendous mischiefs; for in proportion as the power is venerable the abuse of it is pernicious. The pope's clergy are more and more an army, a police, or caste, farther and farther from the Christian commons, but nearer to one another, and in closer subservience to him. And they have made him 'The Infallible,' and they have promised he shall be made 'The Great.' And as if to complete the irony of the situation, the owners or the heirs of a handful of English titles, formerly unreclaimed, are now enrolled upon the list of his most orthodox, most obsequious followers; although the mass of the British nation repudiates him more eagerly and resolutely than it has done for many generations."

This is what all Protestants will concur in thinking very moderate language; and yet in 1846, when Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti was elected by acclamation to succeed Gregory VI. in the papal chair, even Protestants in Great Britain were half-inclined to think a new thing was about to be seen in the earth. Pius IX. began his career by promising, and indeed initiating reforms of various kinds, financial and other, and also by granting an amnesty for political offences. But partly his own weakness and partly the force of events soon drew the pontiff into another path of action. It was unfortunate enough that one result of the amnesty was that large numbers of revolutionists, many of them of by no means the highest character, hurried to Rome, and in various ways struck notes of danger. Mazzini was invited to believe in the reforming pope, but declined, though he wrote Pius an open letter, telling him, in the true Mazzinian style, what he could do for Italy if he was so minded. The excitement caused in this country was considerable, and there were not a few Protestants who secretly feared that the new broom might sweep so clean that the Romish system would become attractive to a certain class of minds. But hopes and fears alike were cut short by the course of events. In a few months Pius IX. began to go the way of all popes, and eventually he was driven from Rome to Gaeta. He himself was, no doubt, an amiable and intelligent man, and both before the revolution and

afterwards did good things for Rome and the Romans. In early life he was intended for a soldier, but symptoms of epilepsy cut short his career in arms, and he entered the church. His face is tolerably familiar from portraits, and he had much more energy than he seemed to have. Many anecdotes of his good-nature and social tact are current. But all critics outside the Roman Catholic Church, and indeed nearly all but Ultramontanists, will agree with Mr. Gladstone's general verdict upon his later policy.

Leaving the pope, his friends, and his enemies to fight their own battles, let us turn to England and English affairs, and chiefly to London in April, 1848. The very rapid and, "for a time," successful risings of the people on the continent of Europe naturally excited the party of revolt, or, to speak more mildly, the party of democracy in England, and Prince Metternich prophesied that though we should only have the tail of the storm here we should have the worst of it. This prophecy was founded upon vague ideas about the wealth of England, the freedom allowed by her laws to all classes, and the (supposed) recklessness of our poor. How much real alarm there was in London, which was the Chartist centre of action, it is not at all easy to say, for people are fond of talking and writing in a not over-sincere vein about such matters. But it is certain that London presented a strange spectacle on the morning of the 10th of April, the day which had been fixed for the presentation of the so-called National Petition, with its three millions of signatures. This petition had been drawn up by a new National Convention, of which the life and soul was Feargus O'Connor; but it was a stupid affair, and the three million signatures turned out to have very little more reality than there was in that very "brummagen" patriot. However, it was to be escorted to the House of Commons by tens of thousands of Chartists, and the government and the shopkeepers professed to be very much frightened. On the morning of the dreadful day shops were shut, and women and children were kept indoors. All the men, from rich merchants and private gentlemen down to small tradesmen and lower, had been sworn in as special constables, and went marching about the streets in a high state of dignity. It has been recorded, even to weariness, that Louis Napoleon acted as a special constable on this occasion. The parapets of the Bank of England bristled with cannon and bayonets, — to say nothing of sand-bags, which last excited great curiosity in the multitude. Cannon were also planted on boats and piers along the river Thames, and on the bridges,—especially Westminster Bridge,—with their mouths pointed south, of course. This was to prevent the Chartists from marching to the House of Commons with their petition; but there was a somewhat ridiculous look about all this display of military means and skill. It was soon said, and very freely, that the desire for a holiday lay at the bottom of these special constable and other arrangements, so far as the public were concerned, and it is quite certain that a few fire-engines pumping on to the poor straggling mob which assembled on Kennington Common would have been sufficient to overawe them. It was a pathetic sight, the majority of the men being undersized, evidently underfed, and unhealthy in appearance. So far it was made clear that there was something wrong somewhere.

But the government of the day not only made an unnecessary display of force, they put themselves in an altogether wrong position. They had already attempted, by police manifestos, to put down public meetings in the open air, and they now introduced and rapidly carried a bill making the open and advised advocacy of "republicanism" (except, of course, as a purely abstract theory) felony; clauses were added to the Alien Act for the purpose of making the expulsion of foreign refugees an easy and rapid process, in case of necessity; and the natural result of all this (which many constitutional Conservatives were ready to oppose and condemn) was that here and there the Chartists and the police came into open collision; that some poor creatures got sentenced to transportation on the evidence of informers, and that Mr. Ernest

Jones got put into prison for a speech which ought not to have been taken any notice of. The general effect was to increase the feeling among the extreme reformers of the Chartist type that, after they had helped the middle classes to pass the Reform Bill, the middle classes had betrayed them.

The numbers who assembled on Kennington Common were certainly large, and they might have done mischief if they had been so disposed. At all events, there was a demand for pistols and cutlasses in London that had a romantic effect, and a quiet gentleman who wanted nothing better or worse than to rest at home with his wife and family that morning made a surprising figure with a constable's badge and staff and two pistols in his belt. In one case, the special constables being very much laughed at by the mob, one of them took a "proletary" into custody. But as there was no place to put him in, the satirical working-man had to be released. No doubt it was wise to take precautions, and soldiers and cannon *might* have been necessary; but it is difficult to read with entire gravity Earl Russell's reminiscences upon the subject. "It was," writes his lordship, "understood that the troops were to be brought to London, were to be kept out of sight, and that no military force was to appear unless action on their part should be absolutely necessary. On the evening of April 9th I received two anonymous letters which convinced me that the leaders of the movement, either hopeless of success or awed by our preparations, had renounced any intention of using physical force. Accordingly, on the 10th of April, great numbers having gone from every part of the town to Kennington Common, Sir Richard Mayne went on horseback to the scene of action. He told a policeman to go to Feargus O'Connor, who had taken up his position on a magnificent car, and request him to descend from his height and come to his stirrup on foot. The part of the mob which surrounded the car remonstrated with Feargus O'Connor, and desired him not to attend to the message. O'Connor called out to his followers, 'Be silent, you fools—don't say a word to prevent my going to my best friend, Sir Richard Mayne.' He then descended from his seat and went to Sir Richard Mayne, who told him he could go no further, but that if he would deliver the petition to the police, a cab should be furnished to three of the petitioners, who, if unaccompanied by any force, might cross Westminster Bridge in safety and deliver the petition at the door of the House of Commons. After this everything was quiet. No great numbers followed the cab which contained the petition, there was no mob at the door of the House of Commons, *and London escaped the fate of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna.* For my part, I saw in these proceedings a fresh proof that the people of England were satisfied with the government under which they had the happiness to live, and did not wish to be instructed by their neighbours in the principles of freedom." His lordship's conclusion is undoubtedly correct, but only a man who knew nothing of the people could have supposed that London was on that day in danger of "the fate of Paris, Berlin, or Vienna."

It was naturally the part of the government of the day to magnify the dangers of Chartism, and especially of the restlessness which, after the first continental outbreaks, showed itself in much excited speech and writing and a little rioting in London and other large towns. The government was evidently more uneasy than the more respectable and well-conducted portions of the governed, and even as late as June, 1848, soldiers were suddenly massed in the Bank, the Mint, and Downing Street, and the Houses of Parliament provisioned as if for a siege. Whether the case was serious or not, this state of things was, of course, attended with very great excitement among the *sensitive* classes. Young men of education and high human feeling went almost beside themselves, and a movement commenced in the Church of England which, though it soon died out as a movement of special character and purpose, left indelible traces upon the aspect of affairs between the people at large and the clergy.

The Chartist agitations were accompanied

by symptoms which would not permit themselves to be overlooked. One of these was an evident turning towards self-help on the part of the more sober and practically-minded of the working-men themselves. In the pauses of the excitement, and indeed while the excitement ran hot, schemes of co-operation like that of the Rochdale Pioneers (which dated from the year 1844) in principle were either started or talked about or silently planned. It was in the nature of the case, also, that serious men of the more educated orders should ask themselves whether there was anything wanting on their own parts towards the welfare of these troubled and troublesome thousands. Among those who entertained the question were some of the very flower of the clergy of the churches, and one distinct school of religiously-coöperative reformers was set up among the poor, and for their benefit. Christian Socialism, as an organized thing, is, so far as we know, dead and gone, and certainly its literature is extinct; nor was it ever popular. But in the midst of all these Chartist excitements men like Julius Hare, Arthur Helps, F. D. Maurice, Thomas Hughes, Charles Kingsley, J. M. Ludlow, E. Vansittart Neale, and others, were busy, more or less, with pen, tongue, and purse. London, in April, 1848, was dotted with placards, composed mainly by Kingsley, in which the working-men were called upon to look to the clergy as their natural advocates and best friends. Many and many were the red-hot meetings held in out-of-the-way places, at which Maurice and Kingsley figured as champions of the poor. At one of these, the clergy having been much abused by working-man speakers, Kingsley got up and began a speech with the words, "I am a clergyman of the Church of England —and a Chartist." In a church at Chelsea he preached a sermon on the "message of the Church to labouring men," and at the close the stated minister of the place got up into the reading-desk and denounced the doctrine; there was, in fact, a narrow escape of a riot. The Bishop of London was on the point of suspending Kingsley, but, on seeing the sermon, found there was no harm in it! A circumstance which, stupid as it seems, may well serve to suggest what false excitement there was in the air at this time.

Numbers of co-operative associations were now formed on "Christian Socialist" principles among tailors, hatters, and the rest, and there was much brisk letter-writing and leading-article writing, with pretty sharp criticism all round, and now and then a little abuse. None of the labour expended by the promoters of the movement was lost, but it was never popular, and there is something pathetic in the history of its struggles. In these very "advanced" days it is not easy to understand that a publisher should refuse a novel like Kingsley's *Alton Locke* as a dangerous book; but that is what happened, though it was published at last.

Meanwhile the co-operative movement itself, apart from all question of church alliance, went on well, and not only co-operative "store" companies, but co-operative manufacturing companies, on the principle of limited liability, multiplied among working men. The Christian Socialists had always openly and heartily recognized the work done by Robert Owen—a piece of manliness which got them into much trouble—but the majority of the more energetic working-men, who gave their minds to "co-operation," were neither Churchmen nor othodox Dissenters, and went their own way in this matter. Quite apart from this particular topic, and from all merely economic questions, it is probable that if the People's Petition had been treated with more consideration those who have since then thought they had reason to look with alarm upon certain points in the procedure of the classes who live by mere labour would have been spared some anxiety. Slighted men usually find means to take by some means what is denied to their simple requests.

A lesson to rulers might well be gathered from a consideration of what the government of England noticed and what it did not notice of revolutionary utterances. There never was at this time—it cannot be too often repeated —any danger of revolt in this country. Partly the solidity and partly the stolidity of the British mind tended to keep things toler-

ably even among us, whatever was going on elsewhere. There is, even in the very poor and discontented Englishman, something that sympathizes with the half-triumphant feeling of Burke, when, in the pride of social order, he wrote to the Frenchman (in his celebrated *Reflections*), "We have got Lord George Gordon safe in Newgate." In fact, though we had mutterings, they were only mutterings, in 1848. But the curious part of the story was the partiality of the government view of the facts. While some poor weaver or tailor was taken into custody and sent to prison for a few stray words of insurrectionary anger which meant no more than the passing threat of a man in a passion, writers and speakers who might easily have been made examples of, were allowed to say with deliberation, and week after week, the most obviously indictable things. We will take two examples. The first shall be in verse, but it will suffer in force because it must be abbreviated.

"Speak, France, unto the world,
With mighty earnest voice;
Her red flag is unfurled,
Her poorest sons rejoice.

"Beware! for daring men
Can compass daring deeds;
You may shoot us down; but ten
Will rise for one who bleeds:
Nor think your soldiers true;
A warning take from France;
Ye are weak, and ye are few—"

"With the paper in my hand,
That told the news from France,
I seemed to understand,
In a dream or in a trance,
These words by thousands said—
Thousands of gloomy men,
And when that dream had fled
I dreamed the dream again.

"Our hands no man will hire,
Our skill there's none will try;
With head, throat, heart, on fire,
We see the great go by.
Of sustenance for all
The fertile earth has store;
Our wrongs for vengeance call,
We will endure no more."

It will be admitted that this is strong language; and it appeared side by side with a good deal of prose, from which one passage alone shall be taken.

"Look on that picture and on this. A great people winning in two days the charter of their liberties from the hands of false rulers; in the midst of slaughter and excitement acting out the poetry of religion; another people, once great, grovelling in misery and debt at the feet of the feeblest government which ever plundered and disgraced these realms. A nation must be lost indeed which does not profit by the mighty lessons which have just been read to the world."

The author of the last-quoted sentences was the late Mr. William Howitt, and both the prose and verse appeared in his *Journal*, a popular weekly periodical which is not yet forgotten. The examples we have given might be multiplied indefinitely. The popular literature of the time was crowded with explosive writing, of which no notice was taken.

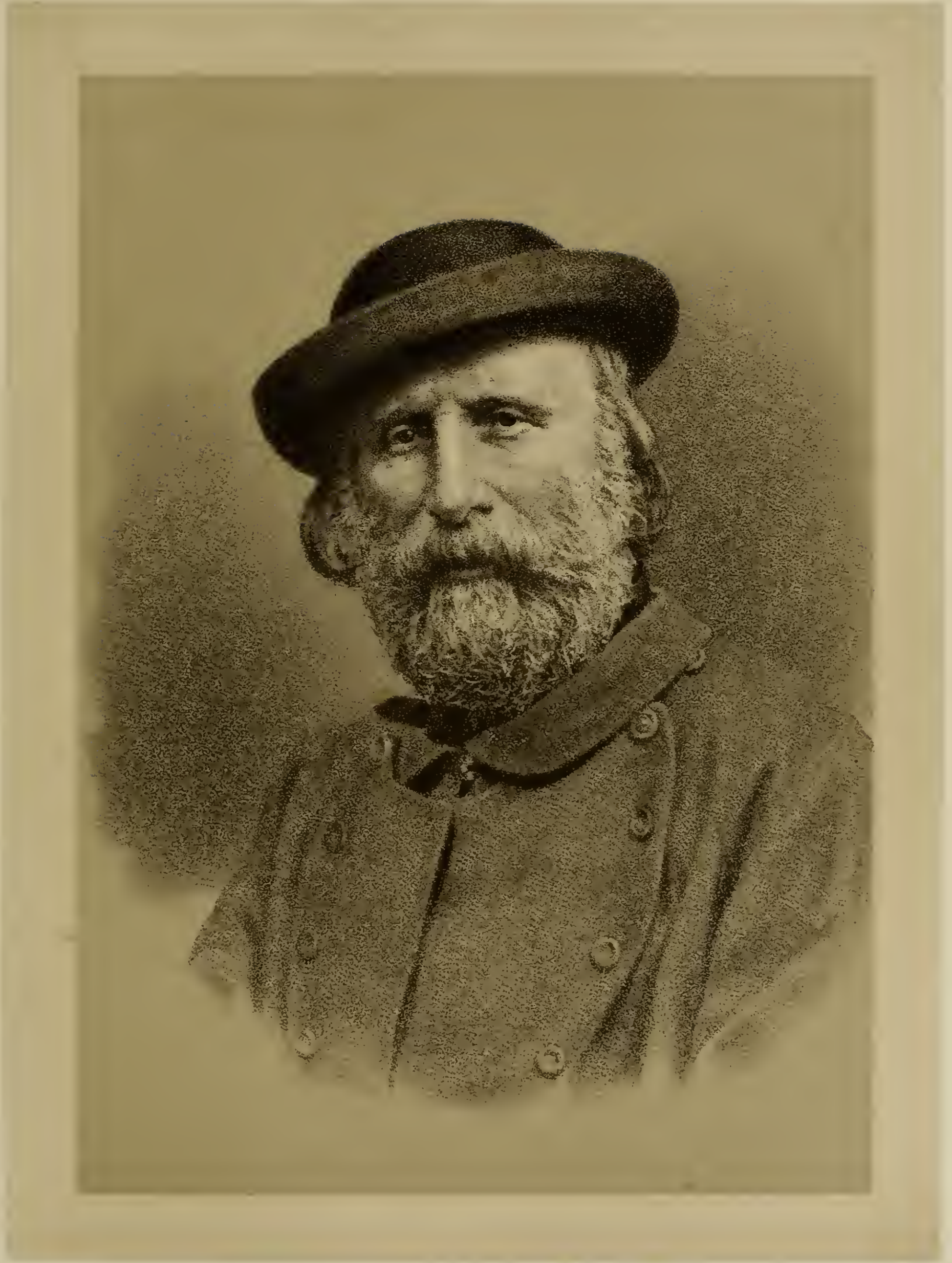
Although it was in France that the revolutionary *impulse* of the year 1848 seemed first to disclose its activity, it was not for France that the greatest sympathy was felt. Nor was it for Hungary, in the main. The Magyar was then, as he is in a lesser degree now, comparatively a stranger to us, and we are under no conscious obligations to his land, such as all Europe owes towards the peninsula of which Rome is the capital, of which the literature and the laws have left so wide-world a mark, and of which the story is so splendid. While in the mind of the multitudes of Great Britain and the Continent there was not much reflection about these high matters, they were present to the leading spirits, and the remembrance and suggestion that clung to them was in a thousand ways conveyed down to the more intelligent of the masses. Besides this, the Italian face and manners were more familiar to us all here, and the cruelty of the "powers" was undisguisedly horrible. Within the century no such spasm of moral sickness has been felt in this country as was produced by the well-authenticated stories of Austrian cruelty to the unhappy Italians, and those which reached us from Sicily.

The story of the confusions produced by Napoleonic intervention would be long to relate. But the result generally of the different

kinds of interference which were supposed to be settled by the Congress of Vienna was that Italy was placed under the feet of Austria and the pope. These high powers conducted themselves so ill, that their yoke was found intolerable; the land was honey-combed, so to speak, by secret societies; and in 1820 and 1821 there were risings of the people which Austria without difficulty put down. It was in Piedmont and Sicily that this happened, but in 1831 Austria had to interfere again in Modena and the Roman provinces, and this she did with a ferocity which was quite in the traditional line of her policy. From the time of the accession of the weak Charles Albert to the throne of Piedmont in 1831 the history of the country takes a fresh departure, and under the influence of Mazzini, the apostle of Italian unity, Piedmont began to take the lead in the progress of the nation. When Pope Pius IX. astonished the civilized world by his amnesty and his reforming projects at Rome, Piedmont and Tuscany followed, but Naples and the other states remained outside the circle of reform. In January, 1848, the revolution commenced by concurrent insurrections in Sicily and Milan. In February came the revolution in France, which roused Europe and stimulated the Italians, who were already on the watch. Concessions to the popular will were made in Naples, Piedmont, and Rome. In the middle of March Milan rose in arms, and the Austrian general, Radetzky, was driven from the city, though he had from 65,000 to 70,000 soldiers under him. Before the month was over, Charles Albert was placed at the head of the great national rising, and entered Lombardy. From every state in Italy volunteers poured in for his army, and Pope Pius IX. publicly blessed the flags under which the Roman troops set forward to join the revolutionary forces.

The prime movers of the struggle, including Mazzini and his coadjutors, had always looked with suspicion upon Charles Albert. He has been abundantly accused of treachery, and has never been acquitted of weakness and versatility of movement. The "Young Italy" party and the monarchical party were at daggers drawn, and Lord Palmerston was assured by the Piedmontese minister that Charles Albert had entered Lombardy and declared war against Austria with an eye to the "safety of all other monarchical states." This monarch, it has been maintained, temporized in the war against Austria rather than run the smallest risk of losing his own provincial crown in the triumph of a united Italy. One thing, however, is beyond dispute, that the pope, in less than a month from the hour at which he had pronounced his benediction upon the papal volunteers, issued an authoritative condemnation of the war as "wrongful and injurious." The effect was all but instantaneous. The Neapolitan contingent was recalled, and there were other signs of reaction. But the spirit of revolution was still abroad, and was not to be quelled even by an encyclical letter from the pope. Garibaldi, after a career of extraordinary daring and heroism in the New World, was busy in Italy, and had actually declared war not only against the Austrians but against Charles Albert! In this untoward struggle he made himself a European reputation as a guerilla leader, and whether as "bandit" or as "hero" was henceforth a power and a terror wherever he drew his sword.

Garibaldi had cut his way with four or five hundred of his red-shirt legion right through a body of ten thousand Austrians, and was now in Switzerland. The pope, being told that the "bandit" was collecting an army at Ravenna, instructed two of his Swiss regiments to proceed thither and "throw the bandit and his rabble into the sea." But Rome now arose, the pope himself had to fly to Gaeta, and the "red-shirted bandit" was not yet put down. We may say in passing that the regular war against Austria was ended by the defeat (some say the preconcerted surrender) of Charles Albert and his army by the Austrians at Novara, on the 23d of March, 1849. But on the 8th of February of the same year the republic, under a triumvirate of which Mazzini was president, was proclaimed at Rome, and Garibaldi was within the walls of the city. It sounds grand to say that Mazzini was chief triumvir of the



GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

Roman Republic, but he lived in very small rooms, was accessible to the poorest working man or woman, and dined at a refreshment house for about eighteenpence a day.

A new figure now appears upon the stage. This is Victor Emmanuel of the house of Savoy, in whose favour his father, Charles Albert, had abdicated. Victor was undoubtedly a remarkable man, and so far as a king could be true to republicans like Mazzini and Garibaldi, was true to them. It seems to be generally admitted that he was, to a singular degree, a man of his word; but great difficulties arise in such troubled times as these were. Garibaldi was willing to accept the monarchy for the sake of a united Italy, and was often placed in relations to the king which puzzled his relations with the "extreme" party, and this must be borne in mind. Victor Emmanuel was a short, thickset man, of undeniable personal bravery, and very fond of the chase: altogether a rough customer, a survivor from the middle ages. He could live on *polenta* for days (*polenta* is a kind of hasty-pudding), and was very temperate and even abstemious, but neither his attachment to his queen, which was not denied by his enemies, nor his habitual fidelity to his plighted word, kept him true to her. He was really fond of his country, behaved with forbearance to the revolutionists, and was generally beloved by the Italians.

Garibaldi is so well known that his is rather a name to introduce others than to need introduction. But it may at least be said that of no military leader, ancient or modern, can more noble stories of courage and heroic forbearance be related. His perfect *physique*, his noble presence, and his beautiful manners are familiar to the English. His disinterested exploits in South America are partly forgotten in the glory of his European achievements; but it should not be forgotten that being wounded in the struggle with the infamous Rosas (of whom we used to hear so much a generation ago) he was put into prison by that personage, hung up by the thumbs, cruelly beaten, and tortured for months, in order to make him disclose the names of his comrades. The worst enemy of this "bandit" will not refuse a tribute of homage to the moral steadfastness which kept him true to his friends. Rosas was baffled, and Garibaldi escaped. That he is a good shot, and something more, is well known. "On one occasion he was surprised in his wooden barracks" by a band of 150 enemies on horseback. He happened to have sixty muskets ready loaded, and so, with the help of his cook, he went on picking off the men till his own followers had time to come up and complete the rout. When we hear of his sufferings in his old age from rheumatism we must remember, not only his many hardships by flood and frost as well as by fire, but that he has known what it is to be hung up by the wrists and tortured. Let us also remember, if we ever feel any surprise at the weight his name carried in this country, while the very sound meant revolution, that it was well known that when the man who had tortured him was in his power he simply set him free, and that not a stain rests upon his character either for truthfulness or benignity. The severest thing on record against Garibaldi is his inflexibility in condemning to death a soldier who had committed a violent outrage upon a woman.

Bitter was the grief and disappointment on this side of the Channel when it was known that the French Republic was about to make war upon that of Rome, in order to restore the pope. In the spring of 1849 General Cavaignac appeared before the gates of the Eternal City at the head of more than 34,000 French troops; near at hand also were the Austrian and Neapolitan armies, and it was plain to cool outsiders that the city must be taken. The most inveterate monarchist, the most devout Catholic, will spare some sympathy for the devoted little garrison within the walls. Early on the 30th of April, 1849, with his poor handful of ill-fed soldiers, Garibaldi made a sortie and attacked the French. He led the charges in person, and after six or seven hours' fighting drove the French away towards Civita Vecchia,—these splendid troops leaving behind them in the hands of Garibaldi three hundred prisoners. When the French had asked for an armistice, the "red-shirt brigand"

advanced in another direction to attack the Neapolitan troops, who did little more than fly in terror before a man whom silver bullets, blessed by the pope, would not hit.

While the armistice lasted the French had of course not been idle. The army before Rome had received heavy reinforcements, and half a clear day before the time of the armistice was over they entered Rome, on the 3d of June. The column that performed this feat was led by a man who, having given a false password, murdered the Italian sentinel. Thus did the first French troops get into Rome. At three o'clock in the morning Garibaldi was roused by the sound of guns, and found that the enemy had already taken up a position which made the final result a mere question of time. Forty thousand men with thirty-six siege-guns were now able to construct their works of approach with ease, and the only "hope" left for Rome was, as the "brigand" put it, to "fall with honour."

In no siege that ever happened since the beginning of time have acts of more romantic heroism been performed. This commonplace must stand for a thousand details, some of them of all but incredible horror, some of all but incredible grandeur. At two o'clock at dawn of the 29th of May the besieged were making a stupendous effort, the very wounded rushing out from their beds in the hospitals, streaming with blood, to help in the trenches. Very soon after, Garibaldi, who had passed unharmed through a hundred hailstorms of bullets, while the towers of the churches rocked to the thunder of the cannonade, was summoned by the triumvirs and the deliberative assembly, who were sitting in the capitol. "When I appeared at the door of the chamber," says the "red-shirt," "all the deputies rose and applauded. I looked about me and upon myself to see what it was that awakened their enthusiasm. I was covered with blood, my clothes were pierced with balls and bayonet thrusts, my sword was jagged and bent and stood half out of the scabbard, but I had not a scratch about me!"

The end, however, the predestined inevitable close of this great episode, was not far off. The soldiers of the French Republic were despatched to put down the Roman Republic, and their work was practically accomplished. General Cavaignac had done his share of the task, and General Oudinot was now to do his. On the 2d of July, 1849, the Roman Republic came to an end, and commenced negotiations with the latter. But Garibaldi was not yet beaten. He gathered together his soldiers in the square before St. Peter's—less than 5000 all told, cavalry not exceeding 800, and some artillery and baggage wagons—and addressed them briefly in the old heroic way: "Soldiers, all I have to offer you is hunger, thirst, the ground for a bed, the burning sun as the sole solace for your fatigues, no pay, no barracks, no rations; but continual alarms, forced marches, and charges with the bayonet. Let those who love glory and do not despair of Italy, follow me." The retreat which the "great bandit" then executed is acknowledged to be one of the most extraordinary on record. Under the very eyes of the French army, though unseen by them (because they never dreamed that anything so daring would be attempted) the little remnant made good their escape. It is not necessary to follow the story to San Marino or to Venice. The numbers engaged against him were overwhelming; the Italian struggle was for the present closed, and in 1850 Garibaldi, greatest of "bandits," with a royal pedigree eighteen hundred years old, but now an exile and a labourer, was making and selling candles in a small shop in New York. The Austrians had set a price upon his head, and in the course of his flight towards the coast his beautiful and heroic wife Anita had fallen from exhaustion. But the story of the Italian struggle was not finally closed, nor that of his unequalled, almost unapproached, glory.

Turning for a short space to Hungary, we have to deal with a state of affairs much more complicated. Radetzky, the Austrian general, had been busy in Italy, though, with the subjugation of Venice, his labours were at an end in that region. But in the meanwhile we may remember that Hungary was under Austrian rule, and that the Croats, under the Austrian king-substitute (or *ban*) the Ban Jellalich, had got involved in disputes with the Batthyani-Kossuth ministry of Hungary, which was pur-

suing at that time a policy which was supposed to be likely to issue in revolt against Austria. Without filling up the outlines of a long story of intrigue on the part of the house of Hapsburg, we may pass on to the insurrection in Vienna, which was attributed to Hungarian machinations. This was on the 6th of October, 1848. The outbreak, led by men like Bem, the Polish patriot, and Robert Blum, was put down by General Windischgrätz after a siege of eight days. Blum, among other leaders of the insurrection, was shot. His fate excited so much attention at the time, his death is still so seriously remembered by the continental party of revolt, and he was himself so noticeable a man, that a few sentences may well be given to him, as one of the men of 1848 of whom much was known and said in this country.

Robert Blum, whose portrait was once nearly as familiar in England as that of Kossuth, was born of very poor parents at Cologne. While very young he served as a soldier, but after about 1830 we find him a scene-shifter, *littérateur*, and political journalist in Cologne and Leipsic. Afterwards he became a bookseller and publisher, but from 1845 to 1848 we find him active among the party of revolt in Frankfort, and in the latter year he was vice-president of the provisional government. As a political orator he was very influential, and occupied the position of leader of the left in the national assembly. This body made him the bearer of an address of congratulation to their brethren in arms at Vienna, and that errand proved a fatal one for Blum. At Vienna he joined the party of insurrection, and was seized by Windischgrätz when the latter took Vienna.

In the meanwhile there were troubles at Berlin and elsewhere. The pope had been in flight disguised as a footman; and Ferdinand, the Austrian emperor, had resigned his crown in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, then only nineteen years of age. It was the Archduchess Sophia, his mother, who was the real reigning power at that moment. Hungary must now be regarded as in a state of insurrection against Austria, while at the same time she was menaced in the rear by semi-barbarous hordes who were in favour of the Austrian rule. She was now attacked by Austria in every direction. Kossuth had been able, by incessant effort, to obtain from the Hungarian parliament a levy of about 200,000 men. These ill-disciplined troops were now to be massed together on the banks of the river Theiss, and the well-seasoned, well-paid, well-found, and well-fed armies of Austria were to be defied.

The story of the Hungarian struggle must be allowed to carry us back for a moment to Deak. Francis Deak—the name is pronounced *Deeauk*—was, as has been already hinted, a politician of the same type as Daniel Manin, the Venetian patriot. To him more than any other man, to his moderation in counsel and in action, the Austrian Empire was indebted, in its better relations with Hungary, and even beyond them; and he was all the while a true friend of his Magyar countrymen, though not an "irreconcilable." He was a very inobtrusive man, and had been so little noticed by the "house of Hapsburg," which owed so much to him, that when he was first mentioned to the emperor—being then a middle-aged, well-seasoned hero—that august personage said, "I suppose he is a very young man? I never heard of him." This is at all events an instructive instance of the *nonchalance* of princes, but it may be paralleled in the case of Defoe and our own Queen Anne.

For centuries Austria had bent nearly all its power towards the extinction of the Hungarian nationality. Much was expected from the Deaks by Magyar patriots, who were weary alike of the cruelty and the treachery, the bribery and the compulsion, of the hated Hapsburgs. When Francis was yet very young, his brother Anthony, who was dying just after he had been nominated as a deputy to the diet, said, "Be comforted; I am not he that should come. My brother Francis has more power and patriotism in his little finger than I have in my whole body." Though only twenty-two years old, Francis succeeded his brother as deputy, and in that year, 1825, the cry went forth, "Hungary is not, but Hungary shall be." This was the watchword of the new movement, and it went on year after

year at the cost of great pecuniary and other sacrifices on the part of the Hungarian nobility. The state of the country and the severity of the Austrian tyranny may be gathered from one fact,—Kossuth was kept in prison three years, from 1837 to 1840, only for publishing reports of the debates of the diet. As time passed, the tendency to violence increased on the part alike of oppressor and oppressed, and the illness of Deak kept him off the stage of action. His absence from the diet was the subject of openly expressed national grief, and when in 1847 he was not nominated, his usual place in the hall of assembly was religiously kept vacant, as a tribute to his character and a symbol of the want the nation felt. It was in 1848, when Kossuth had aroused the Magyar people to final action, that Deak entered the cabinet, and he did much good in conciliating Sclaves and Magyars (whose feuds were a great source of weakness to the popular cause), but the time for conciliation was past so far as Austria was concerned. Deak, with others, was dismissed, or rather, refused with contumely, when he visited Vienna to lay the sorrows of his people before the emperor, and Windischgrätz was despatched with the only answer the house of Hapsburg chose to give — sword and fire. Early in 1849 Deak retired from public activity, and remained in privacy for about twelve years. During those twelve years we may say (in anticipation of the events, as they will not necessarily arise in the course of this narrative) about 2130 persons were sentenced to death, about 20,000 were put into prison, while nearly 5000, many of them of the highest character and some of them of the very purest and noblest, to say nothing of their culture and refinement and social position, were beggared and driven into exile.

In April, 1849, Kossuth, weary of the temporizing and the quarrelling, and as heart-sick as Deak of the miseries of his country, urged the Magyar National Assembly to declare the independence of Hungary and the deposition of the house of Hapsburg. As provisional governor of Hungary he made great efforts, and it will be remembered how strong were the hopes of the Radicals, and even the moderate Liberals in this country that the western powers would interfere in behalf of Hungary, at least so far as to check the interference of Russia. But the hope was disappointed. Eventually Kossuth resigned his dictatorship in favour of Görgei.

Arthur Görgei was bred a soldier, but was also devoted to chemistry. It is probable that he was one of the bravest men that ever lived. It has been said of him that, like Ney and Nelson, he never knew fear. Some of his victories over the Austrians and Russians during the years 1848–9 were among the greatest achievements ever recorded in war. But after the dreadful defeat of his colleague Dembinski by overwhelming numbers at the battle of Temesvar not much hope was left for the Hungarian army, and Görgei himself surrendered on the 13th of August, 1849, to the Russian prince Paskewitch. The pang with which the news of the defeat was received in this country by the majority of Englishmen is not yet forgotten. At the time of this disaster Görgei's forces were reduced to about 24,000 men, with about 135 guns, while the forces that were hemming him in numbered 200,000 at least, with 1000 pieces of artillery. In spite of this, Görgei was then, and has ever since lain, under the imputation of treachery. His friends and his critics have argued the question in and out and up and down, with but little satisfaction to themselves or to any one else. One thing is certain, Görgei was not ill-treated by the enemy. Kossuth, after the defeat of Dembinski at Temesvar, fled to Turkey. There he was hospitably received by Abdul Medjid, who, in spite of the demands and threats of Austria and Russia, refused to deliver him up. Great was the enthusiasm excited in England by the honourable conduct of the Porte, and this was one of the factors in the state of feeling which helped on the Crimean war a few years later. The Liberal party here had been willing enough to see Austria and Hungary fight out their own quarrel in 1848–9, but would have been glad to interfere when Russia took part with the house of Hapsburg to crush the poor Hun-

garians; and when they found Russia subsequently threatening Turkey they leaped at the chance of an open revenge. It was not love of the Turk, but hatred of Nicholas, which was at the bottom of it.

When Kossuth left Turkey in 1851 (we may anticipate a little in order to close the episode) France refused to let him pass through her territory, and he came to England in an American frigate.

During these years, and for some time afterwards, England was curiously conversant with "patriotic exiles" from Italy, Hungary, and Germany. Some of them, of course, were not very admirable persons, and Pulszky (whose conduct has been itself much criticised) gave an amusingly painful account of his relations with the refugees in London. "When they arrive," said he "they are naturally irritated by their failure and unhappy position. They come to him and demand money; he has none to give them. 'You wear a gold watch, and no man ever knew the pains of want who could afford to keep a gold watch.' 'But we work. Come and you will see Madame Pulszky and me always writing for our bread. If you cannot write you must work in some other line.' But they do not like to work. They say, 'We will deliver Europe.' 'Very well, deliver Europe, but do not refuse to work till you have done so.' 'Let us form a committee to hurl the tyrants from their thrones.' 'Certainly, but a committee of penniless men cannot do this.' 'All Europe is ready to rise; our cause is the cause of all.' 'Well, suppose we form a committee?' 'Every member must be sworn on the dagger.' 'Nonsense, this is a conspiracy. I never was a conspirator, and never will be. Besides, the age of the dagger is past. You know that if any one of you should kill another with the dagger he could not live in England. Let us dispense with oaths and the dagger.' The committee meet, furious speeches are made, and letters from the Continent are read, representing all things and everybody as ready for a rising. Resolutions are proposed, seconded, and adopted to deliver Europe, and ordered to be sent to the committees abroad. The committee breaks up, and the one-half of them goes to the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors, and to the English foreign police, and sells a report of the proceedings for £5."

The depth and genuineness of the sympathy of the English for these exiles of 1848–9 who could give at all an honourable account of themselves might be illustrated in many ways. Charles Dickens is not a revolutionary name, but the story of one of the noblest of the German refugees of that time, Dr. Kinkel, was placed by the great novelist in the forefront of his *Household Words.*

Almost every intelligent school-boy has felt the fascination of the great Indian archipelago, and wondered over Papua and Borneo, "the two largest islands in the world except Australia." Little was known about them when the Queen ascended the throne; indeed, little is known about Papua now; but their size and position among the Spice Islands drew towards them the curiosity of eager young minds, who could take in pictures of gorgeous vegetation, coral reefs, tawny savages, and swift-shooting skiffs. The Twelve Thousand Islands was the name which the Arabs gave to this wondrous archipelago; and though there neither were nor are twelve thousand counted, there is an immense number of islets besides the islands; and what with their remoteness, the sinuosities of the sea-channels, and the mixture of savage, half-savage, and civilized races, this part of the world may well seem to a young man the very place for adventure. So it seemed to the young James Brooke, whose name and enterprise have already received a word or two of notice in these pages.

The whole situation and the whole story must be regarded as anomalous. Borneo and some of the minor islands in this wonderful region had been the scene of many commercial experiments; the Dutch and the Portuguese making or attempting settlements from time to time. The population of Borneo was of a very mixed kind, including Mohammedan Arabs, Malays, and native Dyaks; certain tribes of whom were reckless and murderous pirates. Meanwhile the interests of British commerce had been much neglected, and there

was ample scope for any adventurous and not fastidious brave adventurer to do both harm and good among the Spice Islands.

James Brooke, afterwards Sir James Brooke, was undoubtedly the man for the work, though he was severely criticised both in parliament and out of it, and still more in other countries perhaps, for the high-handedness with which he went to work in dealing with Dyak pirates and otherwise. He was naturally a little too fond of his own way, and had not been well disciplined in his boyhood. Of his early days amusing stories are told; but they all point, true or false, to a strong will, great combativeness, and a total lack of thoughtful hesitancy. Whether a better man than Brooke might not have done a better work in Borneo it would not be decisively profitable to discuss, but it is clear he was not a hero of many scruples.

Inside the house of a piratical Dyak the visitor would see scores of human heads, male and female, hung up to dry. These were the trophies of the pirate, who in making war upon industry had done a good deal of superfluous slaughter, and was proud of it. But in this part of the world it cannot be allowed that everything was unsightly, even in what was artificial. The natives showed great ingenuity in building their houses. They pitched upon a favourable spot, as cool and as little swampy as possible, and there they proceeded to cut off the heads of the huge tall trees, the columnar stems of which they barked. Here, then, were rows or sets of pillars, on the tops of which, with light planks and bamboo, they set to work to build their villages. Round the light, airy, and simply constructed houses they made galleries, in which might be seen their dusky wives and children at work or play, enjoying the prospect and the cool upper air. The Chinese, too, having brought with them their natural skill in gardening, a Dyak village was a pretty sight for a European. Less agreeable to look at was the temple in which the murderous Dyaks stored up the dried human heads for the honour of their gods and the admiration of posterity.

What Arabs did in these regions, or rather how they first came to them, is not wholly clear. We know indeed that their zeal of proselytism carried them to the Pillars of Hercules in one direction and to the threshold of "the yellow man" in another, and we must remember that polygamy gave Mohammedan colonists or adventurers an advantage to start with: the advantage, namely, of rapid multiplication. And we may conjecture that occasional companies of "the faithful" found their way into this south-eastern paradise, and by the sword and by superiority of race made good their footing. At all events the end of it was that there were Mohammedan sultanates or princedoms in the Spice Islands, including Borneo.

There were then a few dots or points of civilization or quasi-civilization from which webs of improvement might be woven by any one as capable as Brooke was; and when, beginning his career of activity in and around Borneo in 1839, he was soon made Rajah of Sarāwak by the reigning sultan, it was easy to see that a considerable work was easily open to him in extending commerce, putting down piracy, and paving the way for British influence in these seas. A large public in this country held that the new rajah showed himself far too reckless in the matter of bloodshedding; and an affair in 1849 in which many hundreds of Dyaks were slaughtered by a force under his command was severely discussed in parliament at home, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Joseph Hume leading the attack. He had, however, many friends. His name holds an honourable place in the dedication of Mr. Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* and there were others in whom what was called the spirit of the great adventurers of the "Elizabethan age" found hearty admirers and supporters. Many touching anecdotes of the bravery of the Dyaks reached Great Britain. The men would close up, thick as bricks in a wall, and receive the fire of the English in mass in order to give their women time to escape. They were also good fathers and firm friends. At bottom, the question between the assailants and the supporters of Brooke resolved itself into this, —Is there any race of men on whom forbearance is thrown away? Or, in another shape, Had we any right in Borneo at all except the right of the strong? But there was a sub-

ordinate question, Was Rajah Brooke disinterested or not?

When in the year 1847 Rajah Brooke—the title sounded strangely to English ears—visited England, he was made free of the city of London; the queen made him a K.C.B. and Oxford an honorary D.C.L. Whether he was the man referred to in Robert Browning's remarkable verses beginning

"What's become of Waring?"

has never been quite settled. It is true that the "Waring" of the poem had made a "bolt," had been seen off Trieste, and that there are references to a "new avatar" and "new thousands" in the East; but the balance of probabilities is against Rajah Brooke's being the Waring of our great poet. However, the government, having purchased the island of Labuan (which, as will be seen by the map, is on the north-west of Borneo), sent out Brooke as civil and military governor, with a stipend of £2000 a year; though he still remained Rajah of Sarāwak. At last an expedition of his against the Dyaks led to investigations at home and at Singapore.

Sir James Brooke was charged with having profited by the "head-money," and with reckless slaughter of men whom we had no business to destroy. The charges against him were found not proven, and he was acquitted of having profited by the head-money. This last, however, was immediately abolished by our government, and Sir James Brooke was superseded in the governorship of the island of Labuan. Passing no judgment on the questions examined into by the Royal Commissioners which sat upon the charges against this remarkable man, we may at least conclude that the moral of the story is that the age of *mere* "adventure," in the fashion called Elizabethan, is over; and that in future the tendency of civilized communities will be to see that as little as possible is done by irresponsible colonizing or filibustering heroes. It is as well to have it clearly understood that this is so. Some of the acts of the Elizabethan heroes savour strongly of the notion that the strong may anywhere enslave the weak, rob them, flog them, and burn them at pleasure. The uprising of the weak against the strong is a different matter, and should be criticised more tenderly. But who can be trusted with irresponsible or quasi-irresponsible power?

The subject of Sir James Brooke's career, not to say his character, connects itself somewhat intimately with the attitude taken by Mr. Gladstone at more than one point of our narrative; and as the topic will reappear in this light it cannot well be passed over. During the debate on Mr. Hume's motion of 1851, unfavourable to Sir James Brooke, Mr. Gladstone, who voted against it as conveying a condemnation too general, praised the energy of the rajah as "truly British," and gave him credit for "a philanthropy truly Christian." Mr. Gladstone, however, disclaimed, and has since disclaimed again, all idea of having got to the bottom of the story of that expedition against the Serebas and Sakarran tribes, in which the queen's ship *Nemesis* took part, and has plainly expressed his horror of the whole of that sanguinary business, giving meanwhile some brief and very vivid sketches of what occurred. "It was," says Mr. Gladstone, "a kind of naval ambush, having for its aim to intercept an expedition of the Serebas and Sakarran tribes on their way home. There were four thousand men conveyed in more than a hundred prahus or open boats, on a somewhat dark night. It followed as a matter of course that the action broke up into many actions, partook in parts of the nature of a scramble. The fighting must, from the implements of war employed, have been all on one side. The loss in the entire attacking force, which amounted to near three thousand, was two killed and four wounded; and it is not stated that among these was any man on board the steamer *Nemesis*, or indeed a single European, or that a single shot was fired at the steamer, or a blow struck at any on board of her. It is plain, it is involved in the fair, ingenuous accounts of the witnesses, that when we come to the case of the five prahus, if not indeed before, abject terror had seized on the mind of the crews. By the combined action of guns, small-arms, and the paddles of the ship as she went round and round, it being a

practice of the Dyaks to jump into the water and hold by the sides of their canoes—these miserable beings were destroyed like vermin, till not a living soul remained visible; no voice of mercy, no tender of life being made to them from the beginning to the end."

That grown women and young girls were slaughtered on this occasion appears certain, and Mr. Gladstone refers to it with much feeling. "The hundred and twenty boats had gone out on a piratical expedition. Of all such expeditions the capture of slaves was a principal object, and these slaves were commonly women and young persons. That there were women and girls on board these canoes is placed beyond doubt, for on the shore after the action Mr. St. John himself saw exposed the mutilated body of a girl, and saw also the coverings which had been cast over three groups of the corpses of captives. It seems, therefore, a moral certainty that there were on board the seventeen prahus a greater or less number of these innocent sufferers; and it adds to the pain which the proceedings can hardly fail to give, when we think of it as a certain or even as a likely fact that among those who bled, gasped, and sank under the fire of the *Nemesis*, or under the crushing blows of her paddle-wheels in the water, were some of those whose safety and rescue ought to have been a main object of the whole proceeding."

To pass from Mr. Gladstone himself, remembering, however, that his estimate of the whole business is a subject that will recur in our narrative, we may take from his quotations two illustrations of the mixed character of the results of Sir James Brooke's doings, and the perplexing character of the evidence. A witness favourable to the rajah gives this curiously horrifying testimony. "I was informed," says he, referring to the Dyak houses built on piles of which mention has been made, "that on the erection of one of these houses a deep hole was sunk for the corner pillar, and in this, as we place a bottle containing a coin and engraved inscription, they (*horresco referens*) lowered an unfortunate girl, decked out in all her finery, and then dropped the enormous post on her head, crushing her to atoms. And yet they are now a fine intelligent race, and cordially unite with the rajah for the suppression of piracy." There is something very droll about this in spite of the horror. It is not to be supposed that the performances of the *Nemesis*, smashing girls in the dark sea with her churning paddle-wheels, taught the Dyaks to renounce human sacrifices as part of the ceremony at the foundation of a village. But now hear a witness unfavourable to the rajah. "A year or two after the massacre I was unfortunate enough to be capsized in a vessel of which I was captain, called the *Amelia* of Singapore, within fifty miles of the scene. After three days of misery in an open boat without food or water we landed among these 'cruel pirates,' who barbarously fed us, cruelly clothed us, wickedly gave us their mats to sleep upon, and finally completed their cup of iniquity by fitting up a prahu to take us to Sarāwak, where I, as captain of a wrecked British ship, was refused by Sir James Brooke's representative so small a loan as five dollars, having first asked for a hundred to repay in some measure the good Samaritans who took so noble a revenge on the next white man who fell into their power." If it were possible to believe that the midnight expedition against the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, in which hundreds of defenceless men and women were destroyed, had taught the pirates charity and forgiveness, or had even prepared their minds to receive the Christian teaching in these high matters, the least that could be said would be that the natives of Borneo were a very peculiar race.

We have suffered greatly in our relations with India from the difficulty of measuring and controlling the responsibility of governors and commanders at a distance. To our affairs there we will now turn. Scinde has been annexed, we have fought and conquered at Hyderàbad and Gwalior, Lord Ellenborough has been recalled, and Sir Henry Hardinge, afterwards Lord Hardinge, has been sent out to supersede him. Sir Henry Hardinge began his career by promoting works of peace, but the ghost of Runjeet Singh was abroad, and the Punjab was in such an unsettled condition that the Sikhs saw that war must come before

long between them and the British. They began the conflict and crossed the Sutlej. Then came the dreadful bloody battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, Sabraon, and Chillianwallah, the names of which are still remembered by even the most casual readers of current or recent history. In these battles the Sikhs were defeated, but with such terrible loss of life on our side that Sir Charles Napier was at last hastily despatched to the seat of war to supersede the existing commander, Lord Gough. Before he reached the spot, however, the struggle was over, the Punjab annexed, the Koh-i-noor diamond carried off. The career of Lord Dalhousie now commences, and it was crowded with labours of peace for the good of India, including railways, telegraphs, cheap postage, and useful public works of many kinds.

It cannot be said that the extension of our Indian empire by the annexation of the Punjab and the conquest of the Sikhs was looked upon at home with eyes of universal approbation. Then, as now, there were politicians who knew that we were assuming fresh responsibilities which might prove a dangerous, or even some day a ruinous burden. Perhaps a glimpse of these Sikhs, of whom so much has been said, may be not unedifying, especially as it is given upon high authority. On one very important occasion before the outbreak of 1845 our minister was unable for days together to obtain an audience, in consequence of the helpless and prolonged intoxication of every individual of the Durbar—queen and all. On one occasion when he attended with despatches of unusual urgency he found Jowahir Singh (then vizier) dressed as a dancing-girl and performing a drunken minuet before the court. On another he met the whole Durbar going out on a gypsy party, with a cavalcade of elephants, each of which carried a lady, a gentleman, and a large bottle of spirits. It was the same in old times. When Sir John Malcolm was in the Punjab with General Lake he perceived that a highly respectable old sirdar, with whom he had been for some time conversing, at a review, seemed low and uneasy. On looking to an attendant for the cause it was intimated that "Fatteh Singh wanted his dram, but was ashamed to drink before the English Sahib." He was begged to follow his usual custom, which he accordingly did, with instantaneous relief. "It was rare," adds Malcolm, "to see a Sikh soldier quite sober after sunset." Runjeet commenced his calculations of Sir Harry Fane's abilities by asking how much he could drink; and it was said that the "old lion's" own death was hastened by his breaking through his prescribed limits in this respect in order to appear to advantage before the British officers. To this passing sketch of one of the back-grounds of history, it is only fair to add that these drunken Sikhs fought bravely, and gave our troops much trouble with their artillery, from which, in the dreadful battles which have been mentioned, they had repeatedly to be driven by the bayonet.

This outline does not exhaust the catalogue of changes in the East which concern us, but for the moment we will quit the Indian peninsula.

Some of the pensions awarded to persons distinguished in art or literature by Sir Robert Peel have already been mentioned. Among those which were given by Lord John Russell while he was premier there was one which demands a word of special notice; this was the annuity of £200 granted by the queen to Leigh Hunt, then sixty-three years of age. It was a poor compensation for what he had suffered at the hands of the powers that were set over English men and women in the days of the regency; but it was something, and it is not easy to record it without a backward glance. The story of his troubles in connection with the *Examiner* newspaper, which he and his brother conducted, is too well known to require telling at length. Leigh Hunt had called the prince regent "a fat Adonis of fifty," and certainly a great deal of strong writing against that personage and his friends appeared in the *Examiner*. A verse from a poem by Lord Byron, which Leigh Hunt inserted, would give some idea of the license which political satirists took in the times when the *Examiner* was a power; but the writing is nearly unquotable,—

"Speed, speed for Vitellius the royal repast,
Till the gluttonous—be stuffed to the gorge,
And the roar of the drunkards proclaim him at last,
The fourth of the fools, and the greatest, called George."

This is not the strongest verse, or nearly so.

It is a great mistake to suppose that Leigh Hunt was heavily fined and imprisoned for two years merely for one sarcastic or contemptuous article. The "fat Adonis of fifty" was a standing butt, and many of the things written about him were in bad taste. The point, however, to which attention may well be directed, when the whole story is recalled in passing, is the extent and variety of the changes—political, literary, and social—which we have gone through since the days of Beau Brummell. Many of these changes have already passed under review; but it so happened that Leigh Hunt, who was always a working man of letters, reflected them all in one or other of his writings. He lived to advocate peace in language which Quakers were glad to quote; temperance, nearly to the length of "abstinence;" religious freedom in terms which are yet too wide for our age; reform in cooking and house-building, education without stint for all, the better culture of women, and the providing of art, literature, and other entertainments of the very highest kind for the people in general. In all these matters Leigh Hunt was not a parrot or an imitator. He had been a true pioneer. It is not generally known or remembered that he was of high Puritan descent, but the fact may have some significance, for, long and active as his life was, not the shadow of a stain rests upon his character as the consistent, genial, but unflinching friend of freedom. A most unfortunate, and by no means blameless, "muddle" on the part of Dickens in sketching the character of Harold Skimpole has had the effect of doing wrong to the memory of this admirable publicist; but the truth is he was always poor, and always lavishly liberal to others, and that he went through much real privation. He enjoyed his pension about ten years, and it was well that it came to him as it did, for he had nearly, if not quite, outlived his function. The days were setting in when the man who would live by his pen was too often to sink to a mere caterer or provider, if not a pander, a calculator beforehand of "what the public want." Few books have given delight to as many thousands of readers as the *Indicator* and *Autobiography*, the *Men, Women, and Books*, and some other works of Leigh Hunt; but though, when once such writing is afloat, it proves profitable and finds a permanent public, it is never produced on the principle of providing for "a public want." Leigh Hunt may be taken as the last survivor of an extinct race of men of letters.

There are many reasons why the name of Leigh Hunt should recall that of Mr. Gladstone's rival, Benjamin Disraeli. The latter, like his father, had shown a great admiration of Lord Byron, and, in a way, of Shelley, though to read his novel of *Venetia* is, by general consent, a bewildering task,—the relations of the two poets being so strangely jumbled. Shelley and Byron, however, were both aristocratic personages, and to a lord or a titled "country gentleman" Disraeli had, by natural instinct, a strong leaning. For literature, also, he had a liking; but Leigh Hunt, after all, was a middle-class plebeian, and though he was a humorist and had rubbed shoulders with Byron, had quarrelled with him. The story of Hunt's imprisonment naturally—and innocently—struck Mr. Disraeli as comic. True, it made Hunt ill and impoverished him for life, but that a middle-class plebeian who had committed the crime of calling a prince-regent fat and fifty should be allowed to paper his room with rose-trellis and receive "genteel" visitors was just the sort of thing to tickle the fancy of the author of *Popanilla*, and we find accordingly that he recalled the story and burlesqued it in that instructive *jeu-d'esprit*. "A prison"—so runs the passage—"conveyed the most lugubrious ideas to the mind of the unhappy Popanilla; and shut up in a hackney-coach with a man on each side of him with a cocked pistol, he formed the most gloomy conceptions of dark dungeons, confined cells, overwhelming fetters, black bread, and green water. He arrived at the principal jail in Hubbabub. He was ushered into an

elegantly furnished apartment, with French sash windows and a piano. Its lofty walls were entirely hung with a fanciful paper which represented a Tuscan vineyard; the ceiling was covered with sky and clouds; roses were in abundance; and the windows though well secured excited no jarring associations in the mind of the individual they illumined, protected, as they were, by polished bars of cut steel. This retreat had been fitted up by a poetical politician who had recently been confined for declaring that the statue was an old idol, originally imported from the Sandwich Isles. Next to being a plenipotentiary, Popanilla preferred being a prisoner. His daily meal consisted of every delicacy of the season: a marble bath was ever at his service; a billiard-room and dumb-bells always ready; and his old friends, the most eminent physician and the most celebrated practitioner in Hubbabub, called upon him daily to feel his pulse and look at his tongue. He was greatly consoled by a daily visit from a body of the most beautiful, the most accomplished, and the most virtuous females in Hubbabub; who tasted his food to see that his cook did his duty, recommended him a plentiful use of pine-apple well peppered, and made him a present of a very handsome shirt, with worked frills and ruffles, to be hanged in."

This kind of indirect criticism, committing him to nothing, constituted a considerable portion of the early activity of Mr. Disraeli's pen and tongue. But of course it could not last for ever. Sooner or later a man of his mould was bound to become a partisan, and at first to fight with almost any weapon that came to hand.

Great changes in the general quality and spirit of our literature had now for some time been going on. Mr. Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution* had produced a meteoric effect, and Macaulay's *History of England*, which had a greater immediate success than any novels except those of Dickens, and considering its price the greatest success of any book that ever was written, may be said to have made the author a fortune in two or three days. But a word must be said of one who has been regarded as a greater man than either of these, the poet who disputes with Byron and Shelley the highest of all intellectual honours. William Wordsworth was made poet-laureate. He was out of sympathy with his time; was not pleased either with the manufacturing or the railway system; and had written verses—which he afterwards suppressed—calling the spirit of political reform something like a demon "sprung from envy and self-conceit." Mr. Grote, "hugging his ballot-box," was also celebrated in rhyme, but that poem too was withdrawn; not because the illustrious author had changed his opinions, but because he thought the topics trivial or out of place. In 1843 Wordsworth was made poet-laureate upon the death of Southey. He was now nearly eighty years of age, and the honour was no more than an honour, though, in 1847, he wrote (in compliance with an intimation from the queen) an ode for the installation of Prince Albert as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. The ode, written when his beloved and only surviving daughter Dora Quillinan was dying, was printed in the *Athenæum* of the day, but has not been reproduced in the poet's collected works. Wordsworth died in April, 1850. His work had long been done, but will never be forgotten. His influence was exerted mainly by means of gradual infiltration through the upper strata of contemporary thought, but in that way it was without a parallel. It has been said that neither Shakspere, Pope, nor Milton, but only the Bible itself, has contributed so many vitalizing lines to general literature. Not a number of any reputable newspaper or magazine appears without some quotation from this poet, very likely without quotation-marks. "Huts where poor men lie" (contrasted with palaces); "we have all one human heart;" "the world is too much with us;" "one that would peep and botanize upon his mother's grave;" "all things that love the sun;" "the depth and not the tumult of the soul;" "earth has not anything to show more fair;" "pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free;" "unassuming commonplace of nature;" "thoughts that lie too deep for tears;" these, and more than two hundred other phrases, are in com-

mon use without quotation marks, and it is plain that the writer who uses them has often no idea that he is quoting from a poet at all.

The literature and much of the intellectual attitude of the period over which we have already passed was doubtless considerably influenced by the early alliance of Coleridge and Wordsworth, an alliance which began before our chronicle commences, namely, in 1797, when Coleridge, who was more conversant with systems of philosophy and the varieties of general literature, was astonished to find a man so simple and yet so grand, who out of the common appearances of the world, and by original contemplations of nature, could evolve new and unexpected feelings. "I feel myself a little man by his side," wrote the great conversationalist; while on the other hand Wordsworth, writing of Coleridge, said that other men of the age had done wonderful things, but Coleridge was the only wonderful man he had ever known.

There are some amusing stories told of this early companionship, and of their joint transactions with Mr. Cottle, the publisher, who tells of a jaunt in which, having driven Wordsworth from Bristol to Alfoxden in a gig, he called at Stowey by the way to summon Coleridge and Miss Wordsworth, who followed swiftly on foot. The Alfoxden pantry was empty—so they carried with them bread and cheese and a bottle of brandy. A beggar stole the cheese, which set Coleridge expatiating on the superior virtues of brandy. It was he that, with thirsty impatience, took out the horse; but as he let down the shafts the theme of his eloquence rolled from the seat, and was dashed to pieces on the ground. Coleridge, abashed, gave the horse up to Cottle, who tried to pull off the collar. It proved too much for the worthy citizen's strength, and he called to Wordsworth to assist. Wordsworth retired baffled, and was relieved by the ever-handy Coleridge. There seemed more likelihood of their pulling off the animal's head than his collar, and they marvelled by what magic it had ever been got on. "La, master," said the servant-girl, who was passing by, "you don't go the right way to work;" and turning round the collar she slipped it off in an instant, to the utter confusion of the three luminaries.

In his rambles Wordsworth contracted an extensive acquaintance with yeomen and peasants, and mingled much in what he expressively calls their "*slow* and familiar chat." Mr. Justice Coleridge, whose Reminiscences are the most valuable portion of the Memoirs of Wordsworth, says that it was impossible to go a mile in his company without observing his affectionate interest in simple natures; with what easy, hearty kindness he addressed all he met; and how full was their demeanour towards him of cordiality and respect, of love and honour. His particular delight was to detect traits in the poor which denoted sensibility of heart. "I like," said a shepherd to him as they went along the bank of a murmuring stream, "I like to walk where I can hear the sound of a beck." "I cannot but think," comments Wordsworth, always eager to give a worthy sentiment its widest scope, "that this man has had many devout feelings connected with the appearances which have presented themselves to him in his employment, and that the pleasure of his heart at that moment was an acceptable offering to the Divine Being." Mr. Justice Coleridge was with him when they met a humble neighbour with a string of trout which Wordsworth wished to buy. "Nay," replied the man, "I cannot sell them; the little children at home look for them for supper, and I can't disappoint them;"—an answer which charmed the poet. The juniors had an abundant share of his attention. Mr. Robinson observed him at the amphitheatre of Nismes absorbed in the least imposing part of the prospect. They were two young children playing with flowers which had captivated his eye, and his fellow-traveller overheard him murmuring, "Oh, you darlings! how I wish I could put you in my pocket and carry you to Rydal Mount!"

It was in the open air that he found the materials for his poems, and it was, he says, in the open air that nine-tenths of them were shaped. A stranger asked permission of the servant at Rydal to see the study. "This," said she, as she showed the room, "is my master's library where he keeps his books, but

his study is out of doors." The poor neighbours, on catching the sound of his humming in the act of verse-making after some prolonged absence, were wont to exclaim, "There he is; we are glad to hear him *booing* about again."

"God bless your majesty! We hope your majesty is for Doctor Sacheverell!" The young queen was not plagued by shouting mobs as Queen Anne was, but ecclesiastico-political controversies were rife at the commencement of her reign. In England an important legal decision in the celebrated Gorham case—the echoes of which have not yet died away—was the first of a series which made what is called the Broad Church a legal possibility in England. Soon afterwards we come to the case of Bishop Hampden. In Scotland occurred the great Disruption controversy, and with this we shall open a brief record of some of these matters. Of course the historical reporter is neutral and impartial, except so far as he must and will lean towards nobleness, sincerity, and suffering.

The Disruption, which led to, or which consisted in (for we must be cautious) the formation of the Free Kirk of Scotland has now passed out of the region of romance, so far as the general recollection of it is concerned; but the story had really some very romantic incidents in it, and there is not a tinge of exaggeration in saying that while it was in progress the eyes of the world were fixed upon Scotland. One incident we will dispose of at once, as it deserves record, and yet would interrupt the main narrative. The most illustrious name connected with the movement is of course that of the great and good Chalmers. The doctor's eloquence on one occasion early in the struggle betrayed him into an indiscretion, at least it was so reported, and the subject led to much angry discussion at the moment, though it was soon forgotten, as it deserved to be. It is well known that Chalmers was an ardent church-and-state man, and that the promoters of the Disruption—unwilling promoters all of them—were anxious to avoid "schism," both the word and the fact. Dr. Chalmers, in an ardent speech, disclaimed political Dissent, and said something like this of Dissenters in general—"We disagree with them on their fundamental principle, *we can have no communion with them.*" The latter words, which certainly did not mean, in the lips of the noble, spiritually-minded Chalmers, that he would have no "communion" (in the religious sense) with Nonconformists, raised nevertheless a storm, and caused deep pain both in England and Scotland. Almost before the words were cold the Dissenters south of the Tweed, roused to intense sympathy with the Scottish protesters, poured in very large subscriptions in aid of the secession. Even without that form of "pressure from without" Dr. Chalmers would have withdrawn his words, or explained them, or explained them away, as he did or was said to have done—and this accomplished, all went on better. Dr. Chalmers was an immense favourite in England, almost an idol with tens of thousands of the religious classes, and throughout the Disruption story his noble image towers above all the others. He was not only looked up to as a man of genius and large accomplishment, but was beloved and honoured as a zealous labourer in behalf of the poor, ignorant, and vicious among the population, over which he had any direct influence. There were may true stories afloat about him too, which went straight to the hearts of earnest religious men. It is well known, for example, that he began his career as a minister with old-fashioned notions of the limits of his function, and spent a great deal of time at his beloved mathematics. Some years later, an over-zealous brother in the Assembly taunted him with this. "Sir," said Chalmers in his reply, "I conceived immediately that this gentleman had been working at the trade of a resurrectionist, but I stand now a repentant culprit at the bar of this Assembly. At that time I had not learned, as I have by divine assistance learned since, that there are two magnitudes—" and so on (we are quoting from memory), carrying with him the sympathy not only of the Assembly, but all the world, as he compared the magnitude of mathematical science with that other magnitude of spiritual truth. The good doctor had a great gift of iteration—it was part and parcel both of his elo-

quence and his earnestness. It is recognized that there was great truth in the humorous attack of Sara Coleridge on his manner:—"When the wordy doctor does get hold of an argument, what a splutter does he make with it for dozens of pages. He is like a child with a new wax doll, he hugs it, kisses it, holds it up to be admired, makes its eyes open and shut, puts it on a pink gown, puts it on a blue gown, ties it on a yellow sash; then pretends to take it to task, chatters at it, shakes it, and whips it, tells it not to be so proud of its fine false ringlets, which can all be cut off in a minute, then takes it into favour again, and at last, to the relief of all the company, puts it to bed." The criticisms of Sara Coleridge were of course written from a point of view not taken by the general reader even of books like those of Chalmers, much less by the hearers of his spoken addresses. The iteration which to a cultivated and thoughtful reader, like the daughter of the great Englishman, is intolerable, is a help rather than a hinderance to those who listen to a speech or sermon and do not care so much for the trains of thoughts it interprets or brings with it as for the immediate effect it produces. At all events Chalmers deserved, to the height, all the homage he received, and he proved a grand leader of the Free Church movement, with such men as Welsh and Candlish by his side as lieutenants.

The rights of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland (as conceived by the Free Kirk advocates) were supposed to be guaranteed by the settlement at the Revolution, and the Treaty of Union, but in about five years, when so-called Jacobite counsels began to prevail in England, patronage was restored by an act of parliament under Queen Anne. It is contended that this was purely a Jacobite measure, intended to make Scottish ministers more dependent upon the aristocratic power and influence; but it is beyond dispute that it soon led to debate, resistance, dissent, and secession. At first the Scotch Church protested, but by degrees, under the influence of causes which were as familiar in England as they were elsewhere, the protesting spirit declined, and it is admitted on all hands that the church courts themselves acted with a high hand from time to time, though there was no direct invasion of the rights of the congregation—as conceived by the resisting side, for, of course, this sketch is written with all reserve. In most cases, if not all, even where the nominee of the lay patron was really "forced," or said to be forced, upon the congregation, the form of a "call" from that body was gone through; though the callers were often only a few persons,—"a driblet of a parish," to use the phrase of Chalmers.

In the year 1834 there ensued a change. The so-called Moderate party were in a minority, and the accession to power of the party which held certain views of the rights and duties of the congregation was signalized by the passing of the Veto Law. This was an attempt to make those views binding within the kirk (views similar to those of the English Congregationalists) in spite of the law of lay patronage. The Veto Law decreed that no presentee should be admitted to minister in the kirk if a majority of the male members of the congregation, in full communion, voted against him. High legal authorities gave the opinion that this was not incompatible with the Act of 1711, but practically the two proved to be incapable of being worked together.

When Lord Kinnoull "presented" a certain Mr. Young to the parish of Auchterarder, the congregation vetoed him, and the presbytery refused to take him on trial, standing fast by the Veto Law of the Assembly, which placed the right of refusal (to accept the spiritual ministrations of the minister presented by the lay patron) in the hands of the congregation. The Court of Session first, and next the House of Lords, overruled all this; and, without going into detail, it will be seen that the civil and spiritual "authorities" were thus (as might have been predicted) at variance. Nevertheless, when the kirk Assembly made it clear that they did not dispute the law so far as it was purely secular, and Mr. Young accepted, without a fight, the mere manse and temporalities of Auchterarder, the matter stood still—for a very short time only.

The presbytery of Strathbogie became the

point at which both combatants decided to fight the question out. Only one male communicant could be got to sign the "call" to a certain Mr. Edwards. The Assembly directed the presbytery to "present" another minister, upon which Mr. Edwards applied for an interdict from the Court of Session and obtained it. The presbytery, composed of seven ministers, placed between the Veto Law and the civil power, chose to obey the civil power, and Mr. Edwards retained, so far, the power of spiritual ministration to the one communicant. But the General Assembly had their powers too; they summoned the seven ministers of the Strathbogie presbytery into their presence, and, on the motion of Chalmers, deposed the whole seven, declared their parishes vacant, and appointed fresh ministers. Upon this the deposed seven appealed, and the Court of Session passed an interdict against the other and newly appointed seven. Meanwhile, the words Intrusionist and Non-intrusionist, Auchterarder and Strathbogie, were becoming household words in England; the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* got as far as physical force in a few cases; and the Dissenters everywhere were in high hopes that the final outcome of this crucial case would settle the old questions for ever—in spite of the loyalty of Chalmers to the principle of an Established Church in every state. Of course Jenny Geddes was invoked, and if stools were not flung, other things were.

The question was serious enough, but for the space of about two years the Intrusionists had the best of it. In 1843 Lord Aberdeen, acting on the side of the Intrusionists, brought in a bill giving the presbytery power to reject the nominees of lay patrons. This might have answered the purpose of preventing a secession if it had been introduced into parliament at an earlier stage of the matter, but it was now too late. It took a long time to become law, and in reply to a memorial from the Assembly Sir James Graham had used language which did not cool the flames that were now raging. The appeal from the Assembly to parliament came to nothing, and though a rupture was now imminent, the House of Commons treated the matter rather coolly, and rejected the appeal by a large majority.

In the meanwhile a great lesson was preparing for cynics and men of the world in general. As we have before said, we are dealing with this story simply as a matter of history, and without passing any judgment upon the principle or policy of the Disruption except such as any honest and disengaged mind might pass; but all over the world, among all classes of religionists, there was but one opinion of the lesson of which we have spoken. Was it possible, the worldlings asked, that any considerable number of ministers would give up position and daily bread at the bidding of a simple conviction on a point of ecclesiastical policy or principle? The cynics decided that it was not possible, and the more sanguine Intrusionists held that only about a dozen ministers would secede.

On the 18th of May, 1843, the Assembly met in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh. Dr. Welsh, the outgoing moderator, took the chair (according to custom); but now descended the thunderbolt. Instead of taking the next routine step, Dr. Welsh, with evident sorrow and deep solemnity, read a declaration of secession on behalf of himself and no fewer than 168 ministers of the Scotch Church. These 168 seceding brethren rose, and withdrew on the spot. Led by Dr. Welsh and Dr. Chalmers, and followed by cheers outside, with which they would have been glad to dispense, these ministers walked in procession to the building at Canonmills which had been prepared for the occasion, where they found 300 more of the seceding clergy, and a great number of laymen. Jeffrey, then Lord Jeffrey, was hardly the man from whom much enthusiasm in such a matter was to be looked for, but it was said that, looking on the procession with tears in his eyes if not on his cheeks, he said, "Thank God I am a Scotchman! Such a spectacle could not be seen in any other country!"

On this day the Free Church of Scotland was constituted, and for some time the sufferings of both people and preachers were in many cases great. Though the genius of Chalmers as an economist had previously

devised the Sustentation Fund (a great financial scheme upon which it is unnecessary to dwell), and though, in a very bad year commercially, no less than £300,000 was subscribed towards the support of the Free Kirk in a few months, there was much hardship and privation to be gone through. The great landlords were very long before they would allow churches or manses to be built on their estates, and in cold and heat many of the seceders met for divine service in the open air as the Covenanters had done before them. In the century with which we have to deal this story stands alone for moral sublimity, take which side we will on the question of intrusion and non-intrusion.

It was not alone in Scotland that the winds were let loose. There were mutterings of storm south of the Tweed, and indeed all over Europe where the question of the respective rights of church and state could arise. In 1844 the discussions on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill were made use of for the purpose of raising wider issues than the measure appeared to touch. To these wider issues Mr. Gladstone, among others, showed himself wide awake. In England the Nonconformists proper — those who had all along hoped that the Scottish secession would, by the mere force of events, land the seceders on that farther shore upon which they themselves stood—had now a special organ, the *Nonconformist*. This, like the Anti-State Church Association (now known as the Liberation Society), was originated by Mr. Edward Miall, who, with his partisans, aimed at nothing less than the entire separation of church and state in these islands; and indeed acted as if they thought it not so very remote a possibility.

Many things seemed at the time to favour this hope on the part of the Dissenters south of the Tweed. The Oxford movement had borne fruit, and what was known as the High Church party was rapidly gaining ground. In 1845 there were so many portents of coming trouble that Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, issued an address to the clergy, recommending mutual forbearance between high and low. No prelate could be more amiable than Howley, and one very good thing is reported of him. After J. H. Newman, the author of Tract XC., seceded to the Church of Rome, he was shortly followed by others, among whom was Robert Wilberforce, the brother of Bishop Wilberforce. The latter is said to have gone to Howley for advice under the circumstances, and to have asked the question, "How does your grace think I ought now to treat my brother?" The kindly archbishop smiled a serious smile, and answered, "As a brother."

But not even so amiable a prelate as this could keep things smooth in London. Disraeli has drawn a masterly sketch of the bishop of that see, and his way of dealing with the difficulties that were constantly coming before him. "He was one of those leaders who are not guides. Having little real knowledge, and not endowed with those high qualities of intellect which permit their possessor to generalize the details afforded by study and experience, and so deduce rules of conduct; his lordship, when he received those frequent appeals, which were the necessary consequence of his officious life, became obscure, confused, contradictory, inconsistent, illogical. The oracle was always dark. Placed in a high post in an age of political analysis, the bustling intermeddler was unable to supply society with a single solution. Enunciating second-hand, with characteristic precipitation, some big principle in vogue, as if he were a discoverer, he invariably shrank from its subsequent application the moment that he found it might be unpopular and inconvenient. All his quandaries terminated in the same catastrophe—a compromise.

"Beginning with the second reformation, which was a little rash but dashing, the bishop, always ready, had in the course of his episcopal career placed himself at the head of every movement in the church which others had originated, and had as regularly withdrawn at the right moment, when the heat was over, or had become, on the contrary, excessive. Furiously evangelical, soberly high and dry, and fervently Puseyite, each phasis of his faith concludes with what the Spaniards term a 'transaction.'"

The Bishop of London pledged himself to the young "Tancred" that there would be a

bishop at Manchester soon, and in 1847 his pledge was fulfilled; but this was not the kind of advance to satisfy the new party which Disraeli had set himself to form. This party, for whom he sketched the programme, cared nothing for what they called "a *parliamentary* church;" they made no secret of their desire to go back to Laud, and farther still. The throne, the territorial aristocracy, and the priesthood were to be at the top, the poor at the bottom, and the middle classes nowhere. That was the scheme. "The parochial system, though shaken by the fatal poor-law, is still the most ancient, the most comprehensive, and the most popular institution of the country; the younger priests are, in general, men whose souls are awake to the high mission which they have to fulfil, and which their predecessors so neglected; there is, I think, a rising feeling in the community, that parliamentary interference in matters ecclesiastical has not tended either to the spiritual or to the material elevation of the humbler orders. Divorce the church from the state, and the spiritual power that struggled against the brute force of the dark ages against tyrannical monarchs and barbarous barons will struggle again in opposition to influences of a different form, but of a similar tendency, equally selfish, equally insensible, equally barbarizing. The priests of God are the tribunes of the people. O, ignorant! that with such a mission they should never have cringed in the ante-chambers of ministers, or bowed before parliamentary committees!" So wrote Disraeli.

Whatever might be said for or against this scheme, with especial relation to the part that the church was to take in the general progress and government of society, certain it is that events were hastening to throw side-lights upon the whole subject. When once it became plain that free-trade could no longer be postponed, and that somehow or other it would be carried over the heads of its enemies (much more when Sir Robert had repealed the corn-laws), the Dissenters everywhere set themselves to force the question of disestablishment to the front. Lord John Russell and some others offended the Nonconformists in more ways than one. But the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council on Education which accompanied the increase of the annual grant for education to £100,000, contained provisions as to the application of the money which aroused not simply displeasure, but violent and angry opposition. Since those days Dissenters have changed their front in regard to national education (or the large majority of them have done so); but the prevailing, or at least the central and authoritative view at that time was that the state had no right to interfere at all with the education of the people. Now it was held, and no doubt justly, that certain provisions in these minutes would tend to increase the power of the Established Church in the matter of popular education. That any increase in the grant would be opposed by the Church party, and effectually opposed, unless they were conciliated, was no argument in the minds of the more "advanced" political Dissenters, and Mr. Bright took up the "advanced" ground in opposing the minutes. The Philosophical Radicals, and that very unphilosophical Radical, Mr. Duncombe (with other Radicals), opposed the minutes, but did not back up Mr. Bright. When, however, the bishopric of Manchester was created, and the bill for doing so declared in its preamble that it was expedient that three other bishoprics should be set up in this country, Whigs, Tories, and Radicals united in opposing the declaration, and the preamble was amended in that sense. But the waters were out, and *this* was only a trifle.

It might almost be said that in the Hampden case we had, in little, a question like that of Strathbogie. Dr. Hampden's heterodoxy was of a kind which would now pass utterly unnoticed, but those were bigoted and unscrupulous days. Dr. Hampden had in some respects succeeded to the position of Dr. Arnold, and had made himself obnoxious to the "Tractarian party," as it was then called. Nor was he welcome to what would now be called the Low Church party as a body. He had fallen under the censure of his university (Oxford) for his opinions, and he was no friend of a high-handed ecclesiastical policy. When Lord John Russell nominated him to the see

of Hereford, great was the outcry. The Bishop of Exeter, Philpott, was the stormy petrel of those times, and was the subject of much caricature. As a very high churchman he began the fight, and kept it going in ways that led to his being burned in effigy as well as pretty strongly abused. Thirteen bishops united in praying the premier to cancel the appointment, and the Dean of Hereford declared his intention of disobeying the *congé d'élire*. Lord John then wrote him a very curt and careful letter, in which he acknowledged the receipt of one from the dean, in which he had "announced his intention of breaking the law;" and his lordship threatened the unfortunate cleric with nothing less than the penalties of the statute of *præmunire*. As hardly anybody knew what this meant (though the subject is simple enough) the merriment now grew louder and louder. What would become of the Dean of Hereford? The greater number of the chapter took the usual legal course of compliance; the highest legal authorities decided that the archbishop must do the same; and Dr. Hampden was confirmed in the appointment at Bow Church, London, on the 16th of January, 1848. The recalcitrant ecclesiastics were there by their proctors and claimed to be heard in opposition to the confirmation; but the election was pronounced "unanimous" in due form, and Dr. Hampden took his place as Bishop of Hereford. Records yet exist, in private or published letters and otherwise, of the partial "block" in busy Cheapside on this curious occasion. Nobody was wholly pleased with the result of an unseemly contest, and Lord John Russell was for some little time under a cloud for his haughtiness and want of tact in a matter which most people fancied might have been better managed. This case, however, was only the beginning of a longer story, in which the relations of the clergy of the Established Church of England and the state have appeared to be more and more stretched as time went on. Bishop Philpott of Exeter was, as has been already suggested, the great *malleus hæreticorum* in the Church of England, and in all particulars sought to enforce the last jot and tittle of the law in ecclesiastical matters. For example, he not only refused to release one of his clergy, the Rev. J. Shore, from his ordination vows, but prosecuted him in the ecclesiastical courts for preaching without a license, and followed the case up to actual imprisonment, Mr. Shore (whose misfortune excited great sympathy at the time) remaining in jail three months for nonpayment of costs. This was an act of high-handedness which not even the celebrated Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man would have been guilty of. More important, however, was the great Gorham case, which kept all England in hot water and filled the secular journals with writing about "prevenient grace" and other such recondite matters while it lasted. The great Bishop of Exeter was again the originator of the strife, but the result was anything but agreeable to him and his party.

Lord-chancellor Cottenham, Lord John Russell being premier at the time, nominated the Rev. Cornelius Gorham, formerly fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and then vicar of St. Just in Penrith, to the vicarage of Brampford-Speke, in the diocese of Exeter. Bishop Philpott refused to institute Mr. Gorham, stating that, having examined him, he had found him to be unsound according to the doctrine of the English Church upon the subject of baptism, Mr. Gorham maintaining that the rite was not accompanied (necessarily) by spiritual regeneration, and especially that infants are not therein "made members of Christ and children of God," as the articles and the catechism declare they are. Any omission of details like these would leave the story unintelligible, particularly in its bearing upon subsequent conflicts between clerical and secular authorities or partisans. By the Arches Court of Canterbury, before which this dispute came in regular course, it was decided that "baptismal regeneration" was the doctrine of the Church of England, that Mr. Gorham held doctrines opposed to those of the articles, and that consequently the bishop, against whose decision appeal was made, had rightly refused to institute Mr. Gorham. The appeal was dismissed with costs against the appellant, and immense was the excitement of that party in the Establish-

ment, then a much larger party than it is now, who sided with the appellant, to say nothing of the whole mass of Dissenters, who were of course with him on the point of doctrine as held by himself, whatever they thought of his attitude in relation to the thirty-nine articles and the church of which he was a member.

Of course the question was not to rest here, nor was the lord-chancellor to be beaten in this way. Mr. Gorham appealed to the judicial committee of the privy council, who declared that the questions put by Bishop Philpott to Mr. Gorham in his examination had been intricate and vexatious, while on the other hand the clergyman's answers had not been as straightforward as they might have been. But now came their decision. First of all, these highest legal authorities laid it down that they had no power to determine points of doctrine as such, no jurisdiction for settling what should be "the faith" in the Church of England; all they could do was to deal with *the legal application* of the articles and other formularies. The committee in their judgment recalled facts which had not at that time become so much common public property as they have since, though they were not new to students in such matters. It was clear that the promoters of the reformation of the English Church held widely different opinions on the subject of baptism; that distinguished prelates, whose orthodoxy no one had ever impeached, had held views similar to Mr. Gorham's, and that in law and practice many differences of opinion had been held consistent with subscription of the articles. The court, then, expressing no opinion as the theological soundness of Mr. Gorham's doctrines (which was not within its function), decided that he was within the law and the practice, and they therefore reversed the decision of the court below. Mr. Gorham was in due course now instituted to Brampford-Speke, and great was the triumph of that portion of the clergy called Evangelical,—a large number of whom were prepared to secede from the Establishment if the decision of the privy council committee had gone against him. This Gorham case occupied the courts and the country for two years. The literature of the subject was enormous, and there was, of course, much hot blood in it. But it was now brought out clearly for the first time that there was in the Church of England no legal authority, with power to enforce its decrees, that could establish or disestablish *points of doctrine as such.* It will be important to bear this in mind when the course of years brings this narrative down to more recent and perhaps more intricate cases; in which the precedent of the Gorham case has been followed in this particular. Of course these controversies were not carried on without some of the good humour and "fun" which are characteristic of the English people. One caricature represented the Dean of Hereford startled in bed at night by a ghost bearing the features of Lord John Russell, and labelled *præmunire;* and another showed the Bishop of Exeter under an attack of influenza making wry faces over a basin marked with the words "Gorham Gruel," while John Bull dressed as a nurse popped his head into the room saying, "You have got your gruel, how do you like it?" The explanation of the allusion would be beneath the dignity of the muse of history, but it was well "understanded of the people."

The general public have long ago forgotten Cardinal Wiseman; but there was a time when he was the central figure of as great a commotion as any lover of popular excitement need desire to witness. His face and figure, too, were very familiar, through portraits chiefly, for his health did not permit the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster to show himself as much as his successor has done. Neither did Cardinal Wiseman lead so active a life. Dr. Manning has a face and air at once ascetic and commanding. Dr. Wiseman had not. His face was broad and well fleshed, his chin was double, and he certainly had nothing ascetic in his appearance; on the contrary, he looked (to recall the words of a rude Protestant) "as if he took his glass reg'lar!" He was accomplished in art, a great linguist, and a self-restrained and plausible controversialist. Though born at Seville he was of Irish extraction, and was partly educated at

Waterford. His college career at Rome was one of the most splendid on record, and when he came to England it was not long before his acquirements as an Oriental scholar, and his thoughtful ingenuity as a writer on Catholic theology and its connection with science, made him conspicuous. He took an active and effective part in the Tractarian controversy, and, with the aid of O'Connell, founded that remarkable organ of opinion, the *Dublin Review*. His talents were of just the kind that were wanted for the Roman Catholic cause at that time, and at about forty-four years of age Nicholas Wiseman was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the London district, having for some time previously borne the title of Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium*. The effects of the Tractarian, or, as it was then called, Puseyite movement had of course been watched at Rome, where it was now thought the time had come for a stroke of policy which should supersede the necessity for "vicars apostolic."

This brings us to the point at which the subject of the Papal aggression, as it was termed, comes into view. Since the final establishment of Protestantism by law as the religion of this country, members of the Established Church had of course filled the sees, and held territorial or local titles. It was illegal for any bishop of the Roman Catholic Church to officiate in England, and the difficulty which hence arose in carrying out the regular functions of an episcopal church among the "faithless" (*in partibus infidelium*) was got over by a system of vicars apostolic, or delegates from the pope himself. Then again, by the act 10 Geo. IV. c. vii., it was provided that the right and title of archbishops to their respective provinces, of bishops to their sees, and of deans to their deaneries, as well in England as in Ireland, having been settled and established by law, "any person other than the person thereto entitled who should assume to use the name, style, or title of archbishop of any province, bishop of any bishopric, or dean of any deanery in England or Ireland, should for every such offence forfeit £100." In a quiet way, meanwhile, Roman Catholic bishops did exercise episcopal functions in England, and they even assumed territorial titles, the latter, however, being imaginary. For instance, Wiseman had the title of Bishop of Melipotamus. But from the time of the Catholic Relief Act there had been a growing desire among Catholics abroad as well as in England that there should be a revival in this country of their ancient system of territorial sees, and this was part of a general feeling that the time was come when the Roman Catholic system in general might safely, and with advantage to itself, take up a more prominent position in this country, not to say a more authoritative one. It has, we believe, been maintained, if not proved, that in proportion to the population there is no "increase" of Roman Catholicism in England; but it is undoubtedly true that it has, since the date of the permanent endowment of Maynooth, been, to use a Gallicism, much more *en evidence;* has claimed and received much more attention, and been treated in a more liberal and conciliatory spirit. At the time of the aggression the Protestant public were yet very sore upon the subject of Maynooth, and all was ready for a ferment.

Things standing thus, the pope (who was then, of course, a temporal prince) took upon himself in 1850 to divide England into twelve sees, one of them being the archbishopric of Westminster, to which Cardinal Wiseman was appointed. Care was taken to avoid clashing with the territorial names of the Established sees, and it was contended by a large minority that there was nothing in the measure that called for the slightest interference on our part. Any reader of this history may if he pleases write upon his cards Marquis of Melrose and Baron Smithfield; and why (asked the minority) were not the Roman Catholics as much at liberty to assign territorial names to what they called bishoprics as the Wesleyans to their circuits or stations? This, however, did not weigh against the strange phenomenon of a papal rescript or brief issued from St. Peter's, "under the ring of the Fisherman," dated 30th September, 1850, especially as this was followed by a pastoral letter from the Cardinal, then at Rome, which was "Given out of the Flaminian Gate." Dr. Candlish

and others in Scotland sounded terrible notes of alarm—which was not to be wondered at—and 3145 petitions were presented to parliament at the commencement of the session of 1851, protesting against "the recent measures taken by the pope for the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England." The excitement was general and intense, and certainly not unnatural. Cardinal Wiseman published an *Appeal* to our *Reason and Good Sense*, but the storm was not allayed — and even Mr. Gladstone thought the *Pastoral Letter*, &c. &c., somewhat strong. Lord John Russell wrote an indignant letter to the Bishop of Durham, and introduced a bill imposing a penalty of £100 for every contravention of provisions which made the assumption of territorial episcopal titles in England or Ireland illegal. The penalty was to be recoverable upon the suit of anybody, *with the consent of the attorney-general in England or the advocate-general in Scotland*, in which latter country the existing sees were excepted. In Ireland this act, called the *Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Act* (14 & 15 Victoria cap. xlix.), was perhaps broken here and there, but no prosecutions took place under its provisions, and eventually, after an inquiry by a parliamentary committee, it was repealed. Mr. Gladstone opposed the bill, and though it was passed by a large majority, Lord John Russell has given in his *Recollections* a rather halting account of his own performance in this matter. "I did not," says his lordship when Earl Russell and very late in life, "I did not think it necessary to enter into any minute explanations of my reasons for introducing a bill for the prevention of the assumption of ecclesiastical titles by the pope. The object of that bill was merely to assert the supremacy of the crown. It was never intended to prosecute any Roman Catholic bishops who did not act in glaring and ostentatious defiance of the queen's title to the crown. Accordingly a very clever artist represented me in a caricature as a boy who had chalked up 'No Popery' upon a wall and then run away. This was a very fair joke. In fact I wanted to place the assertion of the queen's title to appoint bishops on the statute-book and there leave it. I kept in the hands of the crown the discretion to prosecute or not any offensive denial of the queen's rights. My purpose was fully answered. Those who wished to give the pope the right of appointing bishops in England opposed the bill. When my object had been gained I had no objection to repeal the act. During my temporary resignation of office, which took place on the question of Mr. Locke King's motion for an alteration of the county franchise, Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham endeavoured to persuade me not to persevere with the bill, but to be satisfied with parliamentary resolutions asserting the rights of the crown. I did not like to retire from the position I had assumed. But in substance the course suggested by Lord Aberdeen would have been as effectual and less offensive than that which I adopted."

The caricature in which Lord John was represented as a little boy running away frightened after having chalked up *No Popery* on Cardinal Wiseman's door appeared in *Punch*.

It may be mentioned that both Oxford university (for which Mr. Gladstone was the member) and that of Cambridge presented petitions to the queen in favour of the bill. Her majesty received the petitions in the presence of the Prince Consort and Lord John, and replied in terms which reflect great credit on their inventor. "I thank you," said her majesty, "for your loyal and dutiful address. I fully participate in your expression of gratitude to Almighty God for the blessings which He has been pleased to bestow upon this country, and I rejoice in the proofs which have been given of the zealous and undiminished attachment of the people of England to the principles asserted at the Reformation. While it is my earnest wish that complete freedom of conscience should be enjoyed by all classes of my subjects, it is my constant aim to uphold the great privileges and extend the usefulness of the church established by law in this country, and to secure to my people the full possession of their ancient rights and liberties."

While the queen read this reply she looked rather excited, and Lord John Russell stroked his chin. The address certainly carried out

to the letter the lawyer's advice, "Listen to all that other people say and never tell them anything."

To conclude, as we began, with Cardinal Wiseman. Although he studiously "made himself agreeable," seized on "sympathetic" topics with great dexterity, and wrote a story called *Fabiola*, which had some popularity, the general British public never liked him. He was too adroit, too artistic, too much a man of the world. Rightly or wrongly he passed for a clever *bon vivant*, full of ambition and showy rather than solid ability. He lived only till he was sixty-three years of age.

It must be remembered again and again that the public mind had been since 1845–6, and all through the years of revolution, under a perfect cyclone of excitement. Some very absurd and some very harsh and unguarded things were said on all hands. Sir Robert Peel's measure for the permanent endowment of Maynooth (the grant to which had previously been dependent on an annual vote, and in relation to which Mr. Gladstone took a course the significance of which will be still further seen hereafter) had stretched to the utmost the patience of the old-fashioned Protestant party. Rioting, burning in effigy, pamphlets, sermons, "mass" meetings, and all the strongest machinery of religious agitation had been set in motion. Maynooth was the cause of the Irish famine, and also of the cholera of 1849! It was what had encouraged the pope! The cause of Italian freedom had been cruelly checked by the interference of France at the instigation of Roman Catholic bigots. Nobody was to be trusted. Macaulay, who supported the grant, talked of "the bray of Exeter Hall"—nay, he called men like Candlish and Hugh M'Neile "braying asses"—for which some reports, little to his advantage, gave "praying asses." This cost him his seat at the election of 1847. Then there had been the Chartist scare, and some had maintained that Jesuits were busily employed in that also; that the policy of the Roman Catholics was to shake the foundations of belief and social order, for a short time, in order to drive England back into the bosom of Holy Church! In fact there was thunder in the air every way. Some of the poems, sermons, and speeches of Kingsley and others gave a strange voice to the pent-up excitement of the time:—

"*The Day of the Lord is at hand, at hand!*
Its storms roll up the sky:
The nations sleep starving on heaps of gold;
All dreamers toss and sigh.

Gather you, gather you, angels of God—
Freedom, and Mercy, and Truth;
Come! for the Earth is grown coward and old;
Come down and renew us her youth.

Gather you, gather you, hounds of hell—
Famine, and Plague, and War;
Idleness, Bigotry, Cant, and Misrule,
Gather and fall in the snare!
Hireling and Mammonite, Bigot and Knave,
Crawl to the battle-field, sneak to your grave,
In the Day of the Lord at hand."

The more earnest of the prophetic or poetic souls were deeply disappointed when the horizon cleared, and the nobler enthusiasms of the hour died out, as they did. Other excitement was to come, but the year of the Great Exhibition, which we are now approaching, scarcely answered to the spirit of those passionate lines of the author of *Alton Locke*.

The subject of flogging in the army had never been quite allowed to sleep for many years past. Mr. Hume and others had kept public attention on the alert by speeches, motions, or pamphlets, and in 1847 occurred an incident which, melancholy in itself, proved beneficent in its results.

The records of military and naval flogging, like those of the cruelties of slavery and the Inquisition, are unfit to be read; practically they have been kept under lock and key, except on rare occasions. In the good old days of victory and glory a thousand lashes was not a very uncommon award, and these would be doled out in such portions as the man was able to bear. It was not unusual to find a soldier so torn with the lash all over him that it was a question for debate between the officers and the surgeon on what part of the body some new infliction should be made. We will not shock any one, or make it impossible to read this page aloud, by quoting those instances in which the sentence, or supplement to the

sentence, specifies the particular manner in which the lash is to be applied. Drunkenness was a very frequent occasion for these cruelties; but of course no man was ever cured by being flogged half his lifetime, from the shoulder to below the thighs, chop and change about. As soon as ever the poor wretch was out of hospital he naturally drank again. Insubordination, rudeness to superiors, was also a common excuse for cutting a man in pieces with the dreadful cat which was then used in the navy. This also was an offence which was likely to repeat itself, for no man could be expected to feel kindly to a superior who had treated him cruelly, and was always hinting in a vague way that he was ready to do it again. The case of the private in the Scots Greys, known afterwards to all friends of the repeal of the corn-laws as an able writer under the signature of "One who has Whistled at the Plough," had already excited much attention and shown the danger which attended the lash; and it now happened that a private soldier condemned to 200 lashes at Hounslow Barracks was killed by the punishment. We will not sicken any one by the medical evidence given at the coroner's inquest, but Mr. Wakley, of the *Lancet*, and Radical member for Finsbury, took up the subject with discretion as well as ardour, and though he and his coadjutors could not get a vote of the House of Commons for the abolition of the practice, the pressure of public opinion (and it was said the recommendation of the queen) induced the Duke of Wellington to issue an order that in future the number of lashes should not exceed fifty.

Between the accession of the queen and the end of the first half century a serious and important impulse was given to the subject of high-class education. This was the work of one man, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who had some reputation as a scholar and historian, but whose chief claim to recollection is of a different order. He it was who, with devout patience and endless labour, first made a public school a nursery of goodness and solid bravery of character. What awful trials he underwent at Rugby his own pen has told us. The baseness and brutality of the boys so weighed upon him that he was nearly beaten out of heart and hope, and felt almost afraid to write of "heroism" in the history of Rome on which he was engaged. But he persevered till he died—of *angina pectoris*—in the very prime of his powers. He has left an indelible mark upon public-school education in England.

In the matter of Roman history Arnold did little more than popularize Niebuhr; but this reference to the subject may be allowed to introduce the remark that the serious and critical study of history was now becoming more general in this country. Even the public at large began now to have a vague idea that Romulus was not suckled by a wolf after all; the word myth, though often erroneously used for any untrue story whatever, was coming into popular use; and even schoolboys picked up such wicked notions as that Homer did not compose either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*—notions which, it is pretty well known, have engaged much of the attention of Mr. Gladstone.

During the decade which began in 1840–1, and ended in 1850, there are many striking events to be registered, which relate, some of them to the progress of science proper, others to the general enlargement of our knowledge, others to the increase of our more obvious internal resources. The first importation of the manure known as Guano well deserves to be signalized, for the hopes which it raised were, for a time, unbounded, and it was followed by new applications of science to agriculture. The completion and opening of the Thames Tunnel was a triumph of enterprise and engineering skill, but, like so many of the gigantic and wonderful projects of the elder Brunel, it was not very useful, and it did not pay. The completion of the Britannia Tubular Bridge was a more practical success. The commencement of Mr. Layard's excavations near Nineveh was the first of a series of similar enterprises which have wonderfully enlarged our knowledge of the Orient in ancient times; and since the date of his labours we have, following up similar tracks, touched upon times that may be called prehistoric. The completion of the great telescope of Lord Rosse is an event that cannot be omitted;

and the discovery of the planet Neptune, by our countryman Adams, belongs to the highest sphere of scientific triumph. Mr. Adams and the French astronomer Le Verrier had long been engaged in the study of the perturbations of the planet Uranus, and the latter was the first to publish to the world that his investigations had clearly proved the existence of the other and remote orb. Adams was really the first to determine the exact place of Neptune, which he did in October, 1845, but he kept his calculations to himself till a little too late for his fame, according to the etiquette which gives the precedence to the first one that "speaks." However, the Royal Astronomical Society awarded equal honours to the two *savans*, and the University of St. Andrews made Mr. Adams their professor of mathematics. Subsequently that gentleman was appointed to a post of high distinction at Cambridge.

Science in general had by degrees been claiming more and more of the public attention, and addressing itself more decidedly to social and sanitary problems. Geology had made immense progress, amidst violent opposition from many theologians; and intense was the excitement and loud the outcry when Dean Buckland, who had distinguished himself in the science, was appointed Dean of Westminster in 1847. Still more vehement were the denunciations when the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* were published in 1844. In this work what was then called "the theory of development," but is now known as that of "evolution," was first of all introduced to the general public. The authorship was not named, though it was not long doubted; but for some time it was attributed to the Countess of Lovelace, Lord Byron's only daughter Ada, who was a lady of high scientific acquirements. Scotchmen of middle age will remember the angry discussion, started from the theological side, which attended and pursued the increasing popularity of Mr. George Combe's *Constitution of Man in relation to External Nature*, which in this decade was at the height of its influence over that public which read it at all —and an enormous public it was. George Combe, as is well known, was the leader of the phrenological school of those days, and was unquestionably an able and useful man. His brother Andrew was one of the foremost of that band of medical men who devoted more of their energy, with pen and otherwise, to "hygiene" than to mere medication by drugs; and had the honour of being appointed in 1847 one of the queen's physicians in ordinary for Scotland. He lived on till fifty with "scarcely any lungs," and at last was supposed to have lost his life in consequence of the unhealthy arrangements of a ship in which he had travelled from America. A few weeks before his death he addressed to the *Times* a powerful letter on this subject, and it was the first impulse towards great and continuous reforms.

Before quitting the atmosphere of science it may be mentioned that Mrs. Somerville, whose noble work on the *Connection of the Physical Sciences* had been dedicated to the queen, produced in 1847 her well-known book on *Physical Geography*. She was one of a small band of unobtrusive ladies (Caroline Herschell, the sister of Sir John, being another) whose example did much to heighten popular notions of female culture.

In 1847 the distress in Ireland and the long-drawn consequences of the railway mania of 1845–6 resulted in a terrible commercial crisis. The lowest bank-rate of discount was then 8 per cent, and in October of 1847 the Bank Charter Act was, by compulsion, suspended for a time, in order to give greater elasticity to money operations. We find, however, many curious indications of the growth of the nation in what is called "external prosperity." Baron Stockmar had written to George Combe (with the active concurrence of the queen and prince consort), to consult him upon the education of the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Combe had in his reply embodied reflections like these:—"The extraordinary wealth and luxury of a comparatively small portion of the inhabitants of the British isles and the appalling poverty and wretchedness of many among the labouring classes, is another anomaly which is at variance with our natural sentiments of humanity and justice,

and finds its chief precedents in the history of ancient Rome when she was tottering to her fall. This condition of things cannot permanently endure in Great Britain. It is condemned by Christians, and the corresponding state has disappeared in France and in the greater portion of Germany. We see Ireland agitated to the centre by the dominance of a church at variance with the religious opinions of a large majority of the people; and in Scotland also, the larger proportion of the inhabitants have seceded from the church established by law.

"If 'coming events cast their shadows before,' we may without presumption say that the shadows of great and important changes in the social condition of Britain are already so conspicuously written on the land, that the changes themselves cannot be far distant."

At about the same date we may note in the published letters of this acute observer some instructive comments on the aspects of the capital of England, as it presented itself to a visitor who knew Scotland, America, Germany, and Italy very well, and who looked at social and economic questions with a wide and forecasting glance. "We saw," says Combe, "a good deal of society in London, and were struck by the diminution of aristocratic feeling, and the increasing ascendency of reason, since our last visit in 1840. Omnibuses abound to an extraordinary extent; every three minutes, *three* in close succession are seen running along Oxford Street without intermission from seven or eight in the morning till long past ten at night, and people of some consideration now use them. We dined with Sir James Clark on the day of our departure for Scotland, and ordered the Blackwall omnibus to call at his house for us at 8 P.M. to carry us to the ship. Mrs. Combe said in joke to Lady Clark—'I suppose we should apologize to you and Sir James for desecrating your door by ordering an omnibus to draw up at it.' 'Not at all,' replied Sir James, '*my* dignity is quite safe, for the omnibus draws up at Buckingham Palace!' This, he said, is a literal fact, and is a great change. Of course it does not draw up at the chief entrance, but not at any back door either, but at the end door of the wing fronting the open place before the palace, and in the public eye. Hired carriages with one horse, 'Broughams' and 'Clarences,' are now admitted into all the parks, and people of fashion go out to dinner in street cabs at a fare of 8*d.* the mile! A lady who has kept a pair of horses these fifty years told me this herself. When her horses have been out all the morning and cleaned and put up, rather than dirty them and the carriage again she called a brougham from the street and went to dinner in it. Even a few years ago this would have been thought *infra dig.* The same change goes much deeper. Mr. Cobden has taught the public and the peers the power of reason in the corn-law question, and demonstrated that it is more than a match for aristocracy and political partisanship combined. The peers have openly avowed that they consider themselves bound to yield in their legislation to the public voice when deliberately and unequivocably uttered. Add to these cheering symptoms, our free-trade principles now practically realized (or on the very eve of being so), our extraordinary railway prosperity (for it is only the speculators who are bit by them), and the general activity of all branches of industry, and I may safely say that I have never known England and Scotland morally and physically in a more promising condition. Ireland continues as wretched as ever, and I can scarcely conceive what will improve her condition."

Thirty-five years ago the application of chloroform to the alleviation of the pangs of maternity was resisted by thousands of well-meaning pious persons on the ground that it was an attempt to evade "the curse of Eve." The queen did good service when, supported by Prince Albert, she set her face against this prejudice. To object to the use of anæsthetics was as reasonable as to object to a lightning-conductor, or opium, or any process whatever for the lessening of pain. Yet we can many of us remember, and we can all of us trace, in the records of the time, the uphill work that Dr. Simpson and those who were his coadjutors or his followers had in the introduction of anæsthetics into surgery.

The phrase, "a sign of the times," is sometimes used with but little real meaning. But it has a true significance when applied to the movements for erecting public baths and washhouses, which filled so large a space in the public eye in the last few years of the half century. Mrs. Catherine Wilkinson (of Liverpool) is one of the names which the world should not willingly forget in connection with this subject, but there were others which also deserve to be remembered. In the year 1844 a meeting was held at the Mansion House, London, for "promoting cleanliness among the poor;" and Glasshouse Yard, near the London Docks, is a place which is in a sense classical, as the scene of the earlier efforts of the "Committee for the promotion of the welfare of the Homeless Poor." Mr. Bowie, a medical gentleman, was a very active promoter of this movement. But it was not to stop at what may be called the charitable or merely philanthropic phase. Other "baths and washhouses" for public use were soon established on self-supporting principles, and in 1846 and 1847 enabling acts were passed, in consequence of which borough councils and vestries of parishes could thenceforth, with the consent of the ratepayers, set up establishments of this nature. It is not necessary to pursue in anything like detail a story so well known, but it may be added that eventually every nation in Europe followed the initiation created by this country, and from Sweden to Venetia there were public baths and lavatories for the poor set up.

Medical as well as social science had made very remarkable advances, and sanitary improvements were beginning to be insisted on. The visitation of cholera in 1849 called public attention to the condition of some districts of our large towns where the means of common decency and cleanliness had never existed, and the authorities who should have been responsible for a proper supply of water and for the enforcement of the ordinary laws for preserving the general health were awakened to their duties by the prevalence of a disease attributable to the neglect of such precautions. Unfortunately, the sudden activity stimulated by the presence of danger was in many cases only transitory and partial, and some of the foul neighbourhoods remain to this day a reproach to our boasted progress and enlightenment; but there can be no doubt that many important improvements were effected by observing the regulations ordered by the government, and by the measures taken for preventing the spread of the disorder, which at the end of March had broken out in twelve different parts of the metropolis, twenty-seven towns in England and Wales, and seventeen towns in Scotland. By the middle of September the mortality in London had reached its highest, and by the 13th of October the disease had nearly disappeared from the metropolis. The total number of deaths from cholera registered at that date was 14,497. The result of this serious visitation was the adoption of some sanitary measures and the enforcing of certain regulations intended to prevent the incubation and spread of infectious diseases. But one of the causes which perpetuated the danger was the continuance of overcrowded neighbourhoods, consisting of foul, ill-ventilated, and badly drained tenements, the very ground beneath which had been saturated with sewage, while the germs of fever seem to have lain in the decaying materials of the walls and passages. For some time it had been generally supposed that the demolition of some of these neighbourhoods by the new lines of railway carried through them or by other "public improvements" had effected a "clean sweep," and that some of the worst slums had disappeared. But in many cases, though the railway had cut through a neighbourhood it had only removed a portion of it, so that the great bare archways and viaducts had become a kind of screen to hide sordid and miserable streets, where the houses were swarming from garret to basement, and were more than ever overcrowded by the tenants evicted from the places which had been demolished. This condition of things is still obvious in many neighbourhoods, which are hidden from casual observation, and appear to be neglected or forgotten by sanitary boards and commissions, which are constantly boasting of their activity and public usefulness.

An allusion to railway extension almost requires a passing reference to the enormous transactions which belong to the period of the railway mania, 1845 to 1850, when the name of George Hudson, "the Railway King," M.P. for Sunderland, was heard all over the country, as the man to whom speculators of all classes, from dukes to footmen, appealed and cringed that they might obtain shares in some of the enormous enterprises which had already apparently yielded him a colossal fortune. There is no need to enter into the details of the railway speculations which this one man was instrumental in promoting. Possessed of an almost sublime audacity and with extraordinary aptitude and energy for business, he became the parliamentary representative of railway interests, and held a position of importance in the chief companies. In one day in 1846 he directed the course of twenty-six bills which, under his advice, had been approved by the shareholders of the Midland line, and a day or two afterwards in the space of less than an hour had influenced the sanction of six bills by the York and North Midland shareholders and seven bills by those of the Newcastle and Darlington Company, and had taken his seat as the adviser or rather controlling director of the Newcastle and Berwick line. In a few hours he had obtained the consent of shareholders to forty bills involving an expenditure of about ten millions sterling. During the session of 1846 the total amount of subscriptions by persons subscribing £2000 and upward to any railway subscription contract deposited in the bill office, was above a hundred and twenty-one millions, and Mr. Hudson was represented as subscribing £818,540 for twenty-three lines in which he was concerned, though how much or how little of the money was actually paid and how many of the shares were held by him as compensation for services was another question. The new railways authorized to be constructed during that session involved an expenditure of nearly a hundred and thirty millions. By the end of the year George Hudson was Lord-mayor of York, and his official banquet was attended by the Duke of Leeds, Lord George Bentinck, the Archdeacon of York, and other distinguished guests. In 1849, however, the tide of his success began to turn, in consequence of inquiries that had to be made as to his methods of procedure. It was reported that as chairman of a company he had bought shares on another line and resold them to the company, instead of buying them as directed for the company at "first-hand," also that he exercised improper influence over auditors, directors, and secretary. In another company he and the vice-chairman were both accused of having acted in anything but a straightforward manner with the accounts. A short time afterwards a petition was presented to the House of Commons from the Eastern Counties Railway Company, making grave charges against him in his capacity as chairman, and he had to endeavour to rebut the accusation of tampering with the share-list. Similar charges began to multiply against him, and many of the aristocratic supporters who had flattered and fawned on him in the zenith of his enormous success, and who had been enriched by the premiums at which they had sold shares obtained by his advice and assistance, now began to fall away from him. At a meeting held in York the shareholders of the Newcastle and Berwick line determined to proceed against him for illegally retaining to his own use above £180,000 of the funds of the company. It was not till 1853 that the suit was settled, when the Master of the Rolls gave judgment against him for £54,000; but by that time he had been obliged to resign most of his important appointments, and not only the prestige that had attached to his name had disappeared, but the fortune which he had accumulated was involved in the collapse of his reputation. It is pretty well known that the man who, by unbounded confidence, not unaided by remarkable powers of combination, had risen from a comparatively humble station to a position in which he was courted by the leaders of fashion and the representatives of aristocracy, eventually sank into poverty. He defended himself against the charges of his opponents by representing that all he gained was only the legitimate advantage which his exertions warranted

him in demanding in return for unremitting services to the companies with which he was connected; but he was unable to impress even his friends with this view of the case, and though he retained little or nothing of his gains he was unable to retrieve his position. But he lived on a small annuity, either saved from the wreck or subscribed by those who had known him in his better days, and maintained his cheerful and undoubtedly attractive manner for many years. He died not long since at the house, it is said, of a man who had once been his butler, and with whom he had lodged for some time before his death in exceedingly straightened circumstances, if not in actual poverty. Of the various lampoons and jocularities which appeared in print about the Railway King and Mrs. Hudson and their sudden elevation to the companionship of peers and prelates, there is no need to recall the rather coarse particulars. Many of our readers will remember Thackeray's "Yellowplush Papers" in *Punch*, and the burlesque but not very exaggerated adventures of the footman who became a great railway speculator. This, of course, was not intended as a special satire upon Hudson, who was never a footman, but it was a highly diverting "skit," showing the course of the railway mania and its possible influence in subverting social distinctions.

The eager gambling for railway shares seems to have been first prominently manifested at Leeds, where, in the summer of 1845, the police had to be employed in keeping a way along the thoroughfares leading to the Stock Exchange, the chairman of which called a meeting of the members to remonstrate with them on the reckless speculation that had caused as many as 100,000 shares to be sold there in one day. But the rapid promotion of new lines made such speculation inevitable, and the mania spread. Up to the 31st of October there had been 1428 railway enterprises registered, involving an outlay of above 701 millions. "Take away," it was said, "£140,000,000 for railways completed or in progress, exclude all the most extravagant schemes, and divide the remainder by ten, can we add from our present resources even a tenth of the vast remainder? Can we add £50,000,000 to the railway speculations we are already irretrievably embarked in? We cannot without the most ruinous, universal, and desperate confusion." The last week in November showed that these prognostications were not altogether inexcusable. The railway department of the Board of Trade had been completely remodelled, and though it did not demand reports on the merits of the proposed lines, it required to be furnished with plans, specifications, and drawings, conveying complete information. Railway committees of the House of Commons sat constantly even during adjournments of the house. The amount of business brought before them compelled them to take the new projects in groups arranged by a classification committee, and yet they could not get through the work. The excitement outside was tremendous. A railway literature sprung up specially devoted to recording the particulars of new enterprises and the condition of the share-market. Before the month of October 332 new schemes were proposed, involving a capital of £270,950,000, of which £23,000,000 would have to be deposited before the acts could be applied for. The English market was flooded not only with our own but with foreign projects. The last day for bringing plans, specifications, and particulars before the Board of Trade was the 30th of November, and by an oversight when this date was fixed it had not been noticed that it would fall on a Sunday. The efforts to complete the necessary plans and notifications in time were tremendous. Lithographers' clerks and draughtsmen were employed night and day, and one lithographic printer undertook so much work that he had to engage four hundred men from Belgium. Not only in London but in the country the preparations were carried on in breathless haste, and horses were hired and kept in readiness to bring the plans to town at the last moment, since special trains were in many cases refused to competitors of the lines of railway already in existence. A large staff of clerks was appointed at the Board of Trade office to receive the plans and specifications, and the day began with moderate order; but as the hours went on and night

approached the deliveries became so numerous that it was impossible to register them quickly enough.

It was a race among the agents to reach the office before the striking of twelve at midnight, when the doors were to be closed. All who were inside the hall before that time were to have their applications accepted. During the last hour a crowd filled the lobby jostling and pushing and yet listening with feverish anxiety for each name as it was called, while another crowd outside, assembled to witness the rush, commented freely on the appearance of each new arrival who brought fresh bundles of papers and hurried in breathless and excited. As the hour began to strike an agent pushed his way in, and as the chimes had not ceased he was admitted after some altercation. It was thought that he was the last, but as a quarter past struck, a post-chaise dashed up drawn by four reeking horses. Three gentlemen jumped out, each with an armful of papers. The door at the end of the lobby was closed, but in answer to the advice of the crowd one of them rung the bell. The door was opened by a police-officer, and as he refused to admit them, the late-comers pitched their papers into the hall, breaking a lamp in the achievement. The documents were flung out and in again and out again, when the door was opened. The applicants not knowing the way to the Board of Trade, the postboy had been driving about the streets ever since half-past ten in the endeavour to find the office. Such was the story told by one of the agents to the friendly crowd outside, much to their amusement.

Of course all the competitors in this great railway struggle were not successful, and there was considerable apprehension in the country as to the results of the reckless speculation of which these applications were the disclosure; but a large number of the proposed schemes were in some form or other ultimately adopted, and our gigantic railway system may be said to have sprung into existence with a suddenness that in almost any other country would have caused a much more serious financial crisis if not semi-national bankruptcy before it could have been so far completed as to begin to realize satisfactory results. Even before those results had been largely attained there were endless disputes on the subject of construction, and the battle of the broad and narrow gauge, which was waged because the Great Western line had been made on a broader gauge than the others, divided engineers, and gave rise to a royal commission, proposed by Mr. Cobden, for inquiring into the respective merits of the rival plans. In the end this commission reported in favour of the narrow gauge, and recommended that the Great Western should be altered at an estimated cost of about £1,000,000, but this advice was not taken. The narrow gauge was to be adopted thenceforth, but instead of altering the Great Western the branches of that line were accommodated to the broad measure, and it remained a practical example of the system which had been abandoned.

Lord John Russell's government had accomplished little in the way of really important legislation between 1846 and 1850, although many invaluable contributions had been independently made to social progress, and some useful inquiries by government commissions appointed for the purpose of investigation led to the more complete and direct adoption by parliament of measures for the public benefit.

Among the chief of these were the group of enactments that were founded on the Public Health Act of 1848, introduced on the representations of Mr. Chadwick and Dr. Southwood Smith, whose inquiries had as far back as 1842 been followed by a sanitary commission, the report of which had been published, though no distinctly inclusive measure was adopted during the period of political excitement that followed. Under the provisions of the act referred to, a general Board of Health was appointed, on which Lord Carlisle and Lord Ashley joined the two gentlemen already mentioned, and the Metropolitan Sewers Act, the Metropolitan Interments Act (which was in 1852 extended to the whole kingdom), and several other most useful measures, were endorsed or initiated.

The sanitary arrangements of our large

towns, and perhaps especially of the metropolis, are still exceedingly defective. The water supply is often inadequate, and builders and owners of house property persistently disregard the law by neglecting to provide proper appliances for its regular provision. In many populous neighbourhoods houses have been erected on ground saturated with surface drainage and filled in with refuse, the sewers are too often ineffective, and incompetent to relieve whole districts from the constant sense of impure exhalations, while after the construction at enormous cost of a system of main drainage, carrying the chief part of the sewage of London to a point near the mouth of the Thames, it is contended by some authorities that the consequent pollution of the river shows the whole plan to be wrong in principle, and that the stream is little better than an open sewer. With all these deficiencies, however, the condition of London as well as that of other large towns has so greatly improved during the last thirty years that there can be no doubt of the beneficial effects of the legislation, which has at all events kept public attention constantly alive to sanitary matters, and has made the metropolis one of the healthiest places in Europe.

The mortality in Ireland was terrible, and only began to diminish when the measures adopted for relieving the starving population became more effectual. Before 1847, 5000 of the people of the south-west coast of the island had perished, and at the beginning of that year £1,000,000 a month was expended and 708,230 persons were employed daily in the public works. £2,000,000 sterling had already been spent, and food to the value of £16,000,000 had been lost in the blight which had reduced the country to starvation, while instead of 2,000,000 quarters of corn we had been in the habit of receiving from Ireland, an exportation of that quantity would be required. A report afterwards presented by the relief commissioners stated, that out of 2049 electoral districts, 1677 had been placed under the Relief Act; that 2,920,792 rations of food had been given and 99,220 sold daily, while £54,439 had been received in subscriptions in six months, besides contributions of food from America and from Turkey. The continued help given in these various ways, with the ample harvest of 1847, greatly mitigated the want and misery of the people of Ireland, especially as the navigation laws were suspended in favour of vessels carrying goods thither; and the passing of the Encumbered Estates Act, brought forward by Peel in July, 1848, had a very considerable effect in permanently terminating one of the causes of depression, and of restoring a better state of things in several districts by facilitating the sale and transfer of encumbered estates. By this measure the delays of the intricate transfers effected through the Court of Chancery were abolished, and moderate fees substituted for the heavy costs that accompanied them. The transfers were cheaply and quickly made through a commission appointed for the purpose, consisting of three paid commissioners and a secretary. This commission was only to act for such owners or encumbrancers of estates as applied to them for the purpose, and they were then to sell the property in such a manner and in such quantities as they deemed best; their conveyance to the purchaser would be an indefeasible title including the authority to put him in legal possession; the purchase money was to be paid into the Bank of Ireland in the name of the commission, who were empowered to divide it amongst the various persons who were in their judgment entitled to it. This measure could not be brought into satisfactory operation until the country was in a less disturbed condition, and while it had been necessary to introduce strong measures for the preservation of peace in Ireland, the deluded people had also discovered that the leaders who talked so loudly and so persistently of Irish wrongs were themselves incapable of organizing any method of relieving them. Their constant agitation and the insatiable vanity which was ready to sacrifice the country to their demands to be regarded as the representatives of the people, were daily preventing the amelioration of those real grievances which demanded immediate redress. However, Smith O'Brien, Meagher, O'Donoghue, MacManus, and others, who had stood in the way of every effectual measure

of relief to Ireland since they became the heads of the party which succeeded O'Connell, had been arrested after a rather theatrical exhibition of violent "patriotism," and had been sentenced to death, but it was well understood that the sentence would be commuted to one of banishment, or as their followers would call it transportation, though it is pretty certain that they were never treated as ordinary convicts. John Mitchel, the unyielding advocate of the repeal of the union, who had so long advocated armed rebellion, had already been sent to the Bermudas, though the "Confederates" who claimed to be his supporters swore he should not leave Ireland while they lived. It became necessary at length to put down the preachers of sedition, the secret assassins and the more open advocates of rebellion, with a strong hand, even for the sake of saving Ireland from utter ruin and her people from irretrievable misery and pauperism. In a short time the country would have been unsafe to live in, and already people left it because of the terrorism which had begun to prevent the just application of the laws, and the punishment of criminals who had been guilty of outrages and murder. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the presence of war steamers in Irish harbours, the transport of troops to the towns, and the enrolment of extra police were measures which were thought necessary to show that the Young Ireland party was not to be tolerated when it announced that active measures would be taken to raise rebellions, by men who, had they been successful in fomenting a civil war where thousands of persons would have been killed, would have been incompetent to organize a settled government.

Although there have been more recent exhibitions of the extravagant oratory of self-styled patriots, it is difficult to understand how men supposed to be sane could have talked and acted as the rebel leaders of 1848 did, and the results would have been ludicrous but for their being so sad. "In the case of Ireland now," said an article in the *Irish Felon*, "there is but one fact to deal with, and one question to be considered. The fact is that there are at present in occupation of our country some 40,000 armed men in the livery and service of England, and the question is how best and soonest to kill and capture these 40,000 men?" But the troops were sent to preserve order, and to protect the more law-abiding Irish people against the incendiaries and preachers of insurrection, who, though they vainly endeavoured to create a rebellion, were active in their efforts to prolong the disturbances which made both life and property insecure. The people themselves had already begun to find out that the professed leaders, who made agitation a business and used it for the purpose of personal vanity and self-aggrandizement, were the cause of many of those sufferings which they attributed to other political causes.

Smith O'Brien, Dillon, O'Donoghue, Cantwell, and others, went about haranguing and boasting in the endeavour to excite the people in various places to arm and to rise against the government; but the "Young Ireland" business was—to use an Americanism—pretty well played out, and people began to see what sort of men they were who talked so loudly and posed themselves so heroically. William Smith O'Brien was a gentleman of ancient family, and it was generally believed that he was originally sincere in his protestations, but he and the cause he at that time represented ended in a farce, which was, however, tragic enough for the families of the poor fellows who were killed or wounded in what was afterwards known as the "Cabbage-garden Insurrection." He and some of his companions had three or four days before visited Mullinahone, where, after calling the people together by ringing the bell of the chapel, they induced their followers to accompany them to the police barracks, on which they were to make an attack, but the few officers who were stationed there gave them such a warm reception that they retreated rather precipitately to another district, where they met with no better success. It became necessary to order the arrest of the chief agitators, and on the day following the warrant that this should be done, O'Brien, who boasted his descent from the ancient kings of Munster, and it was thought aspired to a restoration of the regal purple to

his own shoulders, marched with his colleagues, and above a thousand followers armed with muskets, pikes, scythes, and other weapons, to Ballingarry, halting at a place called the Bog of Boulagh. Mr. Trant, a sub-inspector of police, was sent with forty or fifty constables to disperse the insurgents, and, if possible, to arrest their leaders, for whose apprehension a reward had been offered. The police expected a reinforcement of constables or soldiers, and seeing the large number of their opponents, decided to station themselves in a small house beyond some fields, at a little distance from the main road. This house belonged to the widow Cormack, who, foreseeing the probability of a fight, had called in her five children and shut the door. When the mob of insurgents saw the police enter the house and take possession of it they made threatening gestures at the widow, who was so alarmed, especially when a few shots began to be fired, that she ran out to find O'Brien, who was seated in her cabbage garden with the '82 club cap on his head, but in such a position as to be out of the line of fire from the house. The widow endeavoured to induce him to speak to the police, but he not unnaturally refused to trust himself near them, and sent a message to the inspector that all he wanted was for them to lay down their arms, a proposal which they in turn declined. The police were then busily barricading the upper windows, for the rebels were firing from the adjoining sheds, and as the situation was rather a warm one O'Brien retreated, and after his followers had advanced to storm the house, but had run off with the utmost celerity in all directions on being met with a sharp volley, he was seen making his way on all fours among the cabbages, whence he emerged to mount a horse belonging to one of the constables, and to escape, loudly complaining of the cowardice of his followers. A few days afterwards he was arrested at the Thurles railway-station, when he was just leaving for Limerick, and with Meagher, MacManus, and O'Donoghue was sentenced to death. They were sent to Australia, where Meagher soon became a farmer and land-owner. MacManus went into trade, and O'Donoghue also found some reputable and useful occupation, O'Brien alone making repeated efforts to escape, and endeavouring to evade his parole, so that it was impossible to give him the same opportunities of independence and comparative freedom. The sentence on these rebels was not carried out even by the mitigated punishment of what was known as transportation. It was banishment under not very severe conditions.

The condition of the Irish people in 1848 was still deplorable, and the failure of the potato crop had been as complete as in 1846. A great breadth of land remained uncropped. The peasantry were in many places without money or the means of earning it. The rate of wages was fivepence a day, and though food was comparatively abundant in the markets, there were no means of buying it. The labourers had neither work nor money, and the poor-rates were already heavier than either landlords or tenants could bear. In October, 1848, Prince Albert, writing of an interview which he had had with Lord Clarendon, said: "The description he gives of the state of the country (Ireland) is most gloomy and distressing. The rebellion is put down, but the spirit among the people is still the same, and any agitator will have them all at his command. Arms are concealed, and murders and outrages of every kind happen daily —even highway robbery, a crime hitherto quite unknown in Ireland. . . . Remarkable is the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy have lost lately all influence over the people. Their agitating and urging to rebellion, and when the day came flinching from it, has enraged the populace. The immediate consequence of this is that the priests can get no dues or other payments, and that in some places they are actually starving. . . . Lord Clarendon looks forward to the winter with perfect dismay. The poverty is dreadful, and he is afraid that a great part of the population must die from absolute want; they grow nothing but potatoes in spite of every experience and caution, and these have failed again entirely. Lord Clarendon knows an instance of a man having sown wheat which had come up beautifully, and ploughing it up

again for potatoes because he saw the potatoes of his neighbour look tolerably well. There is emigration going on, but of those people only whom one would wish to keep—farmers with one or two hundred pounds in their pocket. They cut the corn on the Sunday, sell it on Monday morning, and are off to America, having driven off and sold before all their cattle, leaving the waste fields behind them and the landlords without rent. The landlords are oppressed to a dreadful degree by poor-rates, which must be levied to keep the population alive, but which they cannot afford any longer to pay, in debt as they always have been, exhausted by the pressure of the two last years, and left entirely without rent."

But the exertions of the government and the nine and a half millions which was the total subscribed for relief, beside nearly two millions loan for land improvement and drainage, had greatly improved the condition of affairs before the rigours of winter set in, while the tranquillity of the country had also been restored.

In the following year (1849) the queen visited Ireland, when the loyalty with which she was received attested the general good feeling of the people, and disproved the assertion that the disaffection and rebellious spirit had been national. Addresses were received by her majesty on board the royal yacht in the Cove of Cork, and the name of the town was changed from Cove to Queenstown. From Cove the yacht and the royal squadron went up the river to Cork, and thence her majesty proceeded to Kingstown, where the sea was alive with boats and steamers crowded with people, and the wharfs were full of eager and expectant throngs, who were delighted to show how heartily they welcomed the royal party. The Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales had been taken on this agreeable journey, and the sight of the two children was hailed with much shouting and general acclamation. "Oh queen dear," cried a stout old lady, "make one of them Prince Patrick and all Ireland will die for you!" The manifestations of welcome and rejoicing continued till the visitors were out of sight and had taken the train to Dublin, where the royal cortege occupied an hour and a half in passing through the streets from the railway-station to the vice-regal lodge. The *Times* in writing of the event said: "Such a day of jubilee, such a night of rejoicing, has never been beheld in the ancient capital of Ireland since first it arose on the banks of the Liffey." A decorated archway was erected at Canal Bridge, where the lord-mayor presented her majesty with the city keys, the mace, and sword, in returning which the queen said, in her usual simple but earnest and pleasant manner, "I am delighted to be in Dublin; I am gratified at the reception I have met with in this the second city of my empire." Some of the spectators must have wished that Daniel O'Connell could have been there on such an opportunity of displaying that exuberant loyalty which was as much a characteristic of his speeches as their determined denunciation of an opposing ministry. The next day was occupied by a levee at the Castle, at which 4000 persons were present, and where, in answer to an address of the Dublin corporation, her majesty said: "I gladly avail myself of this occasion to express my grateful acknowledgment for the ardent affection and loyalty with which my arrival has been hailed. . . . I gladly share with you the hope that the heavy visitation with which Providence has recently visited large numbers of people in this country is passing away. I have felt deeply for their sufferings, and it will be a source of heart-felt satisfaction to me if I am permitted to witness the future and lasting prosperity of this portion of the United Kingdom." After a review in the park, Prince Albert visited the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal College of Surgeons and its museums, and then went to the Agricultural Show of the Royal Dublin Society, and with excellent tact said, in answer to the address which was presented to him as one of its vice-patrons, that it was impossible not to feel deeply the marks of enthusiastic attachment which had been displayed to the queen and himself by the warm-hearted inhabitants of that beautiful island, and at the same time expressed his sincere hope that the promise of a plentiful harvest, of which the fields bore

such hopeful evidence, might be the harbinger of a termination to those sufferings under which the people had so lamentably, and yet with such exemplary patience, laboured. After a visit to the Duke of Leinster, the royal party rejoined the yacht and its attendant vessels on their journey to Belfast, and sailed up Lough Ryan and thence by the Scottish coast to the Clyde and Glasgow, whence the queen and prince went to Perth and to Balmoral, at which they had recently taken up their permanent autumn residence.

The visit to Ireland was not likely to be forgotten either by the queen or her subjects, who to the last displayed the most ardent loyalty. The scene which had welcomed the landing of the royal party at Kingstown was repeated on their departure. As the yacht passed the extreme point of the pier which inclosed the harbour such a storm of cheers arose from the crowd, who were clustered at their thickest on this point, that the queen climbed the paddle-box, on which Prince Albert was already standing, and waved her handkerchief as a parting acknowledgment of their loyalty. At the same time she gave orders to slacken speed. The paddles ceased to move, and the vessel floated on with the impetus it had received, very slowly and close to the pier. An occasional stroke of the paddles kept the vessel in motion, and in this way the royal yacht glided along for a considerable way after it had cleared the pier, her majesty retaining her place on the paddle-box and acknowledging by waving her handkerchief how deeply she had been affected by the incidents of the last few days.[1] "The royal standard," says a contemporary chronicler, "was lowered in courtesy to the cheering thousands on shore, and this stately obeisance was repeated three times." "The queen's visit," wrote Lord Clarendon, "will be associated with a turn in the tide of their affairs after four years' suffering, with an unprecedented influx of strangers and expenditure of money."

The suspension of the navigation laws, which was nominally a temporary measure of relief for the purpose of admitting food and clothing to Ireland unrestricted by protective duties on shipping, was evidently a natural and inevitable consequence of a free-trade policy, and a government pledged to such a policy could not consistently propose to return to a system which, by laying a tax on foreign vessels, hindered the importation of necessary articles of consumption. That system had dated from 1651, when it had been adopted by the parliament of the Protector to restrict the increasing competition of the Dutch shippers, by prohibiting the importation into the United Kingdom and its dependencies of any goods, the produce of Asia, Africa, or America, except from the places of their production, and in ships of which British subjects should be the proprietors and right owners, and whereof the master and three-fourths at least of the mariners should be English subjects. But the original act went still further, and forbade the importation of goods, the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, except either in British ships or ships that belonged to the country where the goods were produced, or from which alone they could be or usually had been exported. These prohibitions had been only slightly relaxed after the restoration of Charles II., until after the conclusion of the American war of independence, when they were altered to allow the produce of the United States to be imported in ships belonging to citizens of those states. Some other very important changes were made in 1825, by the efforts of Mr. Huskisson, and nothing further had been done; so that the law was still of such a restrictive character that it was altogether inconsistent with commercial liberty. The productions of Asia, Africa, and America might be brought from places out of Europe to the United Kingdom (but only if they were to be used or consumed therein) in foreign as well as in British ships, provided that such ships were the ships of the country of which the goods were the produce, and from which they were imported. Certain goods produced in Europe and not enumerated in the act might be brought in the ships of any country; but goods sent to or from the United Kingdom and any of its possessions,

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.* Theodore Martin.

or from one British colony to another, must be carried in British ships, or in ships of the country where they were produced or whence they were exported. It will be seen how these stringent laws were likely to harass commercial enterprise, and to protect certain interests by crippling and limiting the carrying trade between foreign countries and Great Britain, and of course, in the language of the free-traders, it was paying a bounty to British shipowners at the expense of British consumers, a principle which had already been denounced and abandoned in relation to the agricultural interest by the repeal of the corn-laws.

Mr. Labouchere, as president of the Board of Trade, brought forward the measure designed to abolish these restraints on commerce, and proposed a resolution that "it is expedient to remove the restrictions which prevent the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British possessions abroad, and to amend the laws regulating the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, subject nevertheless to such control by her majesty in council as may be necessary; and also to amend the laws for the registration of ships and seamen." It was on the 14th of February (1849) that this resolution was brought forward. A bill was brought in and the navigation laws were repealed on the 26th of June; it may therefore be inferred that the debates were long, and indeed the protectionists fought hard against the government proposal. On the division 214 members followed Mr. Disraeli into the lobby, while 275 voted with the government. The bill, however, had undergone several important modifications.

Mr. Gladstone, though he gave the government proposals his general support, and pointed out that the previous relaxations of the navigation laws had produced beneficial effects, as shown by the total tonnage of British vessels having increased instead of diminished, was in favour of some compensations being made to shipowners and of conditional advantages in our own ports being given to those states which conferred the desired privileges on our shipping. He was in favour of direct legislation rather than a reserve which would enable us to go back upon a policy of retaliation, especially as he understood that the colonies were distinctly interested in an unconditional repeal of the navigation laws. He would have had our own coasting trade thrown open to America if we expected to obtain the coasting trade of that country. On the second reading it was announced that though the government had intended to admit foreign countries under certain modifications to a share of the coasting trade, as it was believed that no loss would thereby be caused to the revenue, it was found that there would be the utmost risk of a falling off of that revenue if either British or foreign vessels were allowed to combine the coasting with the foreign voyage, and it was therefore determined to abandon that portion of the bill, which in a modified degree threw open the coasting trade of the country. Sir James Graham was the chief supporter of the measure, on the ground that it had secured the approval of the representatives of the chief commercial centres, such as Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, and the West Riding. It was unnecessary to rely either upon reciprocity or retaliation, as the bill would tend to increase the commerce of the world, and to England would fall the largest share. It would neither compromise our superiority on the seas, nor injure the mercantile marine, which was the mainstay of the royal navy. The simple and intelligible basis upon which the measure would place our navigation system was absolutely needed on account of the complication of our reciprocity treaties—a complication which made it difficult for us in many cases to know how or where we stood. Sir James also made the startling declaration, that if we persisted in the navigation laws without falling back upon the protective system in favour of Canadian corn, the loss of Canada would be inevitable. Lord John Russell pointed to the beneficial effects of past relaxation in the increase of our tonnage and the number of our seamen, and argued that there need be no apprehension of any injurious consequences from the removal of the restrictions.

Mr. Disraeli spoke with his usual sarcastic force of the "great sacrifices" which had been

made by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Labouchere, he said, had withdrawn ten of the most important clauses of his bill, which did not then differ from the measure of the previous year; Mr. Gladstone, imitating the president of the Board of Trade, had announced that he also was about to give up the great development of the principle of reciprocity which the house had awaited with so much suspense. He was reminded by their conduct of that celebrated day in the French revolution when the nobles and the prelates vied with each other in throwing coronets and mitres to the dust as useless appendages. The day was still called "the day of dupes," and he hoped the house and the country in recalling the incidents of that evening would not be reminded that they might have had some share in the appellation.

It was easy enough for Mr. Gladstone to reply to the charges insinuated against him, for he had only offered to explain in committee his reasons for preferring a conditional change in the navigation laws to the direct legislation proposed by the government; but he had already expressed approval of the general objects of the bill, and had let it be understood that he should not press his proposals on the house, and would not risk the rejection of the measure. He had also stated that he should use his own discretion as to making any proposal on committee. He reminded the house that if Mr. Disraeli had not seen that the course he had pursued was one favourable to the objects he had in view, he would not have made that attack upon him. "I am perfectly satisfied to bear his sarcasm, good-humoured and brilliant as it is, while I can appeal to his judgment as to whether the step I have taken was unbecoming in one who conscientiously differs with him on the freedom of trade, and has endeavoured to realize it, because so far from it being the cause of the distress of the country, it has been, under the mercy of God, the most signal and effectual means of mitigating this distress, and accelerating the dawn of the day of returning prosperity."

Mr. Gladstone had, as we have seen, become a decided, and in some respects even an advanced advocate of free-trade, but he had not altogether abandoned the idea of compensation to those from whom protection was to be removed; and when Mr. Disraeli a little later (in February, 1850) reverted to a modification of a former proposal of his to relieve agriculturists of some of their local burdens and charge them to the consolidated fund, Mr. Gladstone was ready to support the inquiry. The farmers were complaining and agricultural depression was extreme—the result, as was alleged, of the recent adoption of free-trade, and Mr. Disraeli moved for a committee of the whole house to consider such a revision of the poor-laws as might mitigate the distress of the agricultural classes. The motion was opposed by Sir James Graham, who perhaps saw that it covered interminable discussions, during which the battle of the abolition of duties on food would be fought over again; but Mr. Gladstone supported it, at the same time declaring that if he saw in it a reversal of the free-trade policy he should join in offering it the firmest resistance. No one by voting for the motion would be committed to views adverse to recent commercial policy, and he concurred with Mr. Disraeli in the opinion that there was a considerable portion of the charges connected with the poor-law which might be transferred to the consolidated fund without detracting from the advantages of local management or impairing the stimulus which local management gave to economy. He was prepared to go into committee and to consider what establishment charges or what other charges there were upon the poor-rates (whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland), or what expenses of management there were which, without injury to the great principle of local control, might be advantageously transferred to the consolidated fund. The motion could not be construed into a return of protection, and in fact it had rather a tendency to weaken the arguments in favour of a retrograde policy and to draw off the moderate protectionists. He would vote for this motion on the ground upon which his right honourable friend had declared he should resist it—the ground of justice. It was im-

possible to look at the nature of the tax for the support of the poor without being struck by the inequality of its incidence. The rate was levied locally for two reasons: first, for the purposes of police; and secondly, for the discharge of a sacred obligation enforced upon us by religion. The rate ought to fall upon all descriptions of property, taking an abstract view; and though this might be impracticable, that objection did not lie against the motion before the house. With regard to the position of the landed interest, they were asking at present to be relieved from only a portion of the burden which had descended to them. They did inherit poor-rates with their land, but they also inherited with it a protective system which had given to this property an artificial value—a system which he admitted was as contrary to abstract justice as the inequality of the incidence of the poor-rate, which, on the ground of this protective system being thus contrary to abstract justice, the house had effectually destroyed. Mr. Gladstone entirely differed from Sir James Graham as to the class which would be relieved by the transfer of the rate. He believed that the farmer and the independent yeoman would be the persons to benefit by the change; and even if the landlord should ultimately receive the entire benefit, that would not be a fatal objection to the motion. The condition of the farming class and of the agricultural labourers in a large portion of England, to say nothing of Ireland, was such as to demand the careful attention and consideration of the house. He trusted something to the spirit of liberality and conciliation; but he trusted likewise that some who might not consider the claim as exactly one which could be mathematically demonstrated to be one of justice, but who regarded it as a claim connected with the gallant struggle of the farmers and yeomen, and with the independent condition of a large portion of the peasantry of the country—he trusted that there were many such who would not hesitate to give their support to a proposition, the reasonableness of which was, to his mind, clear and satisfactory both in its substance and spirit.

That these opinions were shared by other members who did not see in the proposal for a committee of inquiry any danger to free-trade principles may be inferred from the fact that the motion was rejected by only a majority of 21 votes, 273 against 252, Sir Robert Peel, who probably regarded it as an attempt to revive the question of a bounty to the agricultural interest, voting in the majority.

The repeal of the navigation laws as it affected the colonies had hastened the consideration of certain inevitable reforms in the government of British possessions, and the change which was soon afterwards effected in our colonial policy, followed by the rapid and enormous advances of the Australasian settlements, are among the most remarkable events of a period full of important changes and extraordinary developments.

When King Kamehameha ceded the Hawaiian Islands to this country, and wanted us to become possessors of what was then called and spelt Owhyee—the beautiful little island with the soft name that sounds like a sigh—it was because the poor sovereign found it impossible to satisfy the claims that were continually being made by English diplomacy for injuries to British subjects. We refused to take over the place as an actual possession, but were quite ready to accord to it our protection as an independent state and to confer on it the blessings of constitutional government, so that by 1845 the Hawaiians were instructed in the art of forming a House of Representatives as a due and proper balance to the House of Nobles. The king had opened parliament with a speech which was in form a very good imitation of some of our own royal communications, but dealt chiefly with the declaration that measures would be taken for a census or calculation to determine whether the population was increasing or diminishing, and with the earnest reminder that it was the possession of the Word of God which had enabled the people of those islands to take a place among the family of independent nations. The first vote of the nobles was one of thanks to Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States for recognizing this independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and

the ministers then presented their reports and estimates, the business of the session having commenced in regular fashion. This newly adopted constitution has lasted and prospered, though the initial fear has also unhappily been verified, and only as it were the other day,[1] King Kalakua, the successor of Kamehameha, came on a visit first to England, and to other countries of Europe and the Southern States of America, anxious not only to see the progress of invention and science in these countries, but to invite colonists to his kingdom that they may infuse into it a more robust life, and not only take to it the enterprise of modern Europe, but form a new population to succeed that native race which appears to be diminishing. The Sandwich Islands have, in fact, never become a colony, and the English settlement there has not been of any immediate significance; but it is not impossible that the knowledge that they had risen to the dignity of self-government increased the intensity of the demand made by our actual and really important Australasian colonies, that they should be permitted to appoint representative assemblies for the government of their own internal affairs, instead of being ruled from Downing Street by the intervention of a governor and a commission.

In 1846 there were forty-two British colonies, containing a population of 4,674,000, no more than that of London and the outlying suburbs at the present time. Twenty-five of these colonies had some kind of representative government of their own, but they were not those which possessed the larger populations, and they had numerous complaints of injustice and incompetency against the governors and the colonial office. Among the most bitter charges were those of the sudden imposition of heavy taxes, interference with the currency by governors or their representatives, favouritism in the appointment and treatment of public officers, and the application to other communities of special conditions which had been adopted as suitable for penal settlements. In South Australia the extravagant expenditure of one governor had almost reduced the colony to insolvency, and £155,000 had to be advanced from the treasury. On his removal from office his successor (Governor Grey) found that the annual expenditure had been £150,000 with a revenue of only £30,000, so that the sudden reduction to £35,000 expenditure so depressed the colony that the treasury at home had to pay £400,000 for its relief, and the whole public administration had to be reorganized, which was like beginning all over again. The first concession towards representative government was granted to South Australia and New South Wales in 1842, just after this reorganization, when it was enacted that the legislative council should consist partly of members elected by the people, and that under royal sanction a general assembly chosen by popular election might be convened.

The position of New Zealand was perhaps the most striking example of the influence of corrupt or incompetent unrepresentative government. This was a colony which consisted of emigrants belonging to the best of our industrious classes as well as to the educated portion of English society. These islands were from the nature of their climate and productions peculiarly attractive to British colonists, and to meet the strong popular desire here a company was formed for the purpose of enabling the most eligible persons to emigrate and form a compact and successful settlement, especially as the natives were friendly and even desirous to receive the English who were prepared to live in good fellowship with them.

The plan adopted by an association of intending emigrants was to try a system of self-supporting colonization, devised by a Mr. Wakefield, by which the capital realized by the sale of land was to be used for bringing out agricultural labourers to the colony in detachments in proportion to the amount of land brought under cultivation. The cultivated areas were to be so arranged as to be near each other, so that there should not be isolated settlements at great distances, where the colonists would become mere squatters, out of reach of co-operation and without the improving social influence of a regular community.

[1] July and August, 1881.

The government not only refrained from encouraging this attempt, but seemed to be actually inimical to it, and opposed numerous obstacles. Perhaps the chief of these was that there was no regular principle adopted on claiming the territory. The first colonists were left without any settled government, and were denied the power to legislate for themselves till the colonial office could attend to them. When a governor was at last sent out he conceived it to be his duty to thwart and humiliate the officers of the company, and he exercised his privileges by upsetting all the plans of the colonists, injuring them with the natives, interfering with their financial arrangements, and, as was afterwards charged against him, permitting his officials to take their pick of the land, and of applying £40,000 realized by the sales of lands to other purposes instead of using it for bringing out labour in accordance with the first principle of the scheme. He died before these accusations could be inquired into, and left the colony with a debt of £68,000. He was succeeded by a less competent and apparently even less scrupulous gentleman, who could not keep the expenditure for a colony of 15,000 persons at so low a figure as £20,000 a year, and therefore issued *assignats* or debentures to the amount of £15,000 with promissory notes down to the value of two shillings, which he afterwards made a legal tender. He contrived to arouse discontent among the natives by meddling with the terms on which land had been bought of them, though the price had been already paid. Before it was found absolutely necessary to recall him he had managed to subvert the promising organization that had survived the interference of his predecessor. The New Zealand Company retained its good financial reputation and had preserved its commercial integrity, but it had spent £300,000 of capital and £300,000 raised on credit, and had not been able to take possession of an acre of the land to which it was entitled, although its members in England had paid for their allotments on the faith of a conditional agreement which should have been concluded between the government and the company, but which the governor now refused to fulfil. Though a parliamentary committee of inquiry declared that the settlers had a clear right as against the crown lands to the fulfilment of their agreement, no justice could be obtained, and the unfortunate colonists, who had lost their money and had no other resource, sought to begin afresh in Sydney or South Australia, or took a passage back to England. Those who remained were forbidden to maintain a volunteer force for their own protection in a territory extending to 1000 miles in length and inhabited by 10,000 persons, to whom the governor offered the services of a force of fifty soldiers. Consequently their houses were demolished and their crops burned by the natives whose reserves of land remained uncultivated. The governor seemed to be concerned in opposing the natives to the settlers who had been prepared to instruct and improve them, and eventually the whole scheme was irretrievably ruined by the ignorance and arrogance of the governor and his officials, and the indifference and apparent incompetency of the colonial office, under Lord Stanley, to understand the true bearing of events. The case of the colonists therefore became an appeal, which was in fact a bitter accusation against the colonial secretary and his department, or as Mr. Charles Buller, the friend and pupil of Thomas Carlyle, said, "It is in truth the history of the war which the colonial office has carried on against the colony of New Zealand. Is this an exaggerated expression? What enemy of the British name and race could—what civilized enemy would—have brought such ruin on a British colony?"

Of course though a promising and earnest enterprise had been thwarted, and a number of energetic and honest men who had sought to found a new colony had been ruined, the country itself had so many natural advantages that the settlements were not absolutely destroyed, and when at length Governor Grey arrived and set about doing for New Zealand what he had previously done for South Australia, there was a revival of interest, and after the raids of the natives had been suppressed and a better feeling restored, the colonists were left with greater freedom of

action to settle their own affairs, and the prosperity of the community began to develop even under the adverse conditions which necessarily followed a period of licensed disorder.

It has been convenient to recount thus briefly the events which led to the reiterated appeal of the colonies for permission to elect their own representative government, in order that we may realize what was the situation when in 1850 the question of colonial administration was forced upon the attention of parliament. That it should have demanded and received partial redress was a remarkable event, the momentous importance of which was intensified by the almost immediate increase of emigration, and by the subsequent discoveries which tempted such vast numbers of persons to the Australian gold-fields.

As early as 1840 Sir William Molesworth had proposed in the House of Commons that the penalty of transportation should be abolished and the penitentiary system of punishment adopted in its stead as soon as practicable, and that the funds to be derived from the sale of waste lands in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land ought to be anticipated by means of loans on that security, for the purpose of promoting extensive emigration to those colonies. The resolution did not go to a division.

As we have seen, the various provinces of the Australasian colonies differed considerably in their conditions, but they alike desired the privilege or the right of internal self-government, if not of a complete representative legislature elected by the inhabitants. When those which had been penal settlements ceased to receive criminals sentenced to transportation, and the improvements in passenger vessels increased the number of free emigrants, this desire grew into a repeated and emphatic demand. It was no earlier than 1770 that Captain Cook had landed in the neighbourhood of the peninsula which came to be the capital of New South Wales, and that Port Jackson had been named after the sailor who first saw land. The New Holland of the old Dutch navigator Abel Tasman, who had explored the coast in 1644, had been renamed New South Wales by the English explorer in 1777 when the British standard was planted on its shores, and this first settlement became the mother country of the present great Australian colony. In March, 1787, the "first fleet" of eleven transport ships, under command of Captain Phillip of H.M. ship *Sirius*, sailed to New South Wales with 565 males and 192 females and a guard of marines, in all 1030 souls. After eight months' passage they reached Botany Bay in safety—a swampy, sandy, ill-watered place, with a shallow harbour, and exposed to the attacks of the fierce and hostile natives. Phillip searched northwards and came to an inlet set down in the chart of Captain Cook's expedition as a boat harbour. This was Port Jackson; but the magnificent haven of Sydney Cove, veiled from the view of Jackson the sailor by the high headlands, was discovered, to the great delight of Captain Phillip, who hastened to remove his fleet from Botany Bay, where the first convict settlement commenced on the 26th of January, 1788. The live stock of the colony was then 2 bulls, 5 cows, 1 horse, 3 mares, 3 colts, 29 sheep, 19 goats, 74 pigs, 5 rabbits, 18 turkeys, 29 geese, 35 ducks, and 210 fowls. In the following month 2 bulls and 4 cows were lost in the bush, an event which, serious as it may have seemed to the new colonists, was destined to have very important results, for these animals, crossing the sandy tracts around Sydney, found a great pasture about forty miles from the settlement on the banks of the Hawksbury, and there multiplied into a herd large and fierce enough to keep the natives at a distance. The new settlement was exposed to great hardships. The stores failed, and there were but scanty crops, and as more prisoners were arriving the governor sent the *Sirius* with a party of marines to take possession of Norfolk Island, but the ship was wrecked, the provisions lost, and the people had to live on the sooty petrels that swarmed in the locality until the grain crop could be harvested. Then the convicts at Sydney mutinied, twenty of them escaped and started "to go to China by *land*," and those who survived were brought back to the settlement half-starved. The natives made

attacks on the colonists. Supplies of food had to be sent for from Batavia and the Cape. But for the plentiful supply of fish in Botany Bay and Port Jackson the people must have famished. Then agriculture was gradually brought into systematic operation. Land was granted to the few free settlers and to emancipated prisoners, and several of the marines became colonists upon being furnished with clothes, implements, seed, grain, live-stock, stores, and rations for eighteen months. Eventually they and the other free colonists were permitted to engage as labourers as many of the prisoners as they could undertake to feed and clothe, and this was the origin of the "assignment system," which was said to have worked well enough by relieving the treasury from the expense of maintaining the prisoners, and at the same time separating them from their associates and placing them under the direction of respectable families. It was through the abuse of the system by granting assignments of prison labourers to convicts themselves after their emancipation or the expiry of their sentence, that the subsequent evils arose. The mischief was manifold, and added not a little to the struggles through which the colony had to pass in its early experience. In addition to floods, storms, and scarcity, which more than once nearly resulted in actual famine, the vice of intemperance was a prominent factor in the general obstacles to progress. There was no currency—no coin in fact—and rum became the standard of value and the chief article of ordinary exchange. Not only the chief officers and the settlers, but convicts and soldiers, bartered it, and licenses to retail spirits were conferred on the privileged class of society. The military staff became demoralized by this huckstering, and the vice of drunkenness, added to the comparative scarcity of reputable women, occasioned so much depravity that in 1806 two-thirds of the children annually born were illegitimate. Of course there was a great deal of hanging and shooting and bushranging, and society was in a rough condition even where it was not permeated by the criminal element. Provisions and other articles were dear, and public security was not established. Some of the worst elements of a convict settlement were in full view, and New South Wales had to pass through remarkable vicissitudes of wild speculation, extravagance, bankruptcies, mortgages, panics, and public disasters, before it came out of its distresses and showed its amazing capacity for progressive success. Several events contributed to its ultimate prosperity. As early as 1803 the first movement had been made towards the success of the great staple trade by which it has since risen to wealth and importance. In that year Mr. John Macarthur brought to England samples of wool grown by himself in the colony, and showed them to some brokers here, who, foreseeing the advantage that would be gained to Great Britain by the extensive cultivation of the Australian fleece to compete with those of Spain and Saxony, obtained for Mr. Macarthur a grant of land suitable for sheep-rearing, and a sufficient number of assigned convicts as labourers. His success was at first subject to many variations, but at length the enterprise proved so profitable that sheep-farming became the general pursuit of the colony.

In 1831 the system of granting crown lands as rewards for service to the state, or as free gifts for the encouragement of settlers, and to induce them to employ and maintain convicts, was abandoned, and land was sold, that by the proceeds of the sale the immigration of free and respectable persons might be assisted. The first upset price of land sold by auction was 5*s.* an acre, but by 1838 it was raised by Lord Glenelg to 12*s.*, and Lord Stanley raised it still further to £1 an acre; but Sydney was rising into importance, considerable sums of money have recently been made by the sale of plots which originally cost only a few pounds or shillings, and land in the town had reached an enormous value before the latter rise took place in 1842. Meanwhile the condition of society had been singularly unattractive, because of differences in the manner of treating the convict or ex-convict population. One governor held the opinion that a return to good conduct, and tried integrity should be sufficient atonement for past offences, and should be a title to restora-

tion to the place in society which had been forfeited. This view was accompanied by the discouragement of free immigration; but the next governor held a different policy, and made a decided difference in his conduct to the convicts whose term of servitude had expired. As the numbers of free colonists and convicts were about equal as far as the male population was concerned, these changes brought about injurious alternations of feeling and bitter rivalry between the two classes, and it was as much as a third authority could do to harmonize the conflicting elements. In 1833 there were 22,798 free males against 21,845 male convicts, and 13,453 free females against 2698 female convicts, but of the free population about half were liberated convicts. In 1840 the number of convicts assigned to private service was above 21,000, and six years later, and even up to the period to which we shall presently return, when the colonial government measures were brought forward in 1849, the "society" of New South Wales recognized, not without a certain bitterness, that many of the "old hands," the convict settlers or their successors, had attained to positions of wealth, and were able to indulge in a luxury and display which far exceeded that of even the more aristocratic of the colonists, and were significant of a plutocracy able to purchase anything except the *entrée* to those exclusive circles maintained by their poorer official and aristocratic neighbours.

On the 20th of August, 1840, the transportation of convicts to New South Wales came to an end, and offenders were only sent to Van Diemen's Land and its dependency Norfolk Island, while Cockatoo Island, a natural hulk situated about two miles above Sydney, in the creek between Port Jackson and the Paramatta River, received the evil-doers from New South Wales itself. It would be out of the course of these pages to enter into any incidental allusions to the horrors of these places; but it may easily be surmised that the dreadful disclosures of the vile moral condition of the wretches who were there under punishment had a considerable effect in procuring a summary abolition of the system of transportation, and stimulated the colonists themselves to protest against the continued pollution by the dregs of British prisons of that which had grown to a free and virtuous community. In 1850 not above 370 convicts were undergoing punishment of any kind, and there was pretty well an end to the system which during its course had introduced 60,000 offenders, by whose agency it may be said that the colony was first redeemed from savagery and prepared for a regular European family. Of these 60,000 about 38,000 were, in 1850, filling respectable positions in life, and earning their livelihood in the most creditable manner.[1]

Though the transportation of convicts from Great Britain to New South Wales had ceased in 1840, it was not till 1852 that Van Diemen's Land was relieved from the infliction, and by that time it had become a rapidly increasing and prosperous colony, its name having been popularly changed to Tasmania, after Tasman, the first discoverer. That district of New South Wales known as Port Phillip or Australia Felix had been formed into a separate colony under the name of Victoria, and had taken the foremost place in the history of our Australasian possessions, because of the sudden and enormous rush of emigrants to its newly discovered gold-fields, of which we shall have more to say presently. It may easily be imagined, however, that the English government had met with what at one time appeared to be an insurmountable difficulty in answering the question, What are we to do with our convicts sentenced to long terms of penal servitude, or to life-long detention under punishment? Before a system of convict labour in this country could be organized, an endeavour was made to induce the colony of New South Wales again to receive criminals, and to assign some portion of the land as a convict settlement; but there was so strong an opposition to it that, though for some time the subject was discussed, the proposal was finally rejected, and it had become evident that the whole system would have to be aban-

[1] Letter of Mr. Dumas, clerk in the convict department, Sydney (June, 1850), and *Our Antipodes*, by General Munday, fourth edition, 1857.

doned, as it was, by the new organization of Tasmania in the following year. The determination of the colonists no longer to receive for ultimate disposal, culprits whose offences had been too heavy for the shorter terms of punishments inflicted in English jails, had been already tested in 1848, when the people of the Cape of Good Hope resolutely refused to receive a ship-load of prisoners deported from Bermuda. It had been represented that at least one or other of the colonies might be required to receive political prisoners from Ireland or elsewhere whose crimes were not those usually regarded as heinous moral offences, but were of a political character; and it was thought that the colonists at the Cape would scarcely object to a penal settlement for convicts under sentence for treason or rebellion being formed in some portion of their territory. This explanation was regarded as only an afterthought covering an attempt to renew the system of transportation, especially as it was also mentioned that at the Cape, convicts might supply good and cheap labour, and at the same time be subjected to reformatory social influences. The Cape colonists, however, were disinclined to obtain labour at the price of being responsible for the safekeeping of a number of prisoners who might bring many evil influences into their homes. At a public meeting at Cape Town very emphatic resolutions were passed to the effect that the inhabitants resented the attempted degradation, and would use every means in their power to resist it. That this expression was to be interpreted to mean even a demonstration of physical force was evident from the excited temper of the people, but happily they proceeded in a more "constitutional" manner. On the 19th of September a ship named the *Neptune* arrived with a large number of prisoners, some of them supposedly Irish political offenders, from Bermuda. The anchoring of the vessel in Simon's Bay was immediately succeeded by signals of alarm. The great gong at the town-hall was sounded, the bells of the churches were rung at half-minute time, and an address was instantly sent to the governor, Sir Harry Smith, praying "as the people have determined that the convicts must not, cannot, and shall not be landed or kept in any parts of the colony," that the *Neptune* should be ordered, after victualling, to leave their shores. The governor was in a dilemma, and endeavoured to appease the excitement by promising that he would not receive the convicts, but that the ship should ride at anchor in Simon's Bay for the month or six weeks during which he would await answers to his despatches asking for instructions from the secretary of state. But the inhabitants of Cape Town would not wait on the chance of any of the convicts being smuggled on shore, and they at once stopped the supplies of the army, the navy, and the government revenue, so that the governor himself was obliged to have bread made and baked in his own house. It was so evident that the temper of the colony was roused to a pitch that would endanger the authority of the governor, and would perhaps result in a rebellion against British authority, that the point was conceded, and the *Neptune* was ordered away without landing a single convict. The protest against transportation of felons from Great Britain, and the continuance of the colonies as penal settlements, was effectual and its results were permanent.

This unmistakable resistance to retrogressive measures, and the complaints of misrule, extravagance, and tyrannous suppression elsewhere, pressed the necessity for a reform of colonial government on the attention of parliament, and events in Canada had not been without a very definite bearing on the same topic. The legislature of the Lower Province had passed a bill granting indemnities to people whose property had been injured during the rebellion or insurrection of 1837–8, and this had been strongly opposed by the British party in the province, for the alleged reason that it would be tantamount to compensating many of those persons who had actually taken a part in the disturbance, and would be holding out to disaffection a premium taken from the law-abiding tax-payers of the community. In spite of these objections the bill was carried by a large majority, and received the assent of Lord Elgin, the governor of the colony. The effect of this was that

the objectors, who had claimed to represent the observers of the law, themselves raised a serious riot, during which the parliament house of the province was destroyed, a great deal of violence had to be suppressed, and an inquiry into the circumstances had to be made in the House of Commons, where Lord Elgin was warmly attacked for assenting to the measure which had caused the disturbance. His conduct was defended on the ground that no person could be treated as a rebel unless proof were given of his having taken a part in the insurrection, and that anyone claiming compensation for loss of property could not reasonably be called upon to prove that he was innocent of having participated in the rebellion. The party in Canada who had objected to the bill on the ground of its possible encouragement to rebels had not been slow to commence an insurrection on their own account. Lord Elgin had been pelted with stones on his return from the parliament house after giving his assent to the bill, the houses of some of the ministers were sacked, and as we have seen the legislative building itself was destroyed. Mr. Roebuck deprecated any interference by the House of Commons with the expression of their opinion by the Canadians. The money which was to be paid in indemnities was Canadian and not English money. Mr. Gladstone was opposed to this view, and pointed out that the fact that the sanction of the crown was required to any measure brought the matter under the jurisdiction of the house. On the motion for going into committee of supply, after arguing the question whether the Indemnity Act was brought forward for the purpose of compensating those who had been innocent sufferers, or for the indemnification of those who had borne arms against the state, he contended that there could be no doubt that such an act of indemnification demanded imperial consideration, and that the measure was not consistent with the honour of the crown, and brought forward several illustrations which he stated were proofs of the intentions of the framers of the act not to treat participation in the rebellion as a disqualification for compensation. He did not call for the reversal of the act, but for an assurance from the government that rebels should not be indemnified under it, and for evidence to prove that parties claiming money had taken no part in the rebellion. Unless the government gave this assurance, he recommended that the ratification of the act should be suspended till the colonial legislature had the opportunity of amending it.

Lord John Russell, however, censured Mr. Gladstone's speech, as one likely to increase the antagonism of parties in Canada, and announced the determination of the government to leave the act in operation. A hostile motion by Mr. Herries for an address praying her majesty to withhold her assent to the measure was lost by 291 votes to 150. The question of colonial government was now before the house, and after one or two ineffectual propositions, Sir W. Molesworth later in the session brought forward a motion for the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the administration of the colonial possessions, with a view to diminishing the causes of colonial complaint, decreasing the cost of colonial government, and giving free scope to individual enterprise in the business of colonizing. The motion was seconded by Mr. Hume, and Mr. Gladstone supported it in the interests of the colonies, and of the maintenance of our connection with them. Sir W. Molesworth in his introduction of the proposal, alleged that the misgovernment of the colonial office, convict emigration, and other causes which a commission might be able to investigate now turned the tide of colonization from our own settlements. The motion was rejected by the government on the ground that the question should be brought forward by ministers on their own responsibility under the control and supervision of parliament. It was therefore negatived by 163 votes to 89, and the main subject was shelved till the following year, when the results of the alterations which had been made in the navigation laws and the changes which had taken place in the relation between the mother country and the colonies helped to revive the subject, and the ministry brought in a bill for the improvement of colonial government, by giving the

Australian settlements more control over their own affairs by means of a new legislative constitution.

The demands by the colonists for a complete control of their own affairs and for elective popular government had been already promoted by a Colonial Reform Association, which had been active in disseminating information on the subject; and the Australian Colonies Government Bill was at length introduced by Lord John Russell. It was far from being so complete a measure as the advocates of political progress desired for the colonies, and met with much opposition on various grounds. Mr. Gladstone, who represented the opinion of many members, objected that in each Australian constitution there was to be only a single chamber instead of an upper and a lower house, and he supported an amendment by Mr. Walpole, that the chambers should be divided—one being nominated by the crown, the other elected by the colonists. This amendment was lost, however. On the report being brought up, Sir W. Molesworth moved for the recommittal of the bill, for the purpose of omitting some clauses, in order to give the colonies a more complete government, independent of the control and interposition of the colonial office; and this also was supported by Mr. Gladstone on the ground that it was most important to emancipate the colonies from the control of the government at home, as far as was consistent with imperial interests. But Mr. Gladstone, in accordance with the position which he then sustained towards the church, not altogether because of his representing Oxford, but consistently with the attitude which he had always assumed with regard to the authority of church government within its own sphere, also proposed an ecclesiastical constitution for the Australian colonies, contending that instead of the system of established religion prevailing there for any useful purpose, the church was simply, like those of the sects, a stipendiary church, although the power of appointments to benefices lay with the governor. There were no ecclesiastical courts for the maintenance of discipline: all discipline had to emanate from the Prerogative Courts of the province of Canterbury at the other side of the world. The bishop was powerless, unless he acted with arbitrary despotism and without any forms of judicial procedure; and if he did this, the right to appeal was a right upon paper alone. Mr. Gladstone proposed, inasmuch as the colonial church was excluded from the rights and privileges of establishment, to untie its hands from all disabilities, and let it fall back on its original freedom. With this object he moved that a clause be added to the bill, enacting that the bishops, clergy, and laity in communion with the church, in the several colonies, should have power to meet from time to time, and make regulations for the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. The objections to these proposals were, that they attempted to graft upon the bill a sort of legislative convocation or ecclesiastical synod for the church, independent of the local legislature, a convocation which, while it would have been constituted of laity as well as clergy, contained a clause practically nullifying the lay element, by making the assent of the Australian bishops essential to the efficacy of the acts of convocation. Some critics outside the house said that, judging from the results of episcopal administration in the Old World, it would have been "hard to deliver over the New to the like tender mercies." This was intended to point at the existence of an ecclesiastical sinecure, worth fifteen thousand a year, alleged to have been appropriated by the primate for the benefit of his son, and at the Bishop of London's palliation of that procedure by referring to the enormity of an episcopal predecessor, who had appointed a son of six months old to a similar office, and so secured it to him for seventy years. The explanation of the appointment made by the primate was, that by a recent act the legislature could reduce the salary or increase the duty if it was so decided; but the subject of church livings in the gift of high dignitaries was at the moment a painful one, in consequence of some disclosures which had been made during the discussions on the Ecclesiastical Commission Bill, which was then pending. Of course this had only a theoretical or rather an allusive reference to Mr. Gladstone's proposals respect-

ing the Australian Colonies Bill, but the whole subject was peculiarly irritating. Eventually Mr. Labouchere's opposition to the proposed synods of the colonial church closed the debate, and the proposals were rejected. On the third reading, however, Mr. Gladstone moved an amendment for suspending the passing of the bill till the colonies should have had an opportunity of considering its provisions as well as the proposals to vary them which had been submitted to the house. He objected to the bill because it permitted, and even implied and required, the constant interference of the authorities at home in the local affairs of the colonies; because it gave power to the requisition of two colonies to form a general assembly, which would exercise legislative power over all; and because the constitution gave the Australian colonies only one legislative chamber in each colony, while the same government which had decreed this, had granted to the colonists of the Cape of Good Hope a chamber of representatives and a legislative council based on the principle of election. There was much force in many of the objections made, and they supported the original amendments of Sir W. Molesworth, but it was felt that, imperfect as the ministerial measure might be, it was a considerable advance on the existing system, and contained the elements of an independent government which might be practically exercised without entirely abolishing the colonial office or transporting it to the antipodes. On a division the motion of Mr. Gladstone was lost, the votes being 226 against 128. Mr. Roebuck, who was its seconder, acted with Mr. Gladstone as teller in the division, and Mr. Disraeli was one of the supporters of the minority.

It was time that some decided reformation should be made in colonial government, and that the internal affairs of the Australian settlements should be administered by local authorities, for those grand possessions of the British crown were rapidly increasing in importance. The tide of immigration was already surging upon the shore of the new world, which was becoming the nursery of another if not a greater Britain, the cradle of another family of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Plans for promoting emigration by means of carefully organized associations were made public, and were immediately successful in conveying to the new land of plenty, the very persons who were most needed there, but who found it difficult here to obtain subsistence; and it is worth remembering that they were often accompanied by persons with from £500 to £5000 capital, who were going out to settle in farming and grazing or other occupations, and frequently arranged for the services of their poorer fellow-passengers. This, indeed, was a part of the successful system instituted under the direction of Mrs. Chisholm and supported by the advice and assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Herbert and others, who not only gave their attention to the excellent scheme, but supported it with handsome subscriptions.

Mr. Sidney Herbert had organized a committee for raising funds and sending out companies of female emigrants under proper supervision. The greater number of these emigrants in the earlier days of the society's operations were needlewomen and sempstresses. There was also a British Ladies' Female Emigration Society, of which the Duke of Argyle was chairman, not established with the view of directly promoting emigration, but with the admirable intention of elevating the character of those who were leaving their native country, and who would form the basis from which society in the colonies would be built up. Among its principal objects were the establishment of homes for the reception of female emigrants before they left this country, providing visitation at the ports, supplying means for instruction and employment during the voyage, appointing competent matrons, and forming corresponding societies in the colonies to receive, protect, and assist the emigrants on their arrival. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel also received funds from an association formed for the purpose of improving the condition of emigrants by sending out with each emigrant vessel a chaplain or lay teacher, and providing the ship with books, maps, and tools and materials for manual employment. There were, in fact, numerous associations for the express purpose

of promoting and regulating emigration to the colonies, and giving advice, instruction, and assistance to all classes of emigrants, both in homes and classes, before their departure, during the outward voyage, and on their arrival at the port where they landed for their destination. Of course some of these efforts were not completely successful, and there was much to learn, as well as much to contend with in the character and disposition of those who were to be benefited. It was nearly impossible to avoid some disorder, and occasionally much that was painful and deterrent, especially during the voyage of a number of women in ships not yet completely arranged for securing the degree of comfort or of privacy which was desirable, if not necessary; but the efforts to meet the rapid increase of emigration by well-considered and practical methods of obtaining decent and orderly arrangements, to improve and direct the emigrants themselves, and to provide trustworthy people to accompany and protect them on the passage, were praiseworthy and mostly very successful.

Such truly philanthropic efforts were in thorough accordance with the disposition of Mr. Sidney Herbert and of his wife (daughter of Major-general Ashe á Court and niece of the first Lord Heytesbury), who since their marriage in 1846 had admirably seconded his efforts to ameliorate the distress of the poor needlewomen of London, and subsequently devoted her attention to the improvement of soldiers and their wives and families. The name of Mrs. Caroline Chisholm continues to be remembered whenever the subject of emigration is mentioned; and when she left England in 1854 to take up her permanent abode in the colony of New South Wales, for which she had indirectly done such faithful service, a very considerable sum of money was subscribed and presented to her, because it was known that she had freely given away her own means of support, and also because it was believed that she would still be in some sense a public servant, ready and willing to aid by her advice and active influence the cause of emigration and the well-being of those who were leaving the mother country.

It was in Sydney that Mrs. Chisholm's admirable efforts in favour of emigrants began, but her benevolent work had commenced much earlier. In 1830, when she was but twenty years old, she had married Captain Alexander Chisholm, with whom she shortly afterwards went to Madras, and there established a school for the female children and orphans of British soldiers, an institution which was remarkably successful until in 1838 her husband's weak health compelled him to leave India. He removed to Sydney, and there Mrs. Chisholm at once commenced benevolent efforts on behalf of emigrants and their families, lending them small sums of money, establishing a temporary asylum where she received destitute girls until she could procure situations for them, and generally advising and helping all who applied to her.

In 1846 Captain Chisholm and his wife revisited England after their long absence, and took up their abode in Islington, and from that date to 1854, when she returned to Sydney, Mrs. Chisholm was occupied in establishing her "Family Colonization Society," in explaining her views on emigration at committees and public meetings, in collecting passage-money in weekly instalments; in helping emigrants with advances, arranging for the classification of groups of families and their employées, in establishing temporary homes for young women about to leave the country, and in organizing means for their reception on the other side. These and many similar benevolent efforts which were active in 1849 and 1850, and afterwards, were certainly not more than adequate to give effectual aid to the numbers who were suddenly desirous to try their fortunes in the new land.

As affording some data for estimating not only the enormous increase of emigration, but also the comparative commercial condition of the country, we may quote some of the published returns, to which a very able reference was made by Mr. Washington Wilks in his brief volume tracing the events of the half century ending in 1851.

The emigration from Ireland was so great as to be of painful significance, and it must be remembered that the exodus from that

country was chiefly to the United States of America. The population of England and Wales was 17,905,831, the decennial increase only 12 per cent. The total population of Great Britain and Ireland was only 568,108 more in 1851 than in 1841—that is, 27,452,262 against 26,833,496; and the increase of females was considerably greater than that of males. The population of Ireland was ascertained to be 6,615,794, whereas in 1841 it was 8,175,124; in 1831 it was 7,767,401; and in 1821 it was 6,801,827. Thus instead of an increase of about 6 per cent, as in the preceding twenty years, there had been a decrease of 20 per cent. The population, which in 1841 had been believed to have exceeded the returns, had been reduced nearly 300,000 below that of 1821, so that it was to be inferred that there had been a loss of population of about two millions. This was to be attributed not alone to the permanent causes of Irish decadence, but to the increase of our facilities for emigration. Within twenty years 2,566,023 persons had sailed from the ports of the United Kingdom, and the following table will show the variations, progress, and destinations of the numbers of those who left the country:—

Years	North American Colonies.	United States.	Australia and New Zealand.	All Other Places.	Total.
1831	58,067	23,418	1,561	114	83,160
1832	66,339	32,872	3 733	196	103,140
1833	28,808	29,109	4,093	517	62,527
1834	40,060	33,074	2,800	288	76,222
1835	15,573	26,720	1,860	325	44,478
1836	34,226	37,774	3,124	293	75,417
1837	29,884	36,770	5,054	326	72,034
1838	4 577	14,332	14,021	292	33,222
1839	12,658	33,536	15,786	227	62,207
1840	32,293	40,642	15,850	1958	90,743
1841	38,164	45,017	32,625	2786	118,592
1842	54,123	63,852	8,534	1835	128,344
1843	23,518	28,335	3,478	1881	57,212
1844	22,924	43,660	2,229	1873	70,686
1845	31,803	58,538	830	2330	93,501
1846	43,439	82,239	2,347	1826	129,851
1847	109,680	142,154	4,949	1487	258,250
1848	31,065	188,233	23,904	4887	248,089
1849	41,367	219,450	32,191	6490	299,498
1850	32,961	223,078	16,037	8773	280,849

Of the 1,692,063 persons constituting the emigration in the interval of the censuses of 1841 and 1851, 1,100,000 sailed directly from Irish ports. It was known that of the remaining half million a large proportion had made Liverpool only a port of embarkation for the West, and it was thought probable that as the increase in the population of Great Britain had exceeded the natural average rate, numbers of Irish had settled in our large towns. The census was half a million below the average, after making these calculations for emigration, and it was asked had the large number perished, or had the birth rate been so seriously diminished. It was not forgotten that numbers of the emigrants were people who were likely to be parents, and that the natural offspring of Ireland were born in other lands, but even this consideration left a large margin for untimely deaths, and for an unusual diminution of the number of births.

In relation to the returns, which were of some importance as indications of the commercial condition of the country, the following table will be interesting:—

Years.	Total Income of Government.	Total Government Expenditure.	Sums applied to Redemption of National Debt.	Official value of Imports into the United Kingdom.	Official value of Exports from the United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£	£
1831	46,424,440	49,797,156	2,673,858	49,713,889	37,864,372
1832	47,322,744	46,379,692	5,696	44,586,741	36,450,594
1833	46,271,326	45,782,026	1,023,784	45,952.551	39,667,347
1834	46.425,263	46,678,079	1,776,378	49,363,811	41,649,191
1835	45,893,369	45,669,309	1,270,050	48,911,542	47,372,270
1836	48,591,180	46,093,196	1,590,727	57,023,837	53,668,571
1837	46,475,194	49,116,839	1,985,885	54,737,301	42,069,245
1838	47,333,460	47,686,183	7,496	61,268,320	50,060,970
1839	47,844,899	49,357,691	....	62,004,000	52,233,580
1840	47,567,565	49,169,552	8,016	67,432,964	51,406,430
1841	48,084,360	50,185,729	....	64,377,962	51,634,623
1842	46,965,631	50,953,735	8,566	65,204,729	47,381,023
1843	52,582,817	51,148.254	8,741	70,093,353	52,278,449
1844	54,003,754	52,211,009	1,563,361	75,441,550	58,584,292
1845	59,140,319	53,385,603	1,143,891	85,281,955	60,111,081
1846	59,700,408	55,583,025	2,846,307	95,958,875	57,786,576
1847	65,372,671	59.230,413	2,956,683	90,921,866	58,971,166
1848	60,856,963	58,990.736	....	93,547,134	53,083,344
1849	59,168,374	55,480,659	2,098,126	105,874,607	63,596,025
1850	58,838,700	54,936,534	2,578,806	100,460,433	71,359,184

These were the figures that told of the growth and progress of the parent country, and the young colonies, which were soon to grow rapidly to gigantic proportions, were already opening out for themselves a career of vast prosperity. The people who left England because their own conditions were those of constant poverty and ever-threatening want, went to a land of apparently illimitable resources and constant plenty; a land which in its natural productions was one of golden promise in flocks and herds and grain, and only needed the host of willing hands who took to it knowledge and labour for agriculture, and

skill in mechanical handicrafts, to make it truly a land of Goshen. And this was so far verified that even when, a year after the date to which we have arrived, the first startling note of surprise and wild excitement was sounded, and the rumour of the discovery of gold in Victoria was verified, the stampede to the "diggings" neither overthrew the colony, nor permanently superseded the labour which found, when the mania was over, the true and sustaining source of wealth to be the fertile land and the regular industries, to which mining was added as a recognized occupation, yielding in the main a regulated rate of profit to ordinary labour. The exceptional great successes of miners were such as may find occasional parallels in the discoveries or inventions that produce large fortunes in agricultural, or more frequently, in mechanical and commercial pursuits. This regulating level was of course only reached after long and exciting fluctuations, eager, feverish speculations, and the temporary subversion of the ordinary routine of the communities affected by the "gold mania." At first, the effect of the discovery of the precious metal was convulsive and alarming. The intelligence of the discovery of gold in California in 1848 had produced a very marked effect not only in Europe but in Australia, and early in the following year four or five large vessels were chartered at Sydney to take out diggers and speculators to the distant gold-fields. Nearly 5000 persons, many of whom had been taken from England to Sydney at the expense of the New South Wales Land Fund, had left the colony by the end of 1850; but in 1851 the note of recall was sounded: gold had been discovered, as it were, at the doors of their former homesteads, and though it cannot be said how many actually went back, it is certain that Californian diggers soon made their appearance in the new diggings, whither they took experience and the rough usages of camp life.

It would be dreary work to trace the history of the gold discoveries in Russia, dating from 1842; those in California, dating from 1847; or those in Australia, dating from 1851. It would be still more dreary to discuss the effect of these discoveries on prices, or to attempt to solve any of the problems in political economy which arise in connection with this subject. A distinguished wit and thinker declared that, after years of intercourse with political economists and every possible effort to drag their great secret from them, he had been utterly unable to find out what they meant by "value," and humble students of passing events have often expressed themselves puzzled by the fact that one effect of the gold discoveries was to "raise prices." The facts, taken in brief, must here suffice us. The results of the discovery of gold on the Sacramento River in September, 1847—accidental as it was—are well within living memory. Now began what was called "the gold fever;" there was scarcely a group of friends in Great Britain from which some one was not soon bound for California. It was the same in Germany, France, and elsewhere, and in ten years the population of San Francisco increased from about 300 to 40,000. For a long course of time the gold-finding in California reached about £13,000,000 per annum. The change in the character of that population; the terrible preponderance of males; the wild scenes of adventure, gambling, robbery, and murder; the extemporization of government from time to time; the slow shaking down of life in those regions into something resembling order; these are topics for specialists in history, and not for a general sketch like this.

In spite of the fact that Sir Roderick Murchison and others had predicted, on scientific grounds, the discovery of gold in Australia, there was fresh excitement of the wildest nature when, in 1851, a Mr. Hargraves or Hargreaves discovered gold in the Bathurst region in the spring of 1851. Besides those who went out from England and elsewhere, allured by the mere chance of finding gold, nearly the whole population of Melbourne and Geelong rushed to the diggings. In one case, in the month of July, 1851, a hundredweight of gold was discovered at once. This was struck upon by a native while he was looking after his master's sheep at Wallawa. The total mass, including the quartz in which the gold was embedded, was from

two to three hundredweight. For convenience of removal Mr. Kerr, the shepherd's master and the owner of the estate, broke it up before it was seen by many people. The colonial government, of course, took means for asserting the rights of "the crown" (which really means the people), and for maintaining something like order and security. Acts of violence and robberies there were, almost wherever men were assembled by thousands at "the diggings," but not many, and by the spring of the year 1852 the gold exports of Australia to the mother country amounted to £3,600,000. In the first six months of that year the number of emigrants to Australia was 26,000. In May a lump of auriferous quartz from Melbourne, valued at £800, was exhibited at the London Stock Exchange, and in the same month the escort from Mount Alexander diggings brought into Melbourne 31,478 ounces of gold, the result of a week's digging. The effects of such items of intelligence and the display of "nuggets" in the money-changers' shops in London and the large towns, had an electric effect on a large number of people. In November three vessels arrived in the Thames bearing seven tons of "the precious metal," one of them (the *Eagle*) having six tons on board. She had made the passage from Melbourne to the Downs in seventy-six days. In January, 1853, the steamer *Australian* arrived at Plymouth from Melbourne with 222,293 ounces of gold, and the famous Victoria nugget, weighing 28 lbs., and sent by the colonial government as a present to the queen. By the end of 1852 fresh discoveries had been made not only in New South Wales and South Australia but near Adelaide, while the old diggings remained as productive as ever. A vast belt of highly auriferous land was believed to extend across the Australian continent from the Victoria goldfields to those of Bathurst, and thence to the banks of the Hunter and the back of Moreton Bay. From October, 1851, to August, 1852, the Victoria gold-fields had, it was calculated, yielded 2,532,422 ounces, and the worth of the exports was estimated at £8,863,477. Of course the stream of emigration continued month by month, and in the regions of the diggings the state of society was ill-regulated, while in the towns much of the business had direct reference to the gold-fields and to the supply of the miners. A great part of the population became migratory, and there was some lawlessness, robbery, and violence; but it was soon seen that the true prosperity of the colonies was founded too deeply to be ultimately dependent on the gold discovery, or to be always feverishly associated with it. We need not forestall the events and the suggestions that belong to a future portion of our story of national progress to show this, but it may not be altogether out of place to bring into comparison with the figures and returns which have been already quoted, the surprising statistics—more astonishing than those that relate to gold-finding or to early emigration—which belong to recent returns of the population and condition of Victoria and New South Wales. In the census for 1881 the number of the inhabitants of Victoria is given as 858,582, including 11,835 Chinese and 770 aborigines, 309 of the natives and only 196 of the Chinese being women. The proportion of men to women among the European population is 483,186 to 407,791. How the population has grown is shown by the following figures:—The first census, in 1836, showed a population of only 177 souls. Five years later there were 11,738. Ten years after that there were 77,345; and ten years later again, in 1861, there were 540,321. In 1871 the population was 731,528.

It must be remembered that Victoria first separated from New South Wales in 1851, and Queensland eight years after. We are now reading of an industrial exhibition at Melbourne in 1880, where New South Wales occupied a prominent position, after having had a similar exhibition of its own at Sydney; and glancing at late statistics we find that in the 310,937 square miles of New South Wales there are about 800,000 inhabitants; that in round numbers there are 636,000 acres under crop, with 370,000 horses, 3,000,000 cattle, 29,000,000 sheep, 260,000 pigs, about 1000 miles of railway, and a total value of trade imports and exports of nearly £28,000,0000; while Victoria, with 88,178 square miles of territory,

exceeds even New South Wales in population, and equals it in the total value of trade exports and imports, while it has a greater number of miles of railway, and 1,688,275 acres under crop, the number of sheep, cattle, &c., of course being much lower, as it is an agricultural rather than a great grazing land. The vast tracts of South Australia, Queensland, and Western Australia, are now making progress, and there lie the enormous probabilities for future emigrants.

In connection with the progress of our colonial possessions some reference should be made to the endeavours to explore the Polar regions, but a mere mention may suffice. The long story of the search for the North-west Passage, and of Arctic explorations in general, is far too momentous and complicated a matter for a mere summary. But the queen had scarcely ascended the throne when a gleam of success shone upon British enterprise in the Polar seas, and a tract was named Victoria Land. The end, not long delayed, was that in the year 1839 the coast-line of the extreme north of the American continent was determined, and Victoria Land surveyed. We have said "the end," but this must be read, of course, with much reservation. It was in May, 1845, that Sir John Franklin started, with the ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, upon the errand from which he was never to return, namely, that of determining the North-west Passage. This achievement was reserved for Captain M'Clure at a later date. Men of science have now dreams, which some of them contend will prove more than dreams, of one day utilizing the knowledge acquired in these "expeditions" for the purpose of modifying the climatic conditions of the globe.

Many of the parliamentary occurrences of the years 1849 and 1850 were tentative, and though they were of great importance were chiefly so because they were indications of future measures in the direction of liberty and progress. Others, to one of which reference has already been made, were illustrative of the tenacity with which the protectionists still held to certain political tenets involving either a renewal of duties or special compensation to the agricultural interest; and as we have seen, even free-traders as advanced as Mr. Gladstone was at that time, regarded the latter proposal with some favour if such compensation could be made by the removal of certain burdens which were supposed to press upon farmers with unequal severity. Mr. Cobden's propositions in 1849 for a reduction of the public expenditure, supported as they were by Mr. Hume's demands for greater economy in the salaries of officials and in the organization of government departments, were of no little significance. Mr. Milner Gibson also on the debate on the budget, which showed a deficiency of £269,378 (caused, it was said, by expenditure on the alleviation of Irish distress, assisting emigration to Canada, and paying for the excess in naval expenditure in previous years), recommended the remission of the penny stamp duty on newspapers, the excise duty on paper, and the advertisement duty, and referred in support of his arguments in favour of the abolition of "taxes on knowledge" to a petition presented to the House of Commons by the Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh, in which it was stated that the tax on paper had compelled that firm to discontinue a publication intended for the instruction of the working-classes, and of which 80,000 copies had been circulated. Mr. Hume's endeavour to advance the cause of parliamentary reform by moving for leave to bring in a bill to extend the franchise to all householders, to establish a system of secret voting, to hold triennial parliaments, and to give the representation a more equal proportion to the population of the places represented in parliament, was rejected; but it was significant, and was of course only intended to assert a principle on behalf of reformers, whose marked minority was due to the co-operation of the protectionists with the government against so daring a proposal.

Mr. Cobden's calm and deliberate representations in favour of his plan for settling international disputes by arbitration instead of war was another of those suggestive declarations which, though they could not have been expected to meet with acceptance, yet were too serious to be passed over without important discussion, and were of a nature to clear the

moral atmosphere and to give new and enlightened views to thinking people outside parliament. Conservatives were as earnestly in favour of retrenchment and economy as Mr. Hume or Mr. Cobden, and though the extension of the franchise was at present confined to Ireland, where there was some increase in the electoral suffrage, it was evident to sagacious men on both sides that the time was arriving for a readjustment, if not a very considerable augmentation of the class entitled to parliamentary representation. At the same time the question of the admission of Jews to parliament was opening up the subject in another direction; and the repeated applications of Mr. Rothschild to be sworn as the member for the city of London led to discussion after discussion on the necessity for modifying the parliamentary oath of allegiance by leaving out the words "on the true faith of a Christian," in order to meet the objections of those who belonged to religious communities which would make that form of words objectionable. Eventually the whole subject was postponed till the session of 1851, that a measure might be prepared and submitted to parliament.

One of the most important topics—from a social point of view—which engaged the attention of parliament was brought forward by Lord Ashley. Everybody now knows how during his long life the Earl of Shaftesbury has devoted himself to the amelioration of the condition of the labouring poor of our great towns—to the cause of education, of religious instruction, and to sanitary reform. It is only lately that, on his eightieth birthday, the noble earl was invited to a great meeting in the Guildhall of London, there to receive congratulations and assurances of deep regard from the representatives of ragged schools and other successful institutions of which he had been the founder and constant supporter—institutions which, by their unceasing operation, and patient, faithful administration, have done more for the social improvement of the poorer inhabitants of London and our large manufacturing towns, and especially for the otherwise neglected children of England, than had been effected by any other agency whatever. Early in his public life Lord Ashley had chosen this work, though in those days he was accused, not without apparent reason, of leaving the agricultural labourers on the estates in which he was personally interested to ignorance and poverty that he might expose the neglect of manufacturers. He set on foot schemes for shortening the hours of labour and providing for the necessities of workers in mines and factories, who were committed to almost unrelieved toil without the means of living in decency or of emerging from a condition of ignorance and depravity. He pursued the course which he believed had been marked out for him without being deterred by the outcry raised against him, which at one time made him the object of very general abuse, and even of dislike among many who belonged to the class which he was striving to benefit. It was perhaps not to be wondered at that some of the manufacturers, during the time that inquiries were being made by the Anti-Corn-law League into the destitute condition of farm labourers, should have resented the interposition of a nobleman who presumably belonged to the landed interest, in exposing the wretched condition of the operatives in the great industrial centres, while Dorsetshire peasants and other toilers in the fields were starving in a state of semi-barbarism. It soon became apparent, however, that Lord Ashley's representations were not for a political purpose, but were intended as incentives to action, and as unanswerable appeals for aid in the work to which he was prepared to devote his energies in parliament, and his tenacity of purpose underwent little relaxation. He remained as faithful to the duty to which he believed he had been called as he was to evangelical churchmanship, and his consistency has surely been vindicated by the fact that he has for a great part of the whole period during which our narrative extends been regarded as the representative of that direct religious effort for the amelioration of the social needs of the poor which has enlisted under his name and personal influence a whole army of indefatigable workers in

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER

LORD ASHLEY — NOW 7TH EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR W. C. ROSS, R.A.

numerous philanthropic enterprises, without which even the most recent and important legislative measures for the education and moral and social improvement of the working-classes would have seemed impossible. For many years, after he succeeded to the higher title in 1851, he was known as Lord Ashley, and his name is still mentioned with respect and affection by thousands of those who, even though they may not agree with many of his opinions, had learned to revere him in their youth, and have grown gray in the service to which he called them. He had already outlived the censure of those who perhaps misunderstood his object when, in 1850, he called the attention of parliament to the defective working of the Factories Act passed in 1847, by which the hours of labour of women and young persons in factories was limited to ten hours a day. This provision was in numberless cases being evaded or rendered of little value by the system of what were called "shifts," or the employment of relays of juvenile or female workers during fifteen hours a day out of which the stated ten hours might be calculated. This had not been contemplated by parliament in passing the bill, and Lord Ashley earnestly and solemnly appealed to the justice and honour of the house on behalf of the temporal and eternal welfare of thousands who would be affected by their decision. The appeal was accepted, and Sir George Grey afterwards brought forward a bill limiting the working hours to between six in the morning and six in the evening, deducting an hour and a half for meals, so that the working time was ten and a half hours daily: the time on Saturdays to be from six till two, deducting half an hour for breakfast. The total week's work was thus made sixty instead of fifty-eight hours.

It can scarcely escape mention that just before the passing of this bill Lord Ashley had again incurred public displeasure by having induced the House of Commons to pass a resolution for an address to her majesty praying that she would be graciously pleased to direct that the collection and delivery of letters on Sundays should in future entirely cease in all parts of the kingdom. The resolution was passed in a very small house against the opinion of the government, and as a consequence the decision was hurriedly carried into effect with the purpose of obtaining the reversal of the vote. The proposer was sincere in his endeavour to obtain a law enjoining the observance of the Sabbath, and this is not the place to enter into the questions either of expediency, or of the sacred obligation which was necessarily involved in considering the adoption of such an enactment. The measure was regarded as an introduction of certain views belonging to a particular religious class, and the complaints not only of private persons but of the newspapers and their correspondents as well as the newsvendors, who could not obtain their Sunday supply, were loud and persistent. The whole country was suddenly subjected to great inconvenience, and Lord Ashley vainly endeavoured to point out that as there were already no Sunday deliveries of letters in London a fair trial would cause the apparent privation to appear comparatively trivial. For about three weeks he was the centre of much abuse and remonstrance, not to say positive insult, and another parliamentary debate ended in a return to the previous practice.

By the close of 1850 a number of eminent persons had passed from the scene in which they had borne a conspicuous part. Lord George Bentinck's sudden death on the 21st of September, 1848, had somewhat changed the aspect of the party of which he had been the nominal head, but the leadership of which had passed to Mr. Disraeli. It is probable that the change which he had made in his habits, or rather his pursuits, when he sold off his stud and gave up his great ambition of being a winner of the Derby Cup—"the blue ribbon of the turf"—to take an arduous part in politics, injured his constitution, and that his practice of eating only a slight breakfast and taking no more food until late at night, in order to keep his attention fixed and his brain clear for the debates, did him further mischief. Still nothing unusual was observed in his manner or appearance on the morning before

his death. After spending some hours in writing letters he set out to walk from his house at Welbeck to visit Lord Manners at Thoresby, where he was to stay for two days. His valet drove over to Thoresby expecting Lord George to arrive soon after him, but he never came, and the servant returned to Welbeck, called up the groom who had driven him over, and inquired whether he had seen his master on his way back. The groom got up and, accompanied by the valet and two others, took lanterns, and followed the footpath which they had seen Lord George pursuing as they themselves went to Thoresby. About a mile from the abbey on the path which they had observed him following, lying close to the gate which separated a water meadow from the deer-park, they found the body of Lord George Bentinck. He was lying on his face, his arms were under his body, and in one hand he grasped his walking-stick. His hat was a yard or two before him, having evidently been thrown off in falling. The body was cold and stiff. He had been long dead.

At about the same time (28th of November, 1848) the death of Charles Buller, who had already been regarded as one of the foremost rising statesmen of the age, left a vacant place in parliament which could not easily be filled, for the oratory of this able and accomplished gentleman would have given him a conspicuous place in any public assembly in the world. When several members rose to speak, and one of them was Buller, the house gave him the preference by calling on him by name. Carlyle had been his tutor, and the Earl of Durham, to whom he was secretary in Canada, was his first political leader, so that he was rather a Radical than a so-called Liberal, and had given evidences of remarkable ability in practical statesmanship, especially when he consented to undertake the administration of the poor-laws after breakdown of the commission, but that was only just before his death, and he had already become an active and untiring authority on colonial affairs. He was one of the chief promoters and organizers of emigration, and gave his aid both as a statesman and as one of the originators of the New Zealand Company to the settlement of colonial government and to all the questions that affected the position of our Australian and North American possessions. Apart from his legislative ability, however, Mr. Buller possessed the art of parliamentary speaking to a degree which enabled him to make repeated impressions on the house by the bright and easy wit and the luminous illustrations of his addresses.

The death of the Dowager Queen Adelaide on the 2nd of December, 1849, was an event which, though it affected the royal family more nearly than the nation, was yet sincerely mourned by the country. The time had long passed when William IV. was suspected of having been influenced by his queen in those unpopular changes on which he so obstinately insisted, and the charge "the queen has done it all" had been contradicted and forgotten. Only the memory of a benevolent, kind, and conscientious royal lady was cherished in the hearts of the people, and it was known that Queen Adelaide, as she continued to be called by many, had spent a large proportion of the handsome income granted her by parliament in works of unostentatious charity. To the queen her death was a great loss, for as her majesty wrote to King Leopold, "she was truly motherly in her kindness to us and to our children, and it always made her happy to be with us and to see us." The Princess Hohenlohe, her majesty's sister, writing from Baden, said, "She has left behind her love, respect, and gratitude, and she was ever ready to go to her place of eternal rest, where she will find that happiness which she never knew here. . . . Let us think of her bliss after this life of suffering, which she spent in doing good to thousands, who will bless her memory. . . . Let her life be an example to us."

In 1850 Wordsworth passed away and Mr. Tennyson was appointed poet-laureate. There was no one else on whom the crown could devolve, unless it was clearly understood that the office was in future to be a mere matter of form. Christopher North (John Wilson)

was old and much exhausted for his years. Lord John Russell did himself and the crown an honour by assigning to him a pension of £300 a year; but it was not chiefly as a poet that the author of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* had distinguished himself, and his time was short. Leigh Hunt was put forward by more than one zealous friend and admirer; but though he had now retired from aggressive politics, he also was aged, was not a poet to be named in the same rank or even order with Mr. Tennyson, and it would have been, or at all events might have been, considered a grotesque thing for her majesty to appoint the libeller of her deceased uncle to the post of court singer. Dr. Charles Mackay's name even was suggested as feasible by certain public writers. Barry Cornwall (the late Mr. Proctor) was not omitted from the list of candidates, though we may be certain that his name was put forward without his consent. Elizabeth Barrett (E. B. Browning) was at this time very eagerly "run" for the laureateship—it was thought that under the reign of a queen a lady might well carry the laurel, especially as it was even then admitted that this particular singer stood second in all the English-speaking world to no one but Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Browning. Mr. Browning had at that time founded no school, and though some of his best work had been long familiar to a certain public, though he had besides had two plays represented, and had made in one or two pieces a very strong impression on the people, he was somewhat in the shade. It did not conduce to his popularity that he was one of the most learned men living, given to making most recondite references, and very Italian in topics and in manner. Besides there was the poem of the *Lost Leader*, which everybody read as an attack upon Wordsworth for political "ratting." To the prince consort he would be all but unintelligible, and probably not much better to the young queen herself. In sheer poetic *endowment* it was then, as it is now, admitted that he stood next to Milton; but his want of reserve in relation to certain topics and his peculiar style made him an unlikely candidate (if he had *been* a candidate) for the laurel. Then the queen was understood to be very fond of the simple sweet idyll called "The Miller's Daughter," and it can hardly be said that the choice was ever very doubtful.

Mr. Alfred Tennyson was one of seven brothers, all poets, and was born at Somersby in Lincolnshire in the year 1809, his father being a clergyman of great ability and acquirements. The family were of very old origin, being descended from the Norman D'Eyncourts. One of the brothers, the Rev. Charles Tennyson Turner, might evidently have run his brother very close in the race, and has a high place among modern lyrists. The appointment of Mr. Alfred Tennyson to the post or dignity of poet-laureate gave general satisfaction, and the unpleasant criticisms made upon it were soon forgotten.

One poetic name has not hitherto been mentioned; it is that of Mr. Philip James Bailey. Mr. Bailey, considered merely as the author of a poem called *Festus*, would have no particular place in a general sketch of progress, but he was the head, or was treated as the head, of a school of poetic romance and philosophy which was known and will continue to be known as the Spasmodic School. *Festus*, written when Mr. Bailey was from twenty to twenty-two years of age, was simply a poem in which the Faust *idea*, and partly the Faust *story*, were treated in a new form. It would be tedious, and incongruous also, to dwell upon this, but it must not be omitted that the Faust or Festus of the poem (who was imitated by several minor poets) was so far like the older Faust that he was represented as being carried through a great variety of mental and moral experience by Lucifer, women and the agonies of love having a large share in the story. This poem was (to speak roughly) a mixture of Pantheism and Christian Fatalism, ending with universal restoration (the fine hymn, "Call all thy servants, Lord, to Thee," is from this poem). But those who followed in the wake of Mr. Bailey more or less, such as Mr. Sydney Dobell, author of *The Roman* in *Balder*, and Mr. Alexander Smith in his *Life Drama*, troubled themselves very little with traditional terms or current theology, and presented to the

rather passionate-minded men who went through stupendous "experiences," in order to learn the meaning of things in general. These poems were parodied with extraordinary power by Professor Aytoun (Sir Theodore Martin's coadjutor in the *Bon Gaultier Ballads*) in a spasmodic tragedy entitled *Firmilian, the Student of Badajoz*, a book which, burlesque as it is, leaves on the reader's mind a stronger impression of its author's powers than all the rest of his writings put together. Meanwhile the "spasmodic school" was formed, had acquired influence over the young, and was responsible for a large quantity of the excited, vaguely-aspiring poetry of the years between 1845 and 1860. Mr. George Gilfillan was the prophet and friendly critic of the new developments, and Mr. Sydney Dobell, Mr. Alexander Smith, and Mr. Gerald Massey were the most prominent of the bards. Mr. Bailey and Mr. Dobell were poets of very rich endowment. It is in them that the ultimate tendencies of the school must be sought, though these are to be seen in more than half the current literature of a whole decade or more. No such general excitement, straining, and large phrasing has been seen either in prose or verse since about 1856. Mr. R. H. Horne, in *Orion*, had struck a peculiar key which belongs also to the movement; but his mode of treatment, like his story, was classic, and he would not thank any one for classifying him with the spasmodics.

The mention of the poets of the time which we are now considering reminds us of the sister art of music, and it must be admitted that there have been greater singers and much greater actresses than Jenny Lind, afterwards Madame Goldschmidt. She had neither the statuesque beauty nor the tragic power of Grisi, nor the charm of Malibran. Neither had she the astonishing organ of Catalani, whose voice used to make people faint as Paganini's violin did. But Jenny Lind had an extraordinary success, especially in oratorio, and her influence in making music fashionable among the more serious classes was a fact that will have to be dwelt upon when her life comes to be written. She was a Swedish girl, born of poor parents. Her career in England lies mainly between the years 1847 and 1850. She was a special favourite with the queen and royal family, and the receipts at concerts where she sang were fabulous in amount. In America, "exploited" by Mr. Barnum, she made about £60,000. In that country she married Mr. Otto Goldschmidt, who had acted as her pianist. On her return to Europe she endowed schools in her native country to the amount of £40,000. Part of her success as a singer, which was of course aided by her success in society, was founded upon the purity and depth of her character. She was well known to be a religious and charitable lady, and it has always been maintained by her more serious panegyrists that her power as a singer of the music of Mendelssohn (for example) was largely the result of the strength of her own moral and religious feelings. One thing is certain, that her success made an epoch in the cultivation of sacred music in England. So great was the interest felt in this lady, that thousands of those who, though ready to give large prices for tickets, were unable to obtain admittance to her concerts, were willing to pay heavily for the chance of seeing her get out of her carriage or go up stairs. The strictly musical public rebelled and criticised her singing, but the general public were fascinated.

Some reference has already been made to the attitude of Lord Palmerston with regard to the diplomatic relations of Great Britain to other countries, and though we must defer our continuation of the narrative of foreign events, and especially the later startling events in France, to another chapter, we cannot pass on to the most important occurrences in 1851 without dwelling for a page or two on the subject of the great debate on the foreign policy of England, in which Mr. Gladstone took so conspicuous a part, and where the last words uttered by Sir Robert Peel in parliament were listened to with profound attention.

It is not altogether easy to define those characteristics which caused Lord Palmerston

to be accepted as the popular representative of everything English, but they may perhaps be summed up in the slangy but significant word "pluck." The foreign minister had the quality of good-humoured persistency, which took little to develop it into a kind of pugnacity that was quite a different thing to mere quarrelsomeness. This with a shrewd humour and a readiness (apart from his great oratorical ability) to put common-sense notions into pungent, easily understood epigram, gave Lord Palmerston a very definite, and, if we may use the word, understandable personality with the English people. He would not acknowledge defeat, but fought on and went in to win, and he had an easy confidence, which, without being aggressive, would in a man of less ability and of lower position, have been called "cocky." But there was no *assumption* of any of these characteristics. His courage and determination were genuine. One who knew him well recorded that he had been to see Lord Palmerston and found him hard at work, and surrounded by piles of letters and papers, while he was suffering from an attack of gout that would have sent any of his colleagues howling to their beds. It was reported, too, that he supported, if he did not head, a subscription list of members of the House of Commons for the benefit of Tom Sayers, the famous pugilist, after he had won a fight against more than equal odds. This is pretty well the last we hear of pugilism as being openly patronized by members of the legislature; but it was not the pugilism but the pluck that was in question, and whatever objection might be taken to the thing it was illustrative. That Lord Palmerston would have admired the spirit of the famous boxer, even if he had abandoned admiration for the "sport" itself, can scarcely be doubted. He had great individuality, great freshness of view and expression, and just that sort of sympathy with current popular feeling which enabled him to understand and interpret it. Probably nobody could feel the public pulse better than he, and this was a great cause of his success; but he was not far-seeing; the two qualifications, if not incompatible, are rarely found in the same person. Lord Palmerston was popular because he knew and on the whole coincided with the popular opinion and sentiment. On the occasions when he acted in opposition to it he lost power and prestige for a time, and was vehemently assailed, as we shall see hereafter; but he soon regained the public confidence, for he was usually prompt, certain, and practical, and above all, there was a tradition that he made the name and power of England respected, if not feared, abroad. He had some such notion himself, and the effect of this general impression was peculiar. He was strongly of opinion that foreign unconstitutional rulers and arbitrary ministers were opposed to the English policy, not so much because they were averse to the policy itself, but because it was *his* policy, and they had a personal grudge against the man whom they knew would (to use a vulgar expression) stand none of their nonsense, but would everywhere assert British influence and protect British interests. He probably never suspected that he had at length introduced a policy of self-assertion and interposition which was a little too ready to demand satisfaction without adequate inquiry, and to recommend English modes of procedure to foreign governments in a way that was either high-handed or patronizing, as kings and councils might happen to regard it. Later on, when he was compelled temporarily to resign office in consequence of his persistence in acting on his own responsibility, he did not hesitate to attribute his loss of office to the influence of foreign ministers or sovereigns who had a personal dislike for him, and he pretty broadly intimated that their influence extended to the queen and Prince Albert, and that a clique in the House of Commons were also ready to depose him from office on personal grounds. That these notions had little, if any, foundation is obvious enough, now that we are in possession of the facts of the case, and indeed the charge against a clique in the house appears to be absurd, when we observe the number and position of the men who felt compelled to protest against the policy which he constantly pursued for some time during his administration of foreign affairs. It is only with the famous question of the demands he made on Greece for com-

pensation to two persons who claimed to be recompensed for alleged injuries, that we have to do at the moment, for it was the key-note of much that followed it. It must not be forgotten that the popularity of Lord Palmerston arose not only from the conviction that under his authority Englishmen abroad would be protected by their own government, but because his sympathies were believed to be, (as in the main they were) emphatically, on the side of oppressed nationalities and peoples struggling against tyranny. As he was never cautious in expressing his opinions, and the complication of foreign affairs during the time that he held office left much power in his hands, England was regarded with no little suspicion and some hostility by the potentates who suffered during the year of revolution, and with earnest regard by men who were foremost in the struggles for independence, and afterwards found a refuge here when their efforts had been frustrated or had only partially succeeded.

We have said that Lord Palmerston did not hesitate to assert that he was assailed by foreign influence which extended to high quarters in England; but it should be mentioned that this assertion was made only in serious confidence, or in his letters to his brother, our representative at Naples. He had too much command of temper, and was too manly, to go about making promiscuous charges of this kind, nor had he occasion to do so, for he did not long remain out of office. We cannot refrain from showing what his outspokenness was like, and how little he regarded the mere conventionalities of diplomacy, by quoting from a letter written in September, 1849, to the minister at Vienna:—"My dear Ponsonby,—The Austrians are really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilized men. Their atrocities in Galicia, in Italy, in Hungary, in Transylvania, are only to be equalled by the proceedings of the negro race in Africa and Haiti. Their late exploit of flogging forty odd people, including two women at Milan, some of the victims being gentlemen, is really too blackguard and disgusting a proceeding. As to working upon their feelings of generosity and gentlemanlikeness that is out of the question, because such feelings exist not in a set of officials who have been trained up in the school of Metternich. . . . But I do hope that *you* will not fail constantly to bear in mind the country and the government which you represent, and that you will maintain the dignity and honour of England by expressing *openly* and *decidedly* the disgust which such proceedings excite in the public mind in this country. . . . I have no great opinion of Schwarzenberg's statesmanlike qualities unless he is very much altered from what he was when I knew him; but at least he has lived in England, and must know something of English feelings and ideas. . . . He must see that the good opinion of England is of some value to Austria; if for nothing else, at least to act as a check upon the ill-will towards Austria which he supposes or affects to suppose is the great actuating motive of the revolutionary firebrand who now presides at the foreign office in Downing Street. . . . There is another view of the matter which Schwarzenberg with his personal hatred of the Italians would not choose to comprehend, but which is nevertheless well worthy of attention, and that is the obvious tendency of these barbarous proceedings to perpetuate in the minds of the Italians indelible hatred of Austria; and as the Austrian government cannot hope to govern Italy always by the sword, such inextinguishable hatred is not an evil altogether to be despised. The rulers of Austria (I call them not statesmen or stateswomen) have now brought their country to this remarkable condition, that the emperor holds his territories at the good-will and pleasure of three external powers. He holds Italy just as long as and no longer than France chooses to let him have it. The first quarrel between Austria and France will drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and Venice. He holds Hungary and Galicia just as long as and no longer than Russia chooses to let him have them. The first quarrel with Russia will detach those countries from the Austrian crown. He holds his German provinces by a tenure dependent, in a great degree, upon feelings and opinions which it will

be very difficult for him and his ministers either to combine with or to stand out against. The remedy against these various dangers which are rapidly undermining the Austrian empire would be generous conciliation; but instead of that, the Austrian government know no method of administration but what consists in flogging, imprisoning, and shooting. The *Austrians* know no argument but force." This letter is illustrative, not only of Palmerston's emphatic plain manner of writing, but of the strength of his opinions, and of the shrewdness which could see plainly if not far ahead. When he had resigned, or rather had been dismissed from office, he was equally ready to state his opinions, and did state them with almost equal decision and authority as of one who only waited for the resumption of power. He called on one of the Neapolitan princes who was in London, and gave his views on the government of Naples with the most perfect *sang-froid*, and yet probably without any assumption of manner. Nor was his suspicion of personal dislike to himself altogether unfounded. It would have been strange if the Austrian minister had not entertained such a feeling if Palmerston's opinions ever reached him in the manner in which they were set forth. At all events in 1851, when Palmerston went out of office, Mr. Murray wrote from the British embassy at Vienna to a friend saying with what regret Lord Palmerston's retirement was received by the Liberal party there, who looked upon it as the utter annihilation of their hopes. "It will hardly be believed," he continues, "that these arrogant fools here actually think that *they* have overthrown Lord Palmerston, and the vulgar triumph of Schwarzenberg knows no bounds. Not content with placarding the news with lying comments of all sorts, and despatching couriers into the provinces to circulate the most monstrous fictions about the 'victory of Austrian policy,' his bad taste has actually gone far enough to make him give a ball in consequence." There seems to have been some reason for Palmerston to think that he, and not his policy alone, was the subject of intrigue, and he had doubtless heard, directly it was composed and repeated, the doggerel rhyme of his German opponents:—

"Hat der Teufel einen Sohn
So ist er sicher Palmerston."

But this he might quite consistently have regarded as an unintentional compliment, and have appreciated it accordingly.

"The fault I find with those who are so fond of attacking me here or elsewhere in this country or in others," he said in defending his foreign policy from the attacks of Sir James Graham in June, 1850, "is that they try to bring down every question to a personal bearing. If they want to oppose the policy of England they say, 'Let us get rid of the man who happens to be the organ of that policy.' Why, it is like shooting a policeman! As long as England is England, as long as the English people are animated by the feelings, and spirit, and opinions which they possess, you may knock down twenty foreign ministers one after another, but depend upon it no one will keep his place who does not act on the same principles. When it falls to my duty, in pursuance of my functions, to oppose the policy of any government, the immediate cry is, 'Oh! it's all spite against this man or that man, Count this or Prince that, that makes you do this.'"

It was in the debate on a vote of confidence in the foreign policy of the government that this occurred, and the occasion of it was an extraordinary one which not even Lord Palmerston's tact and ability could explain satisfactorily, though the government obtained the vote, without which they must have resigned office.

The question of the claims made by the English government upon that of Greece was, it should be remembered, placed in a more emphatic light because we had at the same time been protecting the Porte from the united demands of Austria and Russia for the arrest and surrender of Hungarian refugees who had sought shelter and protection in Turkey. United with that of France, our fleet had proceeded to the Dardanelles, and we had supported the sultan against the stronger powers. In this the country had heartily concurred, for we were upholding the weak

against the strong, and maintaining a great principle of public law in which every civilized state was interested; but there was at least a very great difference of opinion on the Greek question, especially when the grounds of the claims came to be examined, and by persisting in it we very nearly united France and Russia against us.

The demands of our foreign office chiefly arose out of claims for compensation from the Greek government by two persons who, as British subjects, were, it was argued, entitled to support and protection. One of them, Don Pacifico, was a Jew of Portuguese extraction, but a native of Gibraltar, living in Athens. On the 4th of April, 1847, the Athenian mob prepared to celebrate one of the popular Easter observances by burning an effigy of Judas Iscariot, but on that occasion the police had received orders to prevent this portion of the usual demonstrations, and a report went about that it had been forbidden by the influence of the Jews. It happened that the house of Don Pacifico stood near the spot where the figure had in former years been committed to the flames, and as Don Pacifico was a Jew, the populace considered that the logic of true patriotism and a due regard for the interests of religion, required them to pillage the building and thus wreak their vengeance upon its owner.

Accordingly the place was sacked, and it would appear that little or no effort was made by the authorities to protect it. Don Pacifico therefore, instead of appealing to the law-courts for redress, made a direct claim against the Greek government for losses which he estimated at about thirty-two thousand pounds sterling, about twenty-six thousand pounds of which were for certain claims which he alleged he held against the Portuguese government, the papers on which his proofs depended having been destroyed by the mob along with other property. The balance, it was represented, was for household goods, which must, on his own showing, have been of regal magnificence, since when the inventory was made out the items included a bedstead valued at a hundred and fifty pounds, a pillow-case at ten pounds, and other articles in proportion, including two thousand pounds worth of jewelry belonging to his wife and daughters. Of course no evidence in the shape of receipted bills or vouchers was produced, as all his papers had been lost or destroyed, and nobody had ever suspected him of having lived in such style—appearances having led them to suppose that he kept only a very moderate establishment. The other claim was made by a very different sort of person and on much more easily ascertained grounds. It was that of Mr. Finlay, the historian of Greece, who having gone out at the time that Byron and others were flushed with the passion for Greek independence, had remained and settled in Athens when that independence had been achieved in a different way to that which they contemplated. A small portion of the land belonging to Mr. Finlay came within the plans made for extending the gardens of King Otho's royal palace, and as he was only one among several land-owners whose property had been appropriated for the same purpose, it was contended that he should have sought compensation, as they had done, in the usual courts of law, where, though his demand was far greater than would have appeared reasonable to ordinary arbitration, it might have received proper attention. He preferred, however, to make a direct charge upon the government for £1500 on account of land which, though he perhaps had greatly improved it, had only originally cost him £10. He was of course entitled to ask any price he liked for his property; but as it may be conceded that the government of the country had powers equal to those given to our railway companies and boards of works, it was not unreasonable to suppose that he should have made his demand through the ordinary legal channels.

These were not the only causes of the arbitrary action of our government. Some arrears of complaints against Greece had been accumulating, but it may be presumed that they were not of a nature to call for very imperative measures, or action would have been taken earlier and they would have been put forward as of the first importance. Some Ionian sailors had sent in complaints of in-

justice and oppression on the part of the Greek authorities, and a midshipman of her majesty's ship *Fantome* had been arrested by mistake on landing from a boat one night at Patras. This had been apologized for and humbly explained, and other acts of carelessness or disorder had been acknowledged, so that there appeared to be very little reason for bringing a cumulative charge against the authorities. It was supposed, however, that Palmerston was jealous of French influence, and suspected that the government of Otho might be encouraged to resist our representations, and he therefore took sudden and very decisive means to assert them. The Greeks were alarmed, and appealed to France and Russia as the powers associated with England in the protection of their independence. It is certain that Palmerston did not expect that any further demonstration would be required. He believed that when the Greek government found the demand was made in earnest, and that means were at hand to enforce it, satisfaction would at last be given, and he wrote to the queen to that effect as early as the 30th of November, 1849. The Russian and French representatives at Athens offered to give their aid to Mr. Wyse, our envoy there, to settle the dispute, and when it became evident that an English squadron was to be sent to the Piræus the French cabinet, either supposing or affecting to believe that our representatives in Greece had misunderstood their instructions, appealed to Palmerston for an explanation. He replied that there had been no mistake, and moreover that the affair was solely between Greece and ourselves. Still M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French ambassador, proposed the good offices of his government in obtaining a settlement of the claims, and as the threat of coercion had not been effectual this offer was accepted. Before the orders to suspend active measures during negotiation had reached our envoy, however, Admiral Parker had arrived at Athens with his fleet, and demanded from the Greek government the payment within twenty-four hours of all money due to the British or protected British subjects; also that the islands of Sapienza and Cabrera, off the south-west side of the Morea and forming a part of the Ionian Islands, should be given up to him, threatening in the event of refusal to blockade the Piræus and make a reprisal. The demand was refused, and he therefore took possession of the islands and the men-of-war in the Piræus and blockaded the coast. The blockade was not accompanied by any unnecessary violence, but it was an assertion of domination which roused much indignation especially on the part of Russia.

The Russian government wrote a beautifully virtuous remonstrance in rather angry and offensive terms. Her foreign minister here spoke of "the very painful impression produced upon the mind of the emperor by the unexpected acts of violence which the British authorities had just directed against Greece;" and asked if Great Britain, abusing the advantages afforded to her by her immense maritime superiority, intended to disengage herself from all obligations, and to authorize all great powers on every fitting opportunity to recognize towards the weak no other right but their own physical strength." This was charming as coming from such a source, and must have made Lord Palmerston laugh a little bitterly, though probably he did not take the rebuke to heart as he might have done. The two islands of which we took possession were important as marking our diplomatic action, though Lord Brougham in a subsequent debate said that one of them only supported three goats and the other a single hare.

On the 1st of March a circular was issued by the English consul at Athens announcing that the British government, having good hopes of obtaining a satisfactory settlement of their demands through the good offices of the government of the French Republic, had given orders for the suspension of the coercive action of the squadron, but that the Greek vessels would still be retained as pledges in deposit until a final arrangement should be made. This was done, although the French representatives had offered if the Greek ships were given up, to guarantee the payment by Greece of the British claims. Baron Gros, the French commissioner who went out to offer

to act unofficially between our envoy and the Greek government, could make nothing of Don Pacifico's extravagant claims, and as no instructions had arrived from England the affair was at a deadlock; but meanwhile the French government had continued negotiations with Lord Palmerston through their representative in London, and on the 18th of April, 1850, a convention was at last agreed on, settling the whole question in dispute. A sum of £8500 was to be paid by the Greek government to the English minister at Athens, to be distributed by him among the different claimants, and they were also to pay whatever might be found to be due for Don Pacifico's Portuguese claims on the decision of two arbitrators and an umpire to be named by Baron Gros, Mr. Wyse our envoy, and the Greek premier M. Londos. "The amount of these," Lord Palmerston wrote to the queen, "is not likely to be great, if indeed anything is likely to be due on that account." But there were more complications. Before the convention was signed, the French government despatched a steamer to acquaint Baron Gros with the basis of the agreement, and he naturally at once conveyed the information to our envoy, who, not having himself received any directions from England, could not act upon it. The measures of coercion were therefore continued, and the Greek government submitted to the demands that had been made at the last stage of the negotiations, viz. the immediate payment of about £6500 in settlement of the claims other than those of Don Pacifico on Portugal, and a deposit of something like £5000 to meet what might afterwards be found to be the true amount of those claims. It was then a question (though many people thought with Prince Albert that there should have been *no* question) which of the two conventions should become the basis of an arrangement, and as Lord Palmerston, on behalf of our government, insisted on the adoption of that which had been concluded at Athens a serious disagreement with France appeared to be imminent. The French ambassador was recalled from London, though it was on the eve of the queen's birthday, and Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador, expected to be removed immediately. Happily nobody was prepared to make such a miserable dispute the occasion of actual hostilities, and the good temper of the French government was conspicuous, so that the matter was ultimately arranged by a compromise, which had also been suggested by Prince Albert, to substitute the clauses of the London convention for those clauses of the Athenian agreement which had not been already executed. As to Don Pacifico, it was some years before his claim was settled by the arbitrators, and it was then found to be about a thirtieth of the sum which he had originally demanded.

The whole wretched dispute, which seems to have been made use of by Lord Palmerston to show that our government would not be trifled with, was thus settled. Admiral Parker raised the blockade, the Greek vessels were released, and such of them as had been damaged were repaired, a subscription being at the same time raised among the officers of the English fleet to supply the necessities of some of the masters and crews—an act of generous consideration which was the more conspicuous because of the high-handed proceedings that had led to the sufferings which it was intended to alleviate.

But the effects were not at an end so far as this government was concerned, and though Palmerston was neither dismayed nor convinced by the action of his opponents, the whole affair placed the ministry in a serious position. Lord John Russell had already seen reason to complain of the arbitrary manner in which the foreign minister conducted his office, and the queen felt keenly the irresponsible mode of action which had been adopted in relation to the despatches sent to our representatives abroad, without either herself or the prime minister being informed of their intention or their probable consequences until they were on their way. Still Lord John Russell felt obliged to support his colleague, and so great was the admiration for Palmerston's abilities, and for his remarkable equanimity of temper and dauntless spirit, that, as was afterwards seen, a majority in the House of Commons was ready to accept his representations and to excuse his temerity.

On the 18th of June Lord Stanley, who had been impatiently waiting for the opportunity till the negotiations were completed, brought forward in the House of Lords a resolution of which he had given notice, that while that house fully recognized the right and duty of the government to secure to her majesty's subjects residing in foreign states the full protection of the laws of those states, it regretted to find by the correspondence recently laid upon the table by her majesty's command, that various claims against the Greek government, doubtful in point of justice and exaggerated in amount, had been enforced by coercive measures directed against the commerce and people of Greece, and calculated to endanger the continuance of our friendly relations with other powers. No fewer than 301 peers voted, and the resolution was affirmed by a majority of 37. "We were beaten last night in the lords by a larger majority than we had up to the last moment expected," wrote Lord Palmerston the next day; "but when we took office we knew that our opponents had a larger pack in the lords than we had, and that whenever the two packs were to be fully dealt out theirs would show a larger number than ours." That was what he said about it, and that was the man: but he had not neglected to prepare for the coming debate in the House of Commons, a debate which still stands out in parliamentary history as one of the most brilliant and powerful on record, and one which, while it added to his great reputation, was also the occasion for distinguishing other masters of eloquence.

On the 20th of June Lord John Russell made a ministerial statement of the vote in the upper house, and after defending the general foreign policy of the government, gave the key-note of a resolution, of which notice was afterwards given, by speaking in terms of eulogy of Lord Palmerston for having acted in the conduct of foreign affairs, "not as the minister of Austria, not as the minister of Russia, not as the minister of France or any other country, but only as the minister of England."

To the surprise of many it was Mr. Roebuck who, as an independent member, rose to give notice of a resolution which expressed confidence in the foreign policy of the government. It was carefully worded, referred to no particular issues, but was general in its scope and intention. "That the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of her majesty's government are such as were required to preserve untarnished the honour and dignity of this country, and at all times best calculated to maintain peace between this country and the various nations of the world."

The character and standing of the men who were opposed to the resolution, were sufficient proofs that they could not have been influenced by any foreign intrigue, and it was almost as certain that the question was not one of mere party policy; but at the same time it was seen that the vote of censure in the House of Lords was a decided attempt made to upset the government. The opposition to Mr. Roebuck's resolution was formidable, for it was supported by Sir F. Thesiger, Sir James Graham, Sir W. Molesworth, Mr. Sydney Herbert, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, and Sir Robert Peel, and yet the government triumphed. The terms of the resolution proposed by Mr. Roebuck had indeed removed the issue from the particular ground on which the vote of the House of Lords had placed it. It did not call for a special vindication of the proceedings of the foreign minister in the recent affair with Greece, but challenged an adverse vote on the whole principle of the foreign policy of the government. This was a challenge which they had reason to believe would enlist the support of the country, and their confidence may well have stood high while they listened to the brilliant, adroit, and telling speech in which Palmerston did not so much defend, as assert and glory in, the course that had been pursued. Seldom if ever had such a magnificent reply been heard in that house. It was spoken, as Mr. Gladstone afterwards said in his warm admiration for the splendid ability displayed in it, "from the dusk of one day to the dawn of the next," and occupied nearly five hours in its delivery—spoken, too, without the aid of a single note, for Palmerston held that to speak effectively

a man should not use notes on such occasions if he could possibly do without them, and he relied, as well he might, on his readiness of illustration, fluency, and the spontaneous alternations of earnestness and humour which made his speeches among the most attractive of parliamentary utterances. But he surpassed himself now—and through the whole of that oration the house silently hung upon his words, except when supporters and antagonists alike forgot themselves and broke into half unconscious applause. It would be far beyond the limits of this page to repeat that speech, nor would the reading of it convey its effect upon those who listened. Palmerston was ready to enter into the question of the recent proceedings in Greece, but he must also review the whole story of the foreign policy of the government, and in a rapid and yet lucid and striking survey carried the majority of the house captive in the thralls of his masterly eloquence, and replied to the strictures that had been made on the general tendency of the foreign office.

"I do not," he said in conclusion, "complain of the conduct of those who have made these matters the means of attack upon her majesty's ministers. The government of a great country like this is undoubtedly an object of fair and legitimate ambition to men of all shades of opinion. It is a noble thing to be allowed to guide the policy and to influence the destiny of such a country; and if ever it was an object of honourable ambition, more than ever must it be so at the moment at which I am speaking. For while we have seen the political earthquake rocking Europe from side to side—while we have seen thrones shaken, shattered, levelled, institutions overthrown and destroyed—while in almost every country of Europe the conflict of civil war has deluged the land with blood, from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean,—this country has presented a spectacle honourable to the people of England and worthy of the admiration of mankind.

"We have shown that liberty is compatible with order, that individual freedom is reconcilable with obedience to the law. We have shown the example of a nation in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which Providence has assigned to it, while at the same time every individual of each class is constantly trying to raise himself in the social scale, not by injustice and wrong, not by violence and illegality, but by persevering good conduct, and by the steady and energetic exertion of the moral and intellectual faculties with which his Creator has endowed him. To govern such a people as this is indeed an object worthy of the ambition of the noblest man who lives in the land, and, therefore, I find no fault with those who may think any opportunity a fair one for endeavouring to place themselves in so distinguished and honourable a position; but I contend that we have not in our foreign policy done anything to forfeit the confidence of the country. We may not, perhaps, in this matter or in that, have acted precisely up to the opinions of one person or of another, and hard indeed it is, as we all know by our individual and private experience, to find any number of men agreeing entirely in any matter in which they may not be equally possessed of the details of the facts, and circumstances, and reasons, and conditions which led to action. But making allowances for those differences of opinion which may fairly and honourably arise among those who concur in general views, I maintain that the principles which can be traced through all our foreign transactions as the guiding rule and directing spirit of our proceedings are such as deserve approbation. I therefore fearlessly challenge the verdict which this house, as representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, is to give on the question now brought before it—whether the principles on which the foreign policy of her majesty's government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow-subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England; and whether, as the Roman in days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say, *Civis Romanus sum*, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel

confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong."

It was a fine and thrilling peroration, and it was successful. The *Civis Romanus sum* effectually caught the ear not only of a majority of the House of Commons but of the country, and the verdict was already foretold by the overwhelming plaudits that greeted the close of the greatest speech that had been delivered for many sessions. On the 27th of June the debate was resumed, and another very remarkable oration roused the listening assembly. It was that of Mr. Gladstone, who, though he had long before achieved his reputation as a parliamentary orator, now exceeded most of his former efforts, and held the house under the spell to which it has since so often yielded with delight. Mr. Gladstone, who began by particularizing, remarked that there was an indication of a very great unwillingness to meet the discussion upon the affairs of Greece. With reference to this Greek question he (Mr. Gladstone) repudiated precedents which involved the conduct of strong countries against weak ones. He then examined the cases upon which it was contended the main issue should have depended, namely those of Don Pacifico and Mr. Finlay. In summing up his charges against Lord Palmerston he affirmed that instead of trusting and trying the tribunals of the country and employing diplomatic agency simply as a supplemental resource, he had interposed at once in the cases of Mr. Finlay and M. Pacifico the authority of foreign power, in contravention both of the particular stipulations of the treaty in force between this country and Greece, and of the general principles of the law of nations, and had thus set the mischievous example of abandoning the methods of law and order in order to repair to those of force. The fruit of this policy had been humiliation in regard to France, and a lesson, received without reply, from the autocrat of all the Russias. Non-interference had been laid down as the basis of our conduct towards other nations; but the policy of Lord Palmerston had been characterized by a spirit of active interference. British influence might, on fit occasions, be exercised with other countries to extend institutions from which we derived so much benefit; but we were not to make occasions, and become propagandists of even sound political doctrines. No minister could really protect Englishmen except upon principles of policy which universal consent had prescribed for the government of nations. Taking up the peroration of Lord Palmerston's appeal, he said, "And now I will grapple with the noble lord on the ground which he selected for himself in the most triumphant portion of his speech, by his reference to those emphatic words, *Civis Romanus sum*. He vaunted, amidst the cheers of his supporters, that under his administration an Englishman should be, throughout the world, what the citizen of Rome had been. What then was a Roman citizen? He was the member of a privileged caste; he belonged to a conquering race, to a nation that held all others bound down by the strong arm of power. For him there was to be an exceptional system of law; for him principles were to be asserted, and by him rights were to be enjoyed, that were denied to the rest of the world. Is such, then, the view of the noble lord as to the relation which is to subsist between England and other countries? Does he make the claim for us that we are to be uplifted upon a platform high above the standing ground of all other nations? It is, indeed, too clear, not only from the expressions but from the whole tone of the speech of the noble viscount, that too much of this notion is lurking in his mind; that he adopts in part that vain conception that we, forsooth, have a mission to be the censors of vice and folly, of abuse and imperfection, among the other countries of the world; that we are to be the universal schoolmasters; and that all those who hesitate to recognize our office can be governed only by prejudice of personal animosity, and should have the blind war of diplomacy forthwith declared against them. And certainly, if the business of a foreign secretary properly were to carry on diplomatic wars, all must admit that the noble lord is a master in the discharge of his functions. What, sir, ought a foreign secretary to be? Is he to be like some gallant knight at a tournament of old pricking forth into the lists, armed at all

points, confiding in his sinews and his skill, challenging all comers for the sake of honour, and having no other duty than to lay as many as possible of his adversaries sprawling in the dust? If such is the idea of a good foreign secretary, I, for one, would vote to the noble lord his present appointment for his life. But, sir, I do not understand the duty of a secretary of foreign affairs to be of such a character. I understand it to be his duty to conciliate peace with dignity. I think it to be the very first of all his duties studiously to observe, and to exalt in honour among mankind, that great code of principles which is termed the law of nations, which the honourable and learned gentleman for Sheffield has found, indeed, to be very vague in their nature, and greatly dependent on the discretion of each particular country, but in which I find, on the contrary, a great and noble monument of human wisdom, founded on the combined dictates of reason and experience, a precious inheritance bequeathed to us by the generations that have gone before us, and a firm foundation on which we must take care to build whatever it may be our part to add to their acquisitions; if indeed we wish to maintain and to consolidate the brotherhood of nations and to promote the peace and welfare of the world."

After referring to the tendency of the policy of Lord Palmerston to strengthen the insular temper and self-glorifying disposition which were so mischievous, Mr. Gladstone concluded by saying:—

"Let an Englishman travel where he will as a private person, he is found in general to be upright, high-minded, brave, liberal, and true; but with all this, foreigners are too often sensible of something that galls them in his presence, and I apprehend it is because he has too great a tendency to self-esteem—too little disposition to regard the feelings, the habits, and the ideas of others. Sir, I find this characteristic too plainly legible in the policy of the noble lord. I doubt not that use will be made of our present debate to work upon this peculiar weakness of the English mind. The people will be told that those who oppose the motion are governed by personal motives, have no regard for public principles, no enlarged ideas of national policy. You will take your case before a favourable jury, and you think to gain your verdict; but, sir, let the House of Commons be warned—let it warn itself—against all illusions. There is in this case also a court of appeal. There is an appeal, such as the honourable and learned member for Sheffield has made, from the one house of parliament to the other. There is a further appeal from this house of parliament to the people of England; but, lastly, there is also an appeal from the people of England to the general sentiment of the civilized world; and I, for my part, am of opinion that England will stand shorn of a chief part of her glory and pride if she shall be found to have separated herself, through the policy she pursues abroad, from the moral supports which the general and fixed convictions of mankind afford—if the day shall come when she may continue to excite the wonder and the fear of other nations, but in which she shall have no part in their affection and regard. . . .

"Let us recognize, and recognize with frankness, the equality of the weak with the strong; the principles of brotherhood among nations, and of their sacred independence. . . . Let us refrain from all gratuitous and arbitrary meddling in the internal concerns of other states, even as we should resent the same interference if it were attempted to be practised towards ourselves. If the noble lord has indeed acted on these principles, let the government to which he belongs have your verdict in its favour; but if he has departed from them, as I contend, and as I humbly think and urge upon you that it has been too amply proved, then the House of Commons must not shrink from the performance of its duty under whatever expectations of momentary obloquy or reproach, because we shall have done what is right; we shall enjoy the peace of our own consciences, and receive, whether a little sooner or a little later, the approval of the public voice, for having entered our solemn protest against a system of policy which we believe, nay, which we know, whatever may be its first aspect, must of necessity in its

final results be unfavourable even to the security of British subjects resident abroad, which it professes so much to study—unfavourable to the dignity of the country, which the motion of the honourable and learned member asserts it preserves—and equally unfavourable to that other great and sacred object, which also it suggests to our recollection, the maintenance of peace with the nations of the world."

The next remarkable speech was in support of the government, and was made by a man who from that moment may be said to have been able to date a high and successful career, so that his name will again be encountered in the course of this history in connection with more than one question of national morality and progress. This was Mr. Alexander Cockburn, afterwards Sir Alexander Cockburn, Bart., Lord Chief-justice of England. He was not one of those lawyers who rose to eminence from poverty or disadvantageous social position; having been born of a good family, and had every advantage of education and social introduction. The baronetcy to which he succeeded in 1858 was created in 1627. He was educated at Eton and subsequently at Cambridge, where his career was fairly brilliant, though not first-rate. In 1829 he became a fellow of Trinity (his college), and was called to the bar of the Middle Temple. Joining the western circuit he gradually acquired a good business as a barrister, being largely engaged in the defence of prisoners. He had much practice on election petitions on the Liberal side, and was soon marked out as a useful man by that party. It was not till 1841 that Mr. Cockburn "took silk" as a queen's counsel. In 1843 his defence of M'Naghten, the lunatic who shot at Mr. Drummond (in mistake for Sir Robert Peel), attracted great attention; his speech exhibiting in a high degree that power of lucid statement joined with eloquence of expression for which he continued remarkable all his days.

In 1847 Mr. Cockburn was returned for Southampton on decidedly Liberal principles, but neither in parliament nor at the bar was he seen at his best, unless the occasion was a strong one. He was a little indolent by nature, and had besides the reputation of being somewhat dissipated. It was in the present debate that he found his opportunity, and taking his cue from a remark made by Mr. Gladstone about what that gentleman termed "a sneer from the honourable and learned member for Southampton," rose and delivered in defence of Lord Palmerston's whole foreign policy one of the finest speeches ever heard in parliament. Of the three speeches made that evening Lord Palmerston's, Mr. Gladstone's, and Mr. Cockburn's were the most striking, though the style of the latter was more diffuse than would now be admired. Mr. Cockburn was, however, always a diffuse orator, though he never overlaid his meaning with words. In truth, he understood very well the true art of repetition, when the object was to impress minds of moderate calibre. A few sentences from his speech will give a very good idea of his usual manner. "Have you," said he, "no sympathies for the Italian people? Can you not recall the eminent greatness and glory of these people—their mediæval splendour—their renown in art and arms, and all those imperishable monuments of human greatness which they have reared? Do these things not touch your hearts? Have you no sympathy for the people? If they who for so many years have been degraded under the leaden rule of Austria thought that at last the day of their regeneration had arrived, and the establishment of that nationality which in their dreams they had pictured as rivalling the glories of ancient times—have you no sympathy for these men? Do you prefer that Radetsky with his Teutonic hordes shall pillage their homes, and drive the best and noblest of their sons to those horrible dungeons which have already filled Europe with horror, and turn that which was wont to be the garden of the world into a desolate wilderness and a desert? Are your sympathies with Austria against Hungary—that noble people who possessed a constitution as ancient as your own—whose nationality was secured to them by treaty upon treaty—who raised Austria at a time when that state was almost prostrate under a combination of the powers that sought the dismemberment of the empire, but who

are now sought to be absolutely merged in the Austrian Empire, and to become a subordinate portion of the Austrian people? This was the people whom Austria attempted to put down; but she had no power to put down that gallant population. But there did at last come the intervention of the barbarous hordes of Russia, and your sympathies are for the butcheries of Haynau—for his military executions—for his scourging of women; your sympathies are for those things because you say that order is restored. Tyranny, absolutism, despotism, do not change their character because you call them order. Liberty, freedom, constitutional rights, do not change their character because you call them republicanism. No, sir; these things will not deceive the people of England. The cause is the cause of civilization and humanity all over the world. The question is, whether you will have absolutism on the one hand, or constitutional government and freedom on the other; and do not flatter yourselves that because for a time a despotic government has prevailed—because order, as you call it, is restored in Europe—because the spirit of Hungarian liberty has been extinguished in the blood of the best and noblest of her sons. Do not fancy that such a state of things is to last. There is not a drop of the blood that has been spilt that does not call to heaven for vengeance. The generation that is to come, whose fathers have been gibbeted and whose mothers have been scourged, they will yet avenge those atrocities. And you who complain of intemperance, you who complain that her majesty's government has interfered in this case and in that—what do you say to the intervention of Russia? What do you say to the intervention of France? Who extinguished the liberties and constitutional rights of Hungary? Russia. Who restored the old, worn-out, and effete government of the pope and his conclave of cardinals at Rome? France. What right have Russia and France to take umbrage at the noble lord because he has interfered in favour of constitutional liberty, while they interfered in favour of arbitrary power? I have now disposed of these three instances of intervention, and I say, after all the abuse that has been heaped on the noble lord on account of them, they come to nothing. They have not imperilled the peace or the prosperity of the country." There is not much thought in this, but it went straight to the points on which the foreign policy of the government was arraigned, and was a great success. The ministry afterwards made Mr. Cockburn solicitor-general. The next year he became attorney-general. In 1856 he became Chief-justice of the Common Pleas, and in 1859 Lord Chief-justice of England. He made no parliamentary speech at all equal to the one from which we have quoted, nor was he always very successful in small law cases. But when the occasion was considerable, for instance in the case of Palmer, the Rugeley poisoner, or Achilli *v.* Newman (to which we shall have again to refer for other reasons), he made a powerful impression.

Sir Alexander Cockburn (as we may now call him) was rather short, but he had a fine face and head, and a singularly dignified presence. He had a ruddy complexion, a cheerful, sociable look, and a voice of great power and beauty. As a mere lawyer he had on the bench not only rivals, but at least one superior. He was a man of considerable range of accomplishment, both in science and languages, and was a great master in questions of international law. As a judge he too often exhibited some of the heat of the advocate, and was not free from love of claptrap; at all events he was too fond of applause. He died an octogenarian, having walked from his place in Westminster Hall within a few hours of his death in 1881 (which was sudden, from heart-disease), and was a man of a fine constitution. Nobody meeting him on his way to his court would have taken him for a lord chief-justice. He much more nearly resembled a buck of the Georgian era, both in dress and manner, and it was said (and has not been contradicted) that his personal habits were originally as unlike those of his stiffly staid and decorous successor, Lord Coleridge, as they could well be.

It is said that after Mr. Cockburn's speech the treasury bench was left empty, as its occupants rose and almost tumbled over each

other in their endeavours to shake hands with him. "I do not know that I ever, in the course of my life, heard a better speech from anybody without any exception," Palmerston afterward wrote Lord Normanby; "Gladstone's was also a first-rate performance, and Peel and Disraeli both spoke with great judgment and talent with reference to their respective positions." There was no atom of bitterness or ill-temper about Lord Palmerston, no *arrière pensée*, and this may account not only for his great success as a statesman but also for his popularity.

Peel, even though he could not agree with the speech to which he listened with profound attention, took occasion in his grave and quiet reply, not only to refrain from any severe attack, but to express the sentiments felt by the whole house at such a display of consummate ability. He did not disapprove of the whole of the foreign policy of the government, but he disapproved of a part of it, and he must give his dissent, his reluctant dissent, from the motion. "I have so little disposition for entering into any angry or hostile controversy," said Sir Robert Peel, "that I shall make no reference whatever to many of the topics which were introduced into that most able and temperate speech (Lord Palmerston's), a speech which made us all proud of the man who delivered it." The main import of Peel's opposition was conveyed in his declaration:—

"It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intentions will be mistaken—you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate. You will invite opposition to government; and beware that the time does not arrive when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from those whom you have excited, and leave upon their minds the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them. If you succeed, I doubt whether or no the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be best worked out by those who aspire to freedom by their own efforts. You will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference, against which I remonstrate—against which I enter my protest. You are departing from the established policy of England; you are involving yourselves in difficulties the extent of which you can hardly conceive; you are bestowing no aid on the cause of constitutional freedom, but are encouraging its advocates to look to you for aid instead of to those efforts which can alone establish it, and upon the successful exertion of which alone it can be useful."

Weighty words, and taking something of solemn import inasmuch as the speaker of them would never again address the house where his unfaltering eloquence had been so often listened to with respect and admiration.

It was near daybreak on Saturday morning, the 29th of June, when Sir Robert left the house at the close of this debate, which had ended in a majority for ministers of 46 votes in a house of 574. He had but a short time to sleep, for he was to be present at a meeting of the commissioners for the proposed Great International and Industrial Exhibition at twelve o'clock, and at that meeting the site on which the building should be erected was to be chosen.

After the regular business of the board was over, Prince Albert and Sir Robert Peel remained to talk over the plans submitted by Mr. Paxton for that famous Palace of Glass of which we shall presently give some account. Sir Robert Peel greatly admired the design for its unity and simplicity; remarking with pleasure that, if it were accepted, it would occasion the first great operation in glass since the introduction of his own new tariff. These were the last words which he was known to have uttered on any matter referring to public business. He returned home, and after passing the afternoon in his study went out at about five o'clock to take a ride in the park. After calling at Buckingham Palace and writing his name in the queen's visiting book, he rode to Constitution Hill, where he met Miss Ellis, a daughter of Lady Dover, and stopped for a moment to chat with her. Soon afterwards his horse shied at something in the road, and threw him

over his head. Sir Robert fell on his face, but keeping hold of the reins, drew the animal upon him with its knees on his shoulders. He was so seriously injured that he could not extricate himself, but several gentlemen who came up recognized him. Among them was Dr. Foucart of Glasgow, who helped to place him in a private carriage and accompanied him home. Before he arrived there Sir James Clark, the queen's physician, was in attendance, having heard of the accident and met the carriage on its way. On his reaching home, the pain he suffered, and the sight of the great distress of Lady Peel, so affected Sir Robert that he fainted. Sir Benjamin Brodie and several of the most eminent surgeons in London arrived almost immediately, but they could give him little aid since he was so sensitive to pain, and any attempt to move him gave him so much agony, that they could not even determine the full extent of his injuries. It was evident that the collar-bone was fractured, and that there was severe injury to the shoulder; but it was also feared that there had been serious fracture of the ribs, and this was unhappily the case. On the first of July there were some hopes of his amendment since he slept for some time, but the symptoms soon became alarming and he was delirious. While in this condition he frequently murmured the names of his old friends and colleagues, especially of Hardinge and Graham. He could not, at one time, bear the presence even of his wife and children. At length it was evident he was sinking, his old friend Dr. Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar, was admitted to see him, and his family were present while the bishop offered up at his bedside the prayers for the sick. For a moment his consciousness returned, and extending his hand over the kneeling and weeping group he slowly murmured, "God bless you! God bless you!" Lord Hardinge and Sir James Graham with his medical attendants and several of his relations were present when he sank quietly into his last sleep in the evening of that day (the 2d of July).

Some particulars connected with the accident, which had such a tragical result, have since been published, as related by Mr. George Rice, a late well-known horse-dealer in Piccadilly, who was for many years manager to Mr. Joseph Anderson, but who for more than a quarter of a century had one of the largest stables in London. When acting as foreman to Mr. Joseph Anderson in 1848 he was requested to select a carefully-trained hack for Sir Robert Peel. It had been a long affair, for Sir Robert was a most difficult man to mount—a lumping rider, with no seat, no hands, altogether a very bad horseman. On a day appointed George Rice took the hack to Whitehall Gardens, a beautiful brown, under fifteen hands, up to any weight, with a blood head and neck, long sloping shoulders, and that shape for the saddle that makes it difficult even for a clumsy horseman to fall off—a grand and exciting walk, an easy trot and canter. He stood to be mounted and dismounted like a rock, and no sights or sounds disturbed his high-bred placidity. Sir Robert gave him a long thorough trial at all three paces for two hours, and when he returned to Piccadilly he said, in his solemn tones, "This horse is perfection, Mr. Rice; what is his name?" George Rice replied, "Mr. Anderson was determined when he could find perfection to offer it to you, Sir Robert; and his name is The Premier." "And what is his price?" "Four hundred guineas, Sir Robert." "Four hundred guineas! Was any riding horse ever worth four hundred guineas? I am extremely obliged to you, Mr. Anderson, for all your trouble; but neither my son-in-law, Lord Villiers, nor any one I could consult is in town. I could not give such a sum for a horse, and must decline him." It was proposed and pressed on the great man to keep the horse in Piccadilly so as to give Sir Robert time to consult his friends, Mr. Rice and Mr. Anderson being most anxious to mount the statesman; but the offer was with courteous expressions declined. The late Lord Ossington, then Speaker of the House of Commons, bought a hack for Sir Robert by auction at Tattersall's, and every one knows the melancholy result. Again and again Lady Peel was warned by her coachman that the speaker's purchase would not suit Sir Robert. More than once Lady Peel mentioned this warning;

but Sir Robert thought it was merely the dislike, so common in servants, of a horse purchased without their assistance.

During the time that Sir Robert Peel lay ill the public anxiety was intense, and crowds painfully awaited the reports of his condition. It was discovered that one of the ribs had been broken and had penetrated the left lobe of the lung, causing his death. The mourning was universal, for the country had learned how eminent a statesman and faithful a counsellor it had lost, and the courage with which he had followed his convictions in the repeal of the corn duty and on behalf of free-trade had elevated him above mere party regard. From that time he had belonged to the nation, and it trusted him greatly.

The loss of his friendship and sincere counsel was felt acutely both by the Queen and by Prince Albert, who had continued a familiar and pleasant correspondence with him and greatly admired his character and ability. "You will mourn with us deeply, for you know the extent of our loss and valued our friend as we did," wrote the Prince to Stockmar; and to the Duchess of Kent he wrote, "Death has snatched from us Peel, the best of men, our truest friend, the strongest bulwark of the throne, the greatest statesman of his time." In a letter to King Leopold her majesty said, "The sorrow and grief at his death are most touching, and the country mourns over him as over a father. Everyone seems to have lost a personal friend."

Peel had indeed outlived the strife of party, and had begun to take a position which he strongly desired to sustain—that of a mediator between parties. The language of sorrow from all sides was not merely the eloquence of a funeral eulogy, and though it was mostly brief, it perhaps, partly on that account, bore the stamp of sincerity.

"I believe," said Lord Stanley, "that in that step which led me to differ from him he was actuated by a sincere and conscientious desire to obtain that which he believed to be a public good. Mistaken as he was in that view, I am satisfied that on that occasion, as on all others, the public good was the leading principle of his life, and that to promote the welfare of his country he was prepared to make, and actually did make, every sacrifice. In some cases those sacrifices were so extensive that I hardly knew whether the great and paramount object of his country's good was a sufficient reason to exact them from any public man."

When the House of Commons met on the 3d of July, Lord John Russell was out of town. Mr. Hume in a few sentences, full of deep feeling in reference to the loss they had sustained, moved the immediate adjournment of the house, and Mr. Gladstone, as the only member present who had been officially connected with Sir Robert Peel, supported the resolution, saying with much emotion:—

"I am quite sure that every heart is much too full to allow us, at a period so early, to enter upon a consideration of the amount of that calamity with which the country has been visited in his, I must even now say, premature death; for though he has died full of years and full of honours, yet it is a death which our human eyes will regard as premature; because we had fondly hoped that, in whatever position he was placed, by the weight of his character, by the splendour of his talents, by the purity of his virtues, he would still have been spared to render to his country the most essential services. I will only, sir, quote those most touching and feeling lines which were applied by one of the greatest poets of this country[1] to the memory of a man great indeed, but yet not greater than Sir Robert Peel:—

> 'Now is the stately column broke,
> The beacon light is quenched in smoke;
> The trumpet's silver voice is still;
> The warder silent on the hill.'

Sir, I will add no more—in saying this I have, perhaps, said too much. It might have been better had I simply confined myself to seconding the motion. I am sure the tribute of respect which we now offer will be all the more valuable from the silence with which the motion is received, and which I well know has not arisen from the want, but from

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[1] Sir Walter Scott. Lines on William Pitt. *Marmion*, 1st Canto.

the excess of feeling on the part of members of this house."

When parliament met again Lord John Russell, in a broken voice and with evident grief, spoke of the prominent features of Sir Robert Peel's public character, and noticed his candour and kindness towards a political opponent in his last act in the house. The example of such a man, who, with a love of literature and a taste for the arts, had devoted all his energies to labour for the sake of his country, would not, he hoped, be lost on the people of that country. Prince Albert made an eloquent and touching "epigraph" on Sir Robert Peel at a great banquet which was held sometime afterwards at York; and Lord Brougham and others of all political opinions joined in expressions of sorrow, of admiration, and esteem; but perhaps the most truly touching of all were the short and pathetic sentences in which the old warrior, the Duke of Wellington, with the tears streaming down his aged face, spoke of his departed friend. "In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communications with him I never knew an instance in which he did not show the strongest attachment to truth; and I never saw, in the whole course of my life, the slightest reason for suspecting that he stated anything that he did not believe to be the fact." That was the testimony of the man who was soon to follow to "the land of the leal."

A public funeral was spoken of by Lord John Russell, and the nation would have been willing enough to join in the public tokens of respect for the memory of the statesman whom they had learned to revere; but Mr. Goulbourn, on the part of Sir Robert Peel's family, declined the honour, and read a testamentary memorandum wherein Sir Robert had expressed his desire to be interred in the vault of the parish church at Drayton Bassett where his father and mother were interred, and that his funeral should be without ostentation or parade of any kind. Only six weeks before his death he had pointed out to Lady Peel the spot where he wished that his body might be laid. Neither his widow nor any of the family would accept any title of distinction from the government or the crown, and this also was in accordance with what was known would have been his desire.

It may be not altogether out of place in connection with the last remarkable acts of Sir Robert Peel's career to refer for a moment to more than one passage written by Thomas Carlyle in the *Latter Day Pamphlets* in 1850.

It seems evident that Carlyle had a notion that Peel, while perhaps taking up an independent position in parliament, might be the man who would successfully devote himself to true parliamentary reform; but by parliamentary reform Carlyle did not at all mean what people mostly meant when they used these words. "Everyone may remark," he says, "what a hope animates the eyes of any circle when it is reported that Sir Robert Peel has in his mind privately resolved to go one day into that stable of King Augias which appals human hearts . . . for it is universally felt that some *esoteric* man, well acquainted with the mysteries and properties, good and evil, of the administrative stable, is the fittest to reform it, nay, can alone reform it other than by sheer violence and destruction, which is a way we would avoid; that in fact Sir Robert Peel is at present the one likely or possible man to reform it;" and again, "whether Sir Robert Peel will undertake the reform of Downing Street for us, or any ministry or reform farther, is not known. He, they say, is getting old, does himself recoil from it, and shudder at it, which is possible enough. The clubs and coteries appear to have settled that he surely will not; that this melancholy wriggling seesaw of red-tape Trojans and protectionist Greeks must continue its course till—what *can* happen, my friends, if this go on continuing? . . . A minister that will attack the augean stable of Downing Street, and begin producing a real management, no longer an imaginary one, of our affairs, *he* or else in few years Chartist parliament and the deluge come, that seems the alternative. As I read the omens there was

no man in my time more authentically called to a post of difficulty, of danger, and of honour than this man. . . . If the faculty and heart for it be in him, he, strangely and almost tragically, if we look upon his history, is to have leave to try it; he now, at the eleventh hour, has the opportunity for such a feat in reform as has not, in these late generations, been attempted by all our reformers put together."

In these and other words Carlyle repeatedly refers to Sir Robert Peel during the months preceding, and the very month of his death, and in one place says, in an exalted strain, that such a leader would ride forth to victory or to death. The words are only striking in relation to the manner of the calamity which so soon followed, but this gives the appeal, of which they form a part, a certain accidental significance. Whether Peel had ever contemplated initiating such reforms as "the Chelsea Seer" hinted at, it is not easy to guess, but it was by no means probable that he would have attempted any sudden, or what are usually known as heroic, remedies for the condition of official administration in Downing Street. Yet he had undoubted courage, as he had already shown—he was a great administrator, an able statesman, and at sixty-three years old had shown no failure of mental vigour or of ability.

It is necessary for a moment to return to the events that had succeeded the revolution which had driven Louis Philippe from the throne of France, and set up a republic which yet appeared to have in it few of the elements of stability.

The army was appealed to, to rally round the common standard; and twenty-five battalions of movable national guards were ordered to be formed by voluntary enlistment within the capital. The men were to list for a year and a day; and were to be clothed and equipped, as well as to receive pay at the rate of a franc and a half per day. The minister of war and the commandant of the national guards were to take immediate measures for organizing this corps. The decree was signed by Lamartine and by Pagès, and the credit of the plan was said to belong to the former. There were young men of the working-classes who were without employment. There were *gamins*, "enfans de Paris," youths without occupation and always ready for mischief, for whom enlistment in the *garde mobile* would find congenial occupation; and they were to supersede the regular troops in protecting the city.

There was still great distress among the working-classes, and as this had been one of the causes of so many workmen joining the insurrection, the new government set about finding some scheme for remedying it. Perhaps the doctrines of so-called socialism still had great influence, because of the supposed strength of the party professing views totally unpractical, and without any foundation in political economy. There was little work to do, and a monetary crisis, caused by over-speculation, added to the general depression. The working-classes had effected the revolution, and were still armed. Something was necessary to be done. First, the officers commanding the posts of national guards were directed to make requisitions on butchers, bakers, and other provision dealers, to supply certain quantities of articles of first necessity to citizens in want of food, and to send in bills payable at the Hôtel de Ville. Secondly, all articles pawned at the Mont de Piété for sums of 10 francs and under were to be redeemed at the expense of the treasury. Thirdly—and this was the rock on which the new republic split—the government pledged itself to secure the subsistence of workmen through their labour; engaged itself to secure work to all the citizens; recognized the right of workmen to associate, in order to enjoy the legitimate benefit of their labour; and restored to them as their due the million of francs which would have been payable to the civil list at the end of the month.

This, of course, presupposed the ability of the state to find work for every workman; or, in other words, to ensure or to create markets for the produce of all kinds of labour.

On Saturday, the 26th of February, the republic was solemnly proclaimed by Lamartine from the front of the Hôtel de Ville;

and amongst the measures enumerated was that of the opening of national workshops for unemployed workmen. The abolition of the penalty of death for political offences was also included in the new programme. On the following day a great demonstration was made in the Place de la Bastille to confirm the proclamation; and soon afterwards the new government received the adhesion of the whole of France.

The revolution was not over when the provisional government had been formed. The violent Republicans, who soon became known as the "Red Republicans," could never endure any form of constitution which set itself against turbulent opposition to the state. They seemed to desire nothing but continued insurrection until, under the name of Democracy, they should be able to assume a violent dictatorship and establish another tyranny of terror. To these Lamartine had always been opposed, and his efforts had long before been directed to dissuade the populace against the specious fallacies of communism and socialism.

Even among the members of the ministry there was great dissension. M. Ledru Rollin, although not a Socialist, was an extreme Republican, and united with M. Louis Blanc, who represented those doctrines. The majority was composed of moderate Republicans, but the "Reds" frequently, even in their official capacity, issued instructions and published directions which were calculated to injure the government, by leaning towards extreme views. Many of them had to be "explained" by Lamartine; and among them, the instructions issued by Ledru Rollin, as minister of the interior, to the "Commissioners of the Republic" in the various departments.

There were a vast number of clubs in Paris which, under different names, were likely to become schools of sedition. The oldest of these, "The Society of the Rights of Man," was supposed to be the central and directing influence of revolution; and it was remarkable for an organization which resembled that of some of the secret societies of an earlier date. It was a large body, the members of which were all armed, numbered, and formed into brigades under their respective leaders. For the purposes of the society the city of Paris was divided into six or seven strategical arrondissements, having each its bureau, with a president. Each arrondissement was divided into four quarters, the heads of which were called chiefs of quarters; and these quarters were subdivided into sections of fifty men each, with their respective leaders. There was a "Club of Revolution," with Barbès for its president; and a score of others, representing all kinds of opinions and movements; and finally, there was a "Club of Clubs," intended as a common centre, and meant to influence the provincial elections. This club sent agents into the departments to report to it the tone of public feeling and the political probabilities. It was declared in the inquiry which afterwards took place, that the Club of Clubs received money from the minister of the interior, to whom the reports of its agents were communicated, and who had also his own commissioners in the provinces.

No government can be carried on without an exchequer, and it became necessary to raise the supplies by seeking a loan for a hundred million of francs, bearing interest at five per cent. Retrenchments were to be made in official salaries. Crown lands and national property in woods and forests were to be sold to the amount of a hundred million francs, bank-notes were made a legal tender, the bank being authorized to stop cash payments. The payment of treasury bonds was deferred, with an option of postponing payments for six months after they became due. Depositors in savings-banks were offered three-fourths of the amount of their deposits in paper money, and the direct taxation of the country was increased by 45 per cent. The republic became less and less popular when these additional burdens were imposed, and though there was no political disturbance, and no other governmental party endeavoured to subvert the ministry, a general tendency to riot and social insurrection was observed in some of the large towns.

The conduct of the commissioners sent out by M. Ledru Rollin added to the disaffection of the people. At Rouen and Lyons serious

disturbances took place; those at the former ending in an insurrection, which was only put down by the troops and the national guard after considerable loss of life in the taking of a large number of prisoners.

The clubs were active, disorder was general, and there were threatening indications of another outbreak in Paris itself, where meetings, demonstrations, and processions were the order of the day. There were no troops in the capital; the national guards were disaffected. "We had," says Lamartine, "no legal public force to protect order and property and to preserve peace in the streets, the government being threatened incessantly either collectively or individually with armed demonstrations and insurrection, with abduction and assassination; we were obliged to employ, in order to defend our cause, individual, voluntary extra-legal force. Each of us had his army of friends or clients, as was the case at Rome in the time of the civil wars."

Political oaths of allegiance had been abolished, and, in fact, governments had succeeded each other so strangely that oaths of this kind could scarcely be considered binding. "This is the thirteenth oath which I tender, and I hope it may be the last," was the satirical speech muttered by Talleyrand on the accession of Louis Philippe.

Another measure which was rapidly passed was the emancipation of slaves in all the French colonies; an act commenced by the previous government and intended to be gradually accomplished, but which was now completed at once, with an agreement for indemnity to those who would suffer by the immediate emancipation. Imprisonment for debt was also to be abolished, and the liberation of prisoners for debt was ordered. All titles of nobility were to cease, and were forbidden to appear in any public act or document.

On the 23d of April the elections were to take place. Determined to oppose the establishment of a regular and solid republic, the insurrectionists, members of the revolutionary clubs, were ready to instigate an armed opposition for the purpose of overthrowing the moderate majority in the government represented especially by Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and Marrast.

The insurgents were to meet on the Champs de Mars, where it was expected 100,000 men would be ready to march against the Hôtel de Ville. Early on the morning of the 16th of April the assemblage began to grow. The government was not unprepared. Lamartine had been informed of the proceedings at the clubs on the previous nights, and of the nomination of the proposed "Committee of Public Safety," in which Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc were included without their consent. Lamartine himself was to be excluded from the government along with his colleagues.

A column of about twenty-five or thirty thousand, led by the most furious clubbists and by some socialist chiefs, had just issued by the Pont Royal and dashed by with a numerous column of national guards whom General Courtais had drawn up in battle array under the walls of the Louvre. They had not proceeded to blows, but the meeting had been a tumultuous one; hostile looks, cries, and gestures had been exchanged. It was, as it were, two armies marching upon the same line in silence and for the purpose of mutual observation. Already the first groups of this column of the Champs de Mars, preceded by flags and men wearing red caps, began to emerge slowly from the quay upon the Place de Grève.

At this moment a forest of bayonets glistened on the other side of the Seine at the foot of the bridge of St. Michel. This was a mass of thirty or forty thousand national guards on the left bank of the river running at full speed at the call of Lamartine and Marrast. The bridge was not wide enough to pass freely. They rushed in a compact column into the square, shouting, "Vive la Republique!" "Vive le Gouvernement!" They blocked up the quay against twenty or thirty thousand insurgents.

Not only was victory impossible to the conspirators, but for them even to have attempted an attack would have been folly. Lamartine thanked General Changarnier, whose services were thenceforth unnecessary.

The insurrection was at an end; its promoters

and their 20,000 followers defiled in a dejected manner between the ranks of the national guards and amidst the hootings of the people as they retreated to the places from which they came.

In the evening 200,000 bayonets passed in review before the Hôtel de Ville, with cries of "Vive Lamartine!" "A bas les Communists!"

The general elections took place on Easter Sunday, the 27th of April, without any appearance of opposition; and on the 4th of May the National Assembly, charged with framing a new constitution for France, was installed in the Legislative Palace, formerly the Palais Bourbon.

On the 10th the assembly proceeded to elect by ballot the members of executive commission, the candidates being selected from the late provisional government, of whom five were elected: Arago by 725 votes, Garnier Pagès by 715, Marie by 702, Lamartine by 643, Ledru Rollin by 458. They were invested with authority to appoint the ministers of the different departments, and M. Bastide was made secretary of state for foreign affairs, M. Duclerc for finance, M. Crémieux for the department of justice, and M. Carnot for that of public instruction.

But all this time the terrorists, who had been disappointed in their last effort to promote an insurrection, were busily engaged in organizing another demonstration, and it was said that two ex-members of the government were concerned in the effort. The subject of intervention in favour of Poland was to come before the assembly for discussion, and "Aid to Poland" was once more made the excuse for "manifestations" intended to lead to a riot, and, if possible, to a new revolution.

About 50,000 of the extreme democrats marched from the Bastille to the Chamber of Deputies, where they forced the gate and swarmed into the building. There was uncontrollable uproar, and amidst the tumult no voice of authority was heeded. The delegates from the communistic clubs spoke from the tribune and proposed resolutions in favour of Poland and Italy. They declared the chamber to be dissolved, and appointed a new government, in which Ledru Rollin, Barbès, and Louis Blanc were the principal persons. But they had not calculated the organization of the temporary government—the troops of the line were called out, the national guards were immediately in arms and followed them on their retreat from the Chambers of Deputies to the Hôtel de Ville, where they cleared the hall, seized the papers, and arrested the chief leaders.

The National Assembly had resolved on the election of a single president and a single chamber, both by universal suffrage; and Louis Philippe and his family were sentenced to perpetual banishment from France. On the other hand, it had been proposed to prosecute Louis Blanc, but this was rejected by the assembly. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had been elected as the representative for Lower Charente, and the executive, led by Lamartine, protested against his being permitted to take his seat. This was of course only logical, as it might as reasonably have been permitted to Joinville or either of the princes of the banished royal family to return and take part in public affairs. The assembly, however, after some discussion,—when it was thought that the proposition that the law of 1832 should be executed against him, would be carried by acclamation,—returned to the interrupted discussion of financial matters. The next day Louis Blanc spoke in favour of his admission. "It was unfair to the people," he said, "to suppose that Charles Louis Bonaparte could become emperor; as to his becoming president that was easily prevented by decreeing that there should be no president at all." Jules Favre and others were on the same side, and the resolution that the candidate should be permitted to take his seat was carried by a large majority. This resolution was apparently vindicated by a letter written from London by Louis Napoleon to the president of the National Assembly, saying, "I was about to set off in order to appear at my post, when I learned that my election had been made the pretext for disorders and disastrous errors. I repudiate all the suspicions of which I have been the object, for I seek not for power. If the people impose duties on me

I shall know how to fulfil them, but I disavow all those who have made use of my name to excite disturbance. The name which I bear is above all a symbol of order, of nationality, of glory, and rather than be the subject of disorder and anarchy I should prefer remaining in exile." Next day he again addressed the president, formally tendering the resignation of his seat. There have been few more artfully composed letters, and the offer of resignation he probably knew would not, and in the excitable condition of the public temper *could* not, be accepted.

On the 23d of June (1848) the red republican party was again in insurrection, and the executive committee resigned. The rebellion against the assembly assumed such proportions that it appeared as though France must prepare for civil war. Paris was declared in a state of siege, and though Lamartine and Ledru Rollin, at the head of the national guard, suppressed the first disturbance, and Barbès and Raspail, the ringleaders, were arrested — though everybody was shaking hands and Lamartine was carried back in triumph to the assembly — though the city was illuminated and the disorder was for a moment at an end—the symptoms of a general insurrection were so pronounced that General Cavaignac, who had arrived from Algeria in accordance with an urgent message, was appointed minister of war with almost unlimited power. This was on the 18th of May. On the 20th the assembly issued a proclamation to the people of France in which it took upon itself to answer for the safety of the country. On the following day a great festival, "the Festival of Concord," took place on the Champs de Mars—a singularly inopportune feast—an ominous locality in which to celebrate it. Only a few hours afterward the insurrection had broken out afresh. The excuse for it was the intention of the assembly to close the national workshops, but it was only an excuse, for everybody knew that they could be no longer maintained, and in fact the keeping of them open had been previously made a ground for threats and disturbances. On the subsequent debate of the question, Victor Hugo said, "The true and intelligent workmen of Paris must not be degraded into lazzaroni in time of peace to become janissaries in time of war for the service of some dictator. Under the monarchy we had the idlers of wealth; shall we now have the idlers of pauperism?" On the 22d of June it was announced in the *Moniteur* that the dispersion of the younger workmen would begin on the following day. Those workmen who could get employment at their trades, but who had not a year's settlement in Paris, were to be sent to their respective communes. It was necessary for the conspirators who sought another revolution to be quick in their movements, and 1500 men who declared that they would not obey the orders of the government assembled under the leadership of a man named Pujol and two others in front of the Pantheon, where terrorist leaders dressed in blouses, like workmen, were ready to teach them the art of the barricade and to incite them to acts of violence. There is no need to dwell on the horrible details of the events of the three ensuing days. The barricades were made high and strong. Omnibuses, cartloads of stones, and heavy furniture served to form them into ramparts commanding the boulevards; and men passing along had a sign and a password given them, by which they could enter certain houses and find arms. The slaughter of the troops was fearful, and it was said that more of them had fallen during these three days than in all the insurrections since 1789. But Cavaignac and Lamoriciere were in earnest, and one after another the barricades were stormed and the insurgents swept from the streets. Only that in the Faubourg St. Antoine remained, and Lamoriciere threatening to bombard it, a flag of truce was sent and it capitulated. Among the slain was the Archbishop of Paris, Denis Auguste Afre, who, hoping that the insurgents might listen to his mediation, went towards the faubourg clad in his sacred vestments, carrying a green branch, and attended by two grand-vicars. He halted at the foot of the Column of the Bastille, where a strong barricade had been erected and active firing was going on, which ceased as the archbishop was recognized. He mounted the barricade to address the insurgents on the other side and his

words seemed to produce some effect, but a drum-roll sounded, a shot was fired, and the conflict burst out again. A bullet struck the venerable archbishop in the loins and he fell on the barricade. The insurgents rushed forward to his assistance and gently carried him to an adjoining house, where he remained till he died on the 27th. Five generals and several distinguished officers were also killed, and the total number of the killed and wounded was enormous. Above 3000 prisoners were sentenced to a period of transportation for ten years to form agricultural colonies in Algeria, and their families were allowed to accompany them; of the rest of the large number of prisoners 255 were tried by court-martial. Communications were re-established in the capital on the 27th of June, but for sometime it remained under martial-law. General Cavaignac resigned to the assembly the extraordinary powers which had been intrusted to him, and was reappointed head of the executive under the title of President of the Council, with the faculty of nominating his own ministers. He appointed M. Senard as minister of the interior, M. Bastide (former secretary to Lamartine) to the foreign office, M. Goudchaux to the finances, General Lamoriciere to the war-office. From that time Lamartine had no longer any influence. On the 4th of July the announcement was made of the suppression of the national workshops, and the workmen belonging to Paris who were unable to obtain employment received outdoor relief. These amounted to between nine and ten thousand, while in the previous month 115,000 workmen had been supported by the government.

As a proof that the belief of Louis Napoleon in the prevailing influence of his name and family was not unfounded, he was elected to represent five departments in the constituent assembly while he was still in England. Bonapartist agents had been busy before that time, and it was because they were believed to be fomenting an *émeute* that Lamartine had endeavoured to procure the exclusion of their candidate from the assembly.

On the 21st of September Louis Napoleon returned to France, and until the end of November the assembly was occupied in settling the form that the constitution should take. At last it was agreed that the executive power should be intrusted to a president, elected by universal suffrage for four years, and with authority to appoint his own cabinet ministers. The election took place on the 10th of December, and the only candidates spoken of as likely to succeed were Prince Louis Napoleon, General Cavaignac, Ledru Rollin, and Lamartine. The result was that Louis Napoleon was elected by 5,562,834 votes, while the next candidate, Cavaignac, obtained only 1,450,000. Lamartine, to whom France owed much, though he was more poet and enthusiast than statesman, was an honest man and a pure patriot. He only gained a few thousand votes.

The new president appointed Odillon Barrot prime-minister. The assembly was divided into several factions, the debates were acrimonious, and party feeling ran high where everybody was bidding for place or power. This ended in an attempt to abrogate the laws for universal suffrage passed by the republic, and press prosecutions were commenced apparently for the purpose of silencing adverse comments. The president, who had already conciliated the clergy and supported the papal claims by the army sent to Rome, made tours in the provinces of France and lost no opportunity of referring to his birth and the traditions that belonged to his name. He held frequent reviews, where the soldiers were reminded of the glory of the army under the empire, and were often regaled with extra rations. The sentiments which he expressed were,—like his letter already referred to and many of his subsequent utterances—ambiguous, and yet with an appearance of sincerity. They might be regarded either as declarations of a personal determination to abide by simple republican institutions, as warnings to those who were acting in opposition to the constitution, or as a half-concealed intimation that it might be necessary for him to take some fresh political action, the precise nature of which was at that time not determined. Before the end of 1849 it had been already proposed to extend the term of the presidency to ten years.

On the 26th of August Louis Philippe died.

He was seventy-seven years of age, and had lived through many vicissitudes. Probably the peaceful evening of his days at Claremont was one of the most pleasant periods of his life. He was wealthy and had many friends, who liked his shrewd, witty, and perhaps rather worldly talk—in a way too he was a philosopher of the easy school, and even immediately after his abdication, when he landed at Newhaven as Mr. Smith and went to an inn famous in its day for good cheer, he had apparently almost forgotten his alarms and his troubles over a pretty little dinner, among the constituents of which were Sussex native oysters and the famous wheatears which are the ortolans of the county. The friendship of our royal family to the exiles had remained in spite of the former Spanish marriages and other disturbing little treacheries, and on the day following the intelligence of the ex-king's death the Queen and Prince Albert, just before their journey to Edinburgh, managed to pay a visit of condolence to the good and lovable Queen Amelie and her children.

It was then a busy time for Prince Albert, for he was engaged in all kinds of places, in works connected with art, with charity, and with education, and the preparations for the great exhibition were drawing on—that exhibition which did much for England by reviving trade and manufactures — and perhaps much for other countries also—in turning, even for a brief space, men's thoughts to peaceful pursuits and to the possibilities of brotherhood.

The Crystal Palace—which means, an immense building of the conservatory order, set in handsome and extensive gardens — now standing on the top of Sydenham Hill, has long ceased to put forward the educational pretensions that were once made for it. Many of its chief attractions have been amusements of a sensational order; it has not been a great financial success, and its presence has had the effect of turning one of the most beautiful country neighbourhoods in Surrey into a huge suburb. No one will deny that it scarcely recalls the Crystal Palace of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Its name was (or so it was said) suggested by Douglas Jerrold, and it became memorable for a thousand reasons, but it was a very different thing from the present "Palace," except so far as the mere building is concerned.

The idea of a great exhibition of industry and art, whether it was due in 1849 and in England to Mr. Henry Cole (afterwards Sir Henry Cole, C.B.) or to Prince Albert himself, was not new. There was an exhibition of borrowed articles of art, &c., held at the Maison d'Orsay in France in 1798; and there was another and a larger show held in Paris the same year. While Napoleon was consul, in 1802, there was a still larger, more comprehensive, and more successful exhibition of art and manufacture in Paris, and the thing became, starting from that time, a triennial institution. There had been, long before 1851, triennial exhibitions of industrial products in Dublin, under the auspices of the Royal Dublin Society. There were also the exhibitions of the Cornish Polytechnic Society, and those which were held at Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool. It was in 1848 that the first proposals for a great exhibition of objects of art and industry on an *international* basis emanated from the Prince Consort and the Society of Arts. The society had, however, held exhibitions in its own rooms before this, and indeed the success of the French exposition of 1844 had excited great attention in London, and led to a few appeals to the government.

It was doubtless to the indefatigable industry of Prince Albert, his great energy, and his thorough appreciation of all that was necessary to make the undertaking worthy of the country, that the enormous success of the Great Exhibition of 1851 was largely due. The series of Paris "expositions" had had a marked effect in their influence on art and in the improvements in manufactures, and even the smaller displays by our own Society of Arts had obviously been followed by many beneficial results. It, therefore, appeared to the prince that an exhibition of a truly international character might be attempted which would "afford the means of showing what every country was able to produce in the shape of raw materials, in machin-

ery and mechanical inventions, in manufactures, and also in sculpture, in plastic art, and generally in art as applied to manufactures. Such an exhibition, if successfully carried out, could not fail to produce results of permanent benefit in many ways. To put the argument for it on the lowest grounds, it would enable the active spirits of all nations to see where they stood, what other nations had done and were doing, and what new markets might be opened, what new materials turned to account, how they might improve their manufacturing processes, and what standards of excellence they must aim at in the general competition which steam and railroads, it was now seen, would before long establish throughout the world."[1]

If ever any man was competent to preside over such an undertaking it was Prince Albert, for his was precisely the kind of general culture which enabled him to suggest, to arrange, and to combine the various and multitudinous elements which would have to be assimilated to make the whole scheme successful. Added to this he had great patience, a painstaking determination to master details, and a deliberation which usually resulted in complete adhesion to the conclusions at which he had arrived, the more so because he was always ready and even anxious to listen to the opinions and to give weight to the experience of all those who were interested in the same enterprise, and especially if they brought to it practical or professional knowledge.

This is not the opportunity for writing another eulogium on the prince who, by his admirable self-control, his constant effort to show that he fully understood the position which it was his duty to occupy as the consort of the sovereign, his quiet, and, at last, successful demonstration that he could fulfil the demands of a station perhaps the most difficult in Europe, had won the respect, the loyalty, and the regard of the English people. Though few princes have better deserved the meed of repeated praise, the accents of adulation were perhaps too loud and persistent while the whole nation was mingling its recollections of his worth with the sounds of profound grief for what appeared to them to be their untimely loss. But time has not obliterated the record of those real and lasting qualities which in him were so conspicuous. His memory was enshrined in the very hearts of those of whom he became the loyal and earnest countryman when he became the husband of their queen.

On many occasions before the end of 1850 the prince had to contend with repeated misrepresentation and misunderstanding; but it is a significant fact that every statesman, every artist, every diplomatist, and it might almost be said every man and woman who had really known him well enough to discover, under a somewhat diffident and shy manner, his great ability and amiability, spoke of him in terms of high and often of enthusiastic admiration.

During the time of the difficulties attending Lord Palmerston's foreign policy the most monstrous and even contradictory rumours were afloat, and for a time the reputation of the prince suffered from slanders which arose either from mere surmise or from the mischievous innuendos of irresponsible and untruthful publications. There was, as we shall see, much vexation and even indignation on the part of the queen at the manner in which the foreign minister despatched comments, opinions, and instructions without consultation with his government or without what was, to say the least of it, the usual courtesy of submitting them to the sovereign for her information. Such a course was doubtless calculated to place both her and the ministry in an exceedingly difficult position, and there was, it was contended, a constant danger that the country would be committed to a course contrary to that which would have been the policy of the crown and the government. Palmerston's attitude, however, was one which the nation admired, and the disagreements, of which the mere rumour and not the particulars, reached the outside public, were often distorted into absurd meanings and suspicions, such as that Prince Albert had been attempting to override the English policy in favour of his foreign relations, that he had endeavoured to interfere with the despatches, or that

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.*

ALBERT PRINCE OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA.

(PRINCE CONSORT)

AFTER THE PORTRAIT BY WINTERHALTER

BLACKIE & SON LONDON, GLASGOW, & EDINBURGH

he had claimed the right of dictating or of writing them. It is very doubtful whether the great majority of the people really believed or heeded even the least injurious of these reports, and if they ever did, the belief was quickly dissipated. The debate on the Greek question showed what was the true state of the case; and when, at the end of 1851, the ministry was compelled to take such a course, because of Palmerston's communication on the subject of the *coup d'état* in Paris, that the foreign minister sent in his resignation, the whole matter was pretty well explained. It had been fairly well understood before the end of 1850, however, and the temporary cloud that had seemed to overhang the genuine popularity attained by the prince was entirely dispersed. Indeed the nation had reason to know that the royal consort was really on the popular side in spite of many of those traditions of his early German training which might have been supposed to deter him. He was ever in favour of increased education, of national progress, of the alleviation of distress by means of organized institutions for assisting and relieving those who needed help, of advance in the direction of human happiness through a recognition of the claims of mutual duties, and of the promotion of those arts and sciences which were immediately instrumental in elevating the tastes and improving the social condition of the working-classes of the population. Again, in the sphere of direct education of the higher class he held, as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, a position which he had hesitated to accept until he could estimate whether he would be able conscientiously to fulfil its duties. He proceeded with patient care and with necessary caution to inquire how he might induce the senate to add to the curriculum of the university, subjects, without which, he regarded the course of education as being altogether incomplete in the present day. After considerable correspondence and many interviews with the leading men he succeeded in making such additions as were at first thought to be impracticable. By the 8th of April, 1848, the syndicate had agreed to report in favour of a scheme of studies broad enough to satisfy the demands of all moderate reformers; and it was proposed that it should come into operation in the Michaelmas term of 1850. "The change in the curriculum of Cambridge education," said the *Times*, "has taken everybody by surprise. We knew the event must come, but we did not look for its attainment without a long and arduous struggle. . . . Many hundreds of young men taken from the highest families in the three kingdoms will every year have cause to bless the change which opens a career to their praiseworthy desire for immediate distinction and fits them for a more important sphere of action in after-life. Whatever may be the profession or calling they may choose for the future, Cambridge now affords them a fitting nurture. . . . But for one fortunate event the country might have waited long enough for the change which has opened so many sealed books to the curiosity and industry of the youth of England. The nation owes a debt of gratitude to the prince consort, the chancellor of the university, for having been the first to suggest, and the most determined to carry out, the alteration in the Cambridge system." In addition to the classics and mathematics students were to attend at least one term of lectures in laws, or physics, or moral philosophy, or chemistry, or anatomy, or modern history, or botany, or geology, or natural or experimental philosophy, or English law, or medicine, or mineralogy, or political economy, and to show a certificate of examination satisfactory to that one of the professors whose lectures they chose to attend. The choice of the science was left to the student, but he was bound to go in for one of them. A new honour tripos in the moral sciences and one in the natural sciences were established, the places for the first to be determined by the examination in moral philosophy, political economy, modern history, general jurisprudence, and the laws of England; and for the other by an examination in anatomy, comparative anatomy, physiology, chemistry, botany, and geology.

The unstinted congratulations of the *Times* were the more emphatic inasmuch as the *Times* was by no means always favourable

to the prince, and when the proposal for a great international exhibition was about to be practically considered it was violently opposed to him. There is no need to recapitulate the arguments and contentions by which not only the scheme itself was opposed, but the suggestion that the building should be erected on a space in Hyde Park was condemned. At one time even the patience of the prince himself was almost exhausted by the constant opposition which he had to encounter before the plan was properly understood and considered. He had nearly lost heart, and the great enterprise by which the cause of education as well as that of national, industrial, and commercial improvement was advanced was near being abandoned. The question of the site of the building had to be settled even after the general scheme had been accepted, and all kinds of places were mentioned, from Battersea, which was once seriously thought of, to—as the prince wrote—the Isle of Dogs, to which himself and the whole commission were satirically recommended to be packed off. But the scheme took shape nevertheless. Courage against ungracious and ungrateful opposition, sneers, and depreciations, succeeded—with the able co-operation of commissioners of a kindred spirit—in carrying out the most brilliant, successful, and attractive exhibition ever attempted even on a national basis. It was truly *international*, for visitors from all countries of the globe came to see its wonders, and it was a significantly profitable undertaking in a pecuniary sense.

The site indicated by Prince Albert was at length, after immense difficulty, conceded; and it then became necessary to decide on the nature of the building in which the enormous number of exhibits, some of them likely to occupy a great space, were to be displayed. We all know what sort of structure was eventually erected and with what surprise and delight its marvellous adaptation to the purpose was recognized; but we may add a few words to recall, not only the name of the man who designed and planned it, but the peculiar nature of the building itself.

Mr. Joseph, afterwards Sir Joseph, Paxton, who, from the position of a gardener's boy, had risen to be a successful landscape gardener, was first employed in a responsible capacity by his Grace the Duke of Somerset at Wimbledon. From that situation he passed, about 1837, into the service of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth; but that nobleman was not slow to perceive that Mr. Paxton possessed administrative faculties and a knowledge of and skill in financial arrangement of a high order, by which capacities he had been of essential service in the management of the duke's estates both in England and Ireland.

There are indeed few instances of scientific application which present so many points of interest as the circumstances by which Mr. Paxton earned his fame as the architect of the Great Exhibition building. With the name of Mr. Paxton had long been associated the glories of Chatsworth; and the sole contrivance of the vast conservatory, which the King of Saxony graphically compared to "a tropical scene with a glass sky." The house built from Mr. Paxton's design for the flowering of the *Victoria regia* was, however, the immediate parent of the Great Exhibition building. A design for the latter structure had already been prepared, but had failed to impress the public with its fitness for the purpose; and Mr. Paxton, apprehensive that an irreparable blunder would be committed in the intended building, proposed to the executive committee another design. Certain difficulties lay in the way, but Mr. Paxton was not to be deterred; his mind was made up; "and," said the Duke of Devonshire at a public meeting held at Bakewell, "I never knew Mr. Paxton resolve to undertake what he did not fully accomplish."

A very brief but pleasing account of the origin of the Palace of Glass appeared in Mr. Dickens's *Household Words* in 1851, and there it was stated that one day—it was Friday, the fourteenth of June, 1850—Mr. Paxton happened to be in the House of Commons conversing on this subject with Mr. Ellis, a member of it, who accompanied him to the Board of Trade to see what could be done, for Mr. Paxton (who was one of the busiest men in England—whose very leisure would kill a man of fashion with

its hard work) was off immediately to keep a special appointment at the tubular bridge over the Menai. After his journey, the next morning the conversation with his friend the M.P. was clenched by another and more than usually powerful burst of thunder in that day's issue from Blackfriars. To have engagements for every day in the week in different parts of England and Ireland, together with the management of the estates at Chatsworth, did not much matter; there was still time to be found for concocting the plans and details of a few square acres of building. Tuesday morning, the eighteenth of June, found Mr. Paxton at Derby seated as chairman of the works and ways committee of the Midland Railway to try an offending pointsman. This was the first *leisure* moment he had been able to secure since he resolved to plan the great building. At the end of the table stood the culprit, and upon it, before the chairman, was invitingly spread a virgin sheet of blotting-paper. As each witness delivered his evidence Mr. Paxton appeared to be taking notes with uncommon assiduity, and when the case closed one of his colleagues turned specially to him, saying, "As you seem to have noted down the whole of the evidence we will take the decision from you."

"The truth is," whispered the chairman, "I know all about this affair already, having accidentally learned every particular last night. *This*," he continued, holding up the paper, "is not a draft of the pointsman's case, but a design for the great industrial building to be erected in Hyde Park."

The pointsman was let off with a fine, and before evening the blotting-paper plan had found its way into Mr. Paxton's office at Chatsworth. By the help of that gentleman's ordinary assistants, elevations, sections, working details, and specifications were completed in ten days.

When he made his next appearance at the Derby station, at the end of that time, Mr. Paxton had the complete plan under his arm. There was not a minute to spare, for the train was on the point of starting, and the royal commissioners met the next morning; so, taking his dinner in his pocket, he entered a carriage. Here, to his extreme delight, he found one of the greatest and most influential engineers of the day—a member, moreover, of the royal commission—who was going to London by the same train.

"This is extraordinarily lucky!" he exclaimed; "for I want you to look over a few plans and a specification of mine."

Accordingly the plans were unrolled. "There they are," said the impromptu architect; "look them over, and see if they will do for the great building of eighteen hundred and fifty-one."

"For what?" asked the engineer, looking at his friend with the serio-comic surprise of incredulity.

"I am serious."

"But you are too late; the whole thing is settled and decided."

"Well, just see what you think of them. I am very hungry; and if you will run them over while I eat my dinner I'll not speak a word."

"Neither will I disturb *you*, for I *must* light a cigar;" and in spite of every regulation in that case made and provided the engineer began to smoke.

There was a dead taciturnity; the royal commissioner went over the plans slowly and carefully, their originator narrowly watching their effect on his mind. It was an anxious moment for the one; for upon the opinion of the other no little depended. At first there was not much to augur from. The drawings were scanned with little more than business-like attention. No word of commendation was uttered; no sign of pleasure or surprise appeared. The smoke rose in regular wreaths; but presently they grew fainter and more intermittent, and by-and-by the cigar went out; yet the suction was continued as vigorously as ever. The projector's hopes rose; his friend's attention was evidently drawn into a vortex, for he went on during twenty minutes puffing away at the effete weed, quite unconscious that it was extinguished. At length, gathering the unrolled papers up in a bundle, he threw them into the opposite seat, exclaiming: "Wonderful! worthy of the magnificence of Chatsworth!—a thousand

times better than anything that has been brought before us! What a pity they were not prepared earlier!"

"Will you lay them before the royal commission?"

"I will."

The value of this promise and of the favourable expression of opinion which would doubtless accompany its performance will be best understood when it is known to the reader that the gentleman who made it was Mr. Robert Stephenson, then in the height of his reputation as an engineer.

The Paxton scheme was referred to the building committee, which, in the regular routine of business, could not entertain it, having rejected all the designs it had invited for competition and having devised a plan of its own.

Nothing daunted, however, Mr. Paxton determined to appeal to the British public. This he did by the aid of the woodcuts and pages of the *Illustrated London News*. Never was an appeal more promptly or satisfactorily answered.

Meanwhile the projector of the building waited on the projector of the entire exhibition, Prince Albert, on another memorable morning—that of the christening day of Prince Patrick. What passed need not be divulged; but the encouragement vouchsafed, added to the expression of public opinion daily gathering strength, induced Mr. Paxton to decide on procuring a tender to be sent in to the building committee for his design. He therefore went straight to Messrs. Fox and Henderson, a well-known firm of contractors, and these gentlemen immediately engaged to prepare a tender. It happened that the building committee in their advertisement had invited the candidates for raising *their* edifice to suggest any improvements in it that might occur to them. This opened a crevice, into which Messrs. Fox and Henderson were able to thrust their tender for Mr. Paxton's plan. Seeing at once it was, of all other plans, *the* plan—the supreme desideratum—they tendered for it as an "improvement" on the committee's design.

Here a new and formidable difficulty arose. It was now Saturday, and only a few days more were allowed for receiving tenders. Yet before an approximate estimate of expense could be formed the great glass manufacturers and iron masters of the north had to be consulted. This happened to be *dies mirabilis* the third, for it was the identical Saturday on which the Sunday postal question had reached its crisis, and there was to be no delivery next day! But in a country of electric telegraphs and of indomitable energy, time and difficulties are annihilated, and it is not the least of the marvels wrought in connection with the great edifice that by the aid of railway parcels and the electric telegraph, not only did all the gentlemen summoned out of Warwickshire and Staffordshire appear on Monday morning at Messrs. Fox and Henderson's office in Spring Gardens, London, to contribute their several estimates to the tender for the whole, but within a week the contractors had prepared every detailed working drawing, and had calculated the cost of every pound of iron, of every inch of wood, and of every pane of glass.

There is perhaps no circumstance in the history of the manufacturing enterprise of the English nation which places in so strong a light as this, its boundless resources in materials, to say nothing of the arithmetical skill in computing at what cost, and in how short a time, those materials could be converted to a special purpose. What was done in those few days? Two parties in London, relying on the accuracy and good faith of certain iron-masters, glass-workers in the provinces, and of one master carpenter in London, bound themselves for a certain sum of money, and in the course of some four months, to cover eighteen acres of ground, with a building upwards of a third of a mile long (1851 feet—the exact date of the year), and some 450 feet broad. In order to do this the glass-maker promised to supply in the required time 900,000 square feet of glass (weighing more than 400 tons) in separate panes, and these the largest that ever were made of sheet glass, each being 49 inches long. The iron-master passed his word in like manner to cast in due time 3300 iron columns, varying from 14½ feet to 20 feet in

length: 34 *miles* of guttering tube, to join every individual column together under the ground; 2224 girders (but some of these were of wrought iron); besides 1128 bearers for supporting galleries. The carpenter undertook to get ready within the specified period 205 *miles* of sash-bar; flooring for an area of 33,000,000 of cubic feet; besides enormous quantities of wooden railing, louvre-work, and partition.

It is not till we reflect on the vast sums of money involved in transactions of this magnitude that we can form even a slight notion of the great, almost ruinous, loss a trifling arithmetical error would have occasioned; and of the boundless confidence the parties must have had in their resources and in the correctness of their computations. Nevertheless it was one great merit in Mr. Paxton's original detail of measurement that they were contrived to facilitate calculation. Everything in the great building was a dividend or multiple of *twenty-four*. The internal columns were placed twenty-four feet apart, while the external ones had no more than eight feet (a third of twenty-four) of separation, while the distance between each of the transept columns was three times twenty-four or seventy-two feet. This also was the width of the middle aisle of the building; the side aisles were forty-eight feet wide, and the galleries and corridor twenty-four. Twenty-four feet also was the distance between each of the transverse gutters under the roof, hence the intervening bars, which were at once rafters and gutters, were necessarily twenty-four feet long.

There was little time for consideration or for setting right a single mistake, were it ever so disastrous. On the prescribed day the tender was presented, with, whatever imperfections it might have had, duly and irredeemably sealed. But after-checkings had divulged no material error. The result was that Messrs. Fox and Henderson's offer for erecting the Paxton edifice proved to be the lowest practicable tender that was submitted to the building committee.

The public have long known what followed: Mr. Paxton's glazed palace was eventually chosen unanimously, not only by the building committee but by the royal commission. Some modifications were, however, adopted. It was decided that the most revered of the trees were to be admitted into the industrial building; and the central transept—the apex of whose curvilinear roof was one hundred and twelve feet from the ground—was contrived by Mr. Paxton for their inclosure. In August the space in Hyde Park was boarded in; and the first castings for the iron columns were delivered on the 14th of September.

If for nothing else, this tremendous pile of transparency was astounding for its cheapness. It was actually less costly than an agricultural barn or an Irish cabin. A division of its superficies in cubic feet by the sums that were paid for it, brought out the astonishing quotient of little more than one halfpenny (nine-sixteenths of a penny) per cubic foot; supposing it had been taken down and returned to the contractors when the exhibition was over. Or if it had remained a fixture, the rate of cost would have been rather less than a penny and one-twelfth of a penny per cubic foot. The ordinary expense of a barn was more than twice as much, or twopence halfpenny per foot. Here are the figures:—The entire edifice contained thirty-three millions of cubic feet. If borrowed and taken down, the sum to have been paid was seventy-nine thousand eight hundred pounds; if bought, to have become a winter garden, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The smallness of cost was due to the principle we have previously explained, of each component of the building having been endowed with more than one purpose. The sixs rows of columns were, as had been already said, not only props but drains. They were hollow, and into them the glass roof delivered its collections of water. In the base of each column was inserted a horizontal iron pipe to conduct the drainage into the sewers. These strong tubes served also as foundation, they were links that connected the whole of the three thousand three hundred uprights together. At the top each column was fastened to its opposite associate by a girder, run up by means of a pole and pulley in a few minutes, and, once

fastened, no other scaffolding was requisite for the roof which it supported. Thus by means of the iron pipes below and the iron girders above the eighteen acres of structure was held from end to end so compact and fast that it became an enormous hollow cube, as immovable as if it had been instead, a solid cube, dropped down beside Rotten Row by a gang of Titans.

The roofs—of which there were five, one to each aisle or corridor, the highest in the middle—played many parts. They were windows, light and heat adjusters, rain conductors outside, and condensed moisture ducts within.

Her majesty's commissioners for the Great Exhibition were Alderman Thompson, Robert Stephenson, the eminent engineer, son of the famous George Stephenson, William Hopkins, T. F. Gibson, Richard Cobden, Charles Barry, Sir Charles Lyell, Sir R. Westmeath, the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, Lord Overstone, Earl Granville, the Earl of Rosse, John Shepherd, Philip Pusey, John Gott, William Cubitt, Thomas Bazley, Thomas Baring, Sir Charles Eastlake, the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, the Earl of Ellesmere, and the Duke of Buccleugh. The special commissioners were Dr. Lyon Playfair, and Lieut.-Col. Lloyd. The secretaries to the royal commission were Mr. Edgar A. Bowring, Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., and Mr. J. Scott Russell, a gentleman to whom much of the success of the plan was due. Mr. Matthew Digby Wyatt was secretary to the executive committee. The superintendents of works were Mr. C. H. Wild and Mr. Owen Jones—whose original method of colouring the iron work and ornaments of the roof in complementary tints was the occasion of much controversy, but whose magnificent success in the Alhambra Court entirely vindicated his argument in favour of the system he advocated. The building committee consisted of Mr. I. K. Brunel, Mr. C. Cockerell, and Professor Donaldson. The executive committee were Mr. George Drew, Mr. Charles Dilke, Jun., Mr. Francis Fuller, Mr. Henry Cole, and Lieut.-Col. William Reid, C.B., of the Royal Engineers. Mr. Samuel Morton Peto and Sir Alexander Spearman, Bart., were the finance committee; and the treasurers were Baron Lionel de Rothschild, Sir J. W. Lubbock, Bart., Mr. William Cotton, and Mr. Arthur K. Barclay.

It would be out of the question to attempt any elaborate or detailed description either of the palace or its contents in these pages, and the Crystal Palace—the Great International Exhibition of 1851—had in fact a literature of its own, in the records of which, as in the illustrated and other journals of the day, it is easy to study the catalogue of the marvellous display.

Many objects of art which are now familiar to the popular eye and memory were first seen by the multitude at the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, for instance the "Amazon," the "Ariadne," and the "Greek Slave." The latter (by Hiram Powers, an American disciple of Swedenborg), suggested a sonnet to Mrs. Browning, which is perhaps too well known for quotation. This figure, a slender young woman entirely without drapery, was the subject of many stupid jokes, and one or two good ones. Meanwhile the sonnet was caught up by the anti-slavery party in America, and undoubtedly did good service in the cause of freedom. The statue is slily referred to in Thackeray's mock-Irish poem, from which a few verses may well be introduced in this place, because they give so admirable an idea of the "rolling miscellany of facts" inside the big glass-house:—

> With conscious proide
> I stud insoide,
> And look'd the World's Great Fair in,
> Until me sight
> Was dazzled quite,
> And couldn't see for staring.
>
> There's holy saints,
> And window paints,
> By Maydiayval Pugin;
> Alhamborough Jones[1]
> Did paint the tones
> Of yellow and gambouge in.
>
> There's fountains there,
> And crosses fair;
> There's water-gods with urrns;

[1] This reference is to Mr. Owen Jones and the decorations of the Alhambra Court.

There's organs three
To play, d'ye see,
"God save the Queen" by turns.

There's statues bright,
Of marble white,
Of silver, and of copper;
And some in zinc,
And some, I think,
That isn't over proper.

There's staym ingynes,
That stands in lines,
Enormous and amazing,
That squeal and snort
Like whales in sport,
Or elephants a-grazing.

There's carts and gigs,
And pins for pigs;
There's dibblers and there's harrows,
And ploughs like toys
For little boys,
And ilegant wheel-barrows.

. . . .

Amazed I pass
From glass to glass,
Deloighted I survey 'em;
Fresh wondthers grows
Before me nose
In this sublime Musayum.

Look, here's a fan
From far Japan,
A sabre from Damasco;
There's shawls ye get
From far Thibet,
And cotton prints from Glasgow.

There's German flutes,
Marocky boots,
And Naples macaronies.
Bohaymia
Has sent Bohay;
Polonia her polonies.

There's granite flints
That's quite imminse,
There's sacks of coals and fuels;
There's swords and guns,
And soap in tuns,
And ginger-bread and jewels.

There's taypots there,
And cannons rare;
There's coffins filled with roses;
There's canvass tints,
Teeth insthruments,
And shuits of clothes by Moses.

There's lashins more
Of things in store,
But thim I don't remimber;
Nor could disclose,
Did I compose
From May time to Novimber!

So let us raise
Victoria's praise,
And Albert's proud condition,
That takes his ayse
As he surveys
This Cristial Exhibition.

There is an anecdote connected with this poem which has no direct relation to the subject, but which may find a place here without injury to it. Thackeray sent the verses to *Punch* at first, but his manuscript was late. Shirley Brooks, the then editor, who was a minutely punctual man, sent it back to Thackeray. Thackeray, nettled at this, forwarded it post-haste to the *Times*, which was glad enough to insert so brilliant and really informing an account of what the great humorist had seen at a private view.

The site which the building was to occupy was finally settled to be that in Hyde Park on the bank of the Serpentine and opposite Gore House—which Prince Albert had truly said was the most suitable—and the arrangements as well as the erection of the structure went on with amazing rapidity. Subscriptions towards the fund for defraying the cost flowed in—the Corporation of London contributing £500, and other sums were received daily till the amount reached upwards of £65,000. Yet the scheme was not without its opponents. Colonel Sibthorp violently denounced it in the House of Commons, prophesying that there was extreme danger of its being made the occasion of revolution, riot, and even assassination, and warning members and the public to look to their plate and spoons when so many foreign incendiaries and evil characters were likely to be assembled in London.

Cardinal Archbishop Nicholas Manning, in a new pastoral, pointed out the moral dangers which he apprehended. "Whatever is fair to the eye, and alluring to the appetite," he said, "will temptingly hang on every bough of the newly created paradise. Great as may be the spectacle of material grandeur which will thus be presented to all nations, who does not fear the increase of sin and vice which this immense concourse for such a purpose must inevitably produce? All our usual temptations to folly and extravagance,

to dissipation and worldliness, will be increased, every snare that awaits youth will be multiplied, every evil principle more variously and ingeniously advocated; and there will be a concentration of corrupted and corrupting elements poured into the metropolis and the nation such as no other occurrence could unite. All this will endanger faith and morals, and perhaps still more charity." To avert these evils the Cardinal Archbishop appended a bill of fare for Lent to his pastoral.

The Bishop of London issued a charge to the clergy, in which he dwelt on the necessity, during the great display which would attract people of all nations, not to forget to give opportunities for public worship and the means of religious observance and instruction. In this he anticipated that the British and Foreign Bible Society would give useful aid, and he was not disappointed. The religious associations were active, and on the whole had adopted excellent organizations for the distribution and sale of cheap copies of the Scriptures in various languages, while other religious institutions took part in the work of providing suitable services and in holding devotional meetings; many special services being held in the churches and other places of worship on Sundays and stated days or evenings during each week.

Nor were any of the ominous warnings proved to have had foundation. Happily none of the evils that had been foretold were fulfilled. Arrangements had been made as far as possible to prevent disorder, but the intense interest taken by the people themselves in the Exhibition was sufficient to prevent riot, and the excellent organization sufficed to preserve visitors from any serious disorder or even from great inconvenience.

Of course the number of persons who entered London during the time that the display continued was enormous, and the means of street conveyance had to be increased, while the resources of some of the lines of railway were tried to their utmost extent. London underwent many remarkable changes, because of the necessity for providing the means of eating and drinking for so large a multitude. A shoe-black brigade was instituted, lavatories and dressing-rooms were opened in various places, and many shops entered into quite new trades for the purpose of attracting customers from among our foreign guests. During the brilliant and delightful weather of the first months of the opening of the Great Exhibition everybody seemed to live in semi-continental fashion and to be much out of doors. Our system of providing refreshments underwent a considerable change; restaurants and cafés on something of continental pattern but with English fare were opened on all hands, and at Gore House M. Soyer established a "symposium of all nations" which was very illustrative and very original, but was not understood to be a significant success. Probably England never had such a general holiday as it took during those months of May, June, and July, in 1851; and on the shilling days of the exhibition large companies of artisans, or of agricultural labourers from distant towns and villages, schools, inmates of charitable institutions, and even paupers from various unions, were added in detachments to the crowds that thronged the building. The Exhibition thoroughly vindicated its title, and was truly international, industrial, and universal, both in the wonders that it displayed and in the people to whom its doors were opened.

The money for paying for the works while in progress was advanced by the Bank of England on the credit of the royal commission, and the management of the financial department was a great responsibility; but everybody had to work hard, and when once the plan was decided on no time was lost. Not only in London but in the provinces Prince Albert and those associated with him attended meetings, banquets, balls, receptions, and all kinds of assemblies held for the purpose of promoting local or general interest in the scheme, and the success of the enterprise was already assured when it was determined that the ceremony of inauguration should take place on the 1st of May.

It was remembered after the date had been fixed that this was the birth-day of the Duke of Wellington, who had attained his eighty-

second year. The infant prince (the present Duke of Connaught), born on the same day of the month (the 1st of May) in the previous year, had been named after the duke, and was called Arthur William Patrick.

Her Majesty and Prince Albert were delighted to be able thus to show the esteem in which they held the great general, their faithful loyal friend, and the queen says, amidst her account of the events of the opening of the Exhibition, "I must not omit to mention an interesting episode of this day, viz. the visit of the good old Duke on this his eighty-second birth-day to his little godson, our dear little boy. He came to us both at five, and gave him a golden cup and some toys, which he had himself chosen, and Arthur gave him a nosegay."

The alarmists had succeeded in creating considerable uneasiness in some minds, and even the Duke of Cambridge, the queen's cousin, appeared to display some anxiety about the occasion of the opening when an enormous concourse of people would be sure to be centred towards the one spot.

This anxiety the queen could not share in, could not understand. She had perfect confidence in the people, and was ever ready to appear amongst them, even though she had been more than once the object of attacks by fools or madmen. The last of these had been by a crazy lieutenant of hussars named Pate, who was brute enough to strike her majesty over the face with a cane as she was returning with the royal children to Buckingham Palace from a visit to Piccadilly, where she had been to inquire after the health of the old Duke of Cambridge, who died shortly afterwards. This was on the 27th of May, 1850, and her majesty, though the blow slightly marked her cheek and crushed her bonnet down over her forehead, went on quietly to Buckingham Palace. In the evening she appeared with Prince Albert in the royal box at the Italian Opera, partly to allay the public anxiety and excitement, which had been exceedingly pronounced. She was received with more than enthusiastic acclamations and tokens of loyalty: many of the people wept as they stood up to greet her. The queen had no reason to fear if the whole population went out to meet her, nor was there much to dread from foreign visitors.

There was an atmosphere of loyalty everywhere. It had been suggested that the queen should be accompanied by all her children or such of them as could stand on the royal dais. The little fellow who was that day a year old was the seventh, and the young mother as she sat with the two eldest (the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal) near her on the throne of state in that vast building, was dearer than ever to the nation, in the maternal bloom of her still young life. On that day, beside the 25,000 people within the building itself, it was calculated that nearly 700,000 people were assembled on the route between it and Buckingham Palace, yet Sir George Grey was able to report next day to her majesty that there had not been one accident, one police case, due to this assemblage.

"C'est un peuple étrange le peuple anglais!" wrote M. Jules Janin in the *Journal des Débats*. "Il est calme toujours; il se hâte, mais il se hâte dans certaines limites; il est patient même, dans son enthousiasme! Comme il ne veut pas être gouverné, il se gouverne lui-même, et quiconque désobéit à l'ordre indiqué, soudain le premier-venu prête main-forte au policeman. . . . Dans le même ordre où cette foule etait venu elle est évanouie! On n'eût jamais dit, à trois heures, que trente mille âmes, avides de tout voir, et de tout entendre, étaient contenues dans cette enceinte."

For the opening ceremony on this auspicious morning the queen left Buckingham Palace a little before twelve. Nine carriages and pairs conveyed her majesty, Prince Albert, and two elder children, several royal guests, and those who attended, up Constitution Hill and along Rotten-row, to the northern entrance of the Crystal Palace. The way was kept by a small party of Life Guards and a large body of police. As the *cortége* drove up to the Palace the reception of her majesty was enthusiastic, and she entered the building amid a burst of genuine good feeling from the people assembled. The queen seemed full of emotion at the greatness of the occasion and

at the welcome, but she was soon lost within the walls of the Palace, from whence, after the lapse of a few minutes, loud cheers burst forth; and when the strains of "God save the Queen" were heard, many of the people took up the anthem, amidst the roar of the cannon and the busy hum of the crowds that thronged the wide arena. The arrangements for the opening of the building, and the reception of her majesty and the public, had been carried on through the whole of the preceding night, and were completed by eight o'clock in the morning. At nine the doors were opened to the holders of season-tickets. The crowd kept flowing in for more than an hour in such dense columns that temporary barriers, placed by the executive committee to protect the space round the throne, were in part swept away, and the entire space of the nave seemed to be permanently in possession of the spectators. Gentlemen might be seen distracted about places for their wives and daughters; who added to their excitement by asking explanations of police-passes which could not be explained, and by urgent entreaties to take up positions which were clearly not tenable. About ten o'clock the police succeeded in establishing order. Spectators gradually took up their places, and every proper and reasonable facility was afforded for the royal progress round the nave of the building. At about half-past ten the appearance of notabilities in the crowd began to excite attention. The Duke of Wellington, as usual, arrived early. He was looking extremely well, and was conversing gaily with a numerous circle of ladies grouped around him. As soon as he was noticed the customary tribute of applause was rendered; and then immediately a further and more hearty demonstration was made as it was remembered that on that very day—the 1st of May—the old warrior had completed his eighty-second year. In a short time he descended to the area below, and was seen chatting with the Marquis of Anglesea and with Mr. Paxton. Mr. Cobden was introduced to him by Mr. Fox Maule. While field-marshal the commander-in-chief and the president of the Peace Congress were conversing, a buttoned Chinese mandarin, arrayed in the quaint and magnificent costume of his country, approached, caught the duke's eye, made him a profound salaam, and held out his hand for an English salute. The duke gave his hand—apparently uncertain to whom. The unknown celestial then repeated his obeisance to the Marquis of Anglesea, and received a courteous acknowledgment. It proved that he was the mandarin Hesing, of the royal Chinese junk then anchored in the Thames for the inspection of the English. Hesing attracted the attention of the queen, and at her request was subsequently placed in a distinguished position in the royal procession. It had been originally contemplated that the centre of the nave should remain entirely unoccupied, but this arrangement was found impracticable; and thus her majesty and the state procession were left to make their progress between living walls of loyal subjects and admiring foreigners, extending in long lines from one end of the building to the other. It was near twelve when the faint huzzas of crowds outside announced that the queen had arrived; the royal salute from across the Serpentine was scarcely heard within the building, but in its stead a loud flourish of trumpets told that her majesty had entered the building. She was conducted at once to the robing-room, and thence, after a short pause, attended by her court, proceeded between flower-stands and tropical plants past the Colebrookdale gates, and the fountains and statuary with which that part of the edifice was adorned, to the throne in the centre. On her appearance the vast assemblage rose to welcome her, a burst of enthusiastic cheering broke forth from every side—ladies waved their handkerchiefs, gentlemen their hats, and the whole scene presented was one of unusual splendour. The sun, too, emerged from the clouds that for some time previously had dimmed his lustre, and a flood of light pouring in through the glittering dome of the transept illuminated the imposing scene. When her majesty ascended the throne, attended by the royal family and the distinguished visitors of her court, the organ pealed forth the notes of the national anthem, and the immense choir col-

lected for the occasion accompanied the strain. His royal highness Prince Albert, when the music had ceased, joined the royal commissioners, who drew near to the throne and read to her majesty the report of the proceedings of the commission. After giving an account of the origin of the Exhibition, the efforts made to accomplish its objects, and their results, with some reference to those whose assistance had been most valuable, the report concluded with a fervent expression of trust that under the Divine blessing it might be beneficial to this and other nations by achieving the objects for which it had been intended.

The queen read the following reply: "I receive with the greatest satisfaction the address which you have presented to me on the opening of this Exhibition. I have observed with a warm and increasing interest the progress of your proceedings in the execution of the duties intrusted to you by the royal commission, and it affords me sincere gratification to witness the successful result of your judicious and unremitting exertions in the splendid spectacle by which I am this day surrounded. I cordially concur with you in the prayer, that by God's blessing this undertaking may conduce to the welfare of my people and to the common interests of the human race, by encouraging the arts of peace and industry, strengthening the bonds of union among the nations of the earth, and promoting a friendly and honourable rivalry in the useful exercise of those faculties which have been conferred by a beneficent Providence for the good and the happiness of mankind." The Archbishop of Canterbury then approached the throne, and with great fervency of manner offered up a prayer, invoking God's blessing on the undertaking. At the close of this prayer the choir joined in singing the Hallelujah Chorus, and the effect of this performance may be estimated from the fact that the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and St. George's Chapel, Windsor, contributed their entire vocal strength, while there were also present pupils of the Royal Academy of Music, part of the band of the Sacred Harmonic Society, and many other performers, both foreign and English. It was at this part of the proceedings that Hesing, the Chinese mandarin, unable any longer to control his feelings, made his way through foreign diplomatists, ministers of state, and the distinguished circle with which court etiquette had surrounded the throne, and, advancing close to the queen, saluted her by a grand salaam; her majesty acknowledged the obeisance and saluted the mandarin in return, and at her request he was placed between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the comptroller of the household. A procession was then formed, headed by Mr. Paxton, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Fox; then followed the executive committee of the royal commission, the foreign acting commissioners, the royal commissioners themselves, and officers of the queen's household. Her Majesty led the Prince of Wales, and Prince Albert the Princess Royal; both parents and children looking extremely well. The queen bore herself with courteous but dignified restraint, as if feeling more excitement than she would display. Prince Albert appeared less composed; his emotion at the successful realization of his own idea was very visible. The procession moved slowly round the interior of the building, amid vehement cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, till it returned to the point from whence it started. When the queen returned to her place the Marquis of Breadalbane, in a loud tone of voice, announced that the queen declared "the Exhibition open." A flourish of trumpets proclaimed the fact to the assembled multitudes. The royal family, attended by the court, withdrew from the building, the choir once more took up the strain of the national anthem; the barriers, which had hitherto restrained the spectators within certain limits were withdrawn, and the long pent-up masses poured over every part of the building, unrestrained by policemen, and eager to gratify their curiosity.

Perhaps no more truly impressive description, or rather indication, of the event appeared than the "May Day Ode" of Mr. Thackeray, published in the *Times*.

But yesterday a naked sod,
  The dandies sneered from Rotten Row,

And cantered o'er it to and fro;
And see, 'tis done!
As though 'twere by a wizard's rod
A blazing arch of lucid glass
Leaps like a fountain from the grass
To meet the sun!

A quiet green but few days since,
With cattle browsing in the shade,
And lo! long lines of bright arcade
In order raised;
A palace as for fairy prince,
A rare pavilion such as man
Saw never, since mankind began,
And built and glazed!

A peaceful place it was but now,
And lo! within its shining streets
A multitude of nations meets:
A countless throng
I see beneath the crystal bow,
And Gaul and German, Russ and Turk,
Each with his native handiwork
And busy tongue.

I felt a thrill of love and awe
To mark the different garb of each,
The changing tongue, the various speech
Together blent.
A thrill, methinks, like His who saw
"All people dwelling upon earth
Praising our God with solemn mirth
And one consent."

High Sovereign in your royal state!
Captains and Chiefs and Councillors,
Before the lofty palace doors
Are open set,
Hush! ere you pass the shining gate;
Hush! ere the heaving curtain draws,
And let the royal pageant pause
A moment yet.

People and Prince a silence keep!
Bow coronet and kingly crown,
Helmet and plume bow lowly down;
The while the priest
Before the splendid portal step,
(While still the wondrous banquet stays),
From Heaven supreme a blessing prays
Upon the feast!

Then onwards let the triumph march;
Then let the loud artillery roll,
And trumpets ring and joy-bells toll,
And pass the gate.
Pass underneath the shining arch,
'Neath which the leafy elms are green—
Ascend unto your throne, O Queen!
And take your state.

Behold her in her royal place:
A gentle lady; and the hand
That sways the sceptre of this land,
How frail and weak!
Soft is the voice, and fair the face;
She breathes Amen to prayer and hymn:
No wonder that her eyes are dim,
And pale her cheek.

This moment round her empire's shores
The winds of austral winter sweep,
And thousands lie in midnight sleep
At rest to-day.
O! awful is that Crown of yours,
Queen of innumerable realms,
Sitting beneath the budding elms
Of English May!

. . . .

Our brethren cross the Atlantic tides,
Loading the gallant decks which once
Roared a defiance to our guns
With peaceful store;
Symbol of peace, their vessel rides![1]
O'er English waves float star and stripe,
And firm their friendly anchors gripe
The father shore!

From Rhine and Danube, Rhone and Seine,
As rivers from their sources gush
The swelling floods of nations rush,
And seaward pour:
From coast to coast in friendly chain,
With countless ships we bridge the straits;
And angry ocean separates
Europe no more.

From Mississippi and from Nile—
From Baltic, Ganges, Bosphorus,
In England's ark assembled thus
Are friend and guest.
Look down the mighty sunlit aisle,
And see the sumptuous banquet set,
The brotherhood of nations met
Around the feast!

Along the dazzling colonnade,
Far as the straining eye can gaze,
Gleam cross and fountain, bell and vase,
In vistas bright.
And statues fair of nymph and maid,
And steeds and pards and Amazons,
Writhing and grappling in the bronze,
In endless fight.

To deck the glorious roof and dome,
To make the queen a canopy,
The peaceful hosts of industry
Their standards bear.
Yon are the works of Brahmin loom;
On such a web of Persian thread
The desert Arab bows his head,
And cries his prayer.

Look yonder where the engines toil;
These England's arms of conquest are,

[1] The *St. Lawrence* frigate, which brought a cargo of "exhibits" from the United States.

The trophies of her bloodless war:
Brave weapons these.
Victorious over wave and soil,
With these she sails, she weaves, she tills,
Pierces the everlasting hills,
And spans the seas.

The engine roars upon its race,
The shuttle whirrs along the woof,
The people hum from floor to roof,
With Babel tongue.
The fountain in the basin plays,
The chanting organ echoes clear,
An awful chorus 'tis to hear,
A wondrous song!

Swell organ, swell your trumpet blast,
March, queen and royal pageant, march
By splendid aisle and springing arch
Of this fair hall:
And see! above the fabric vast,
God's boundless Heaven is bending blue,
God's peaceful sunlight's beaming through,
And shines o'er all.

The account in the Journal of the Queen is characterized by a very picturesque simplicity:—"The park presented a wonderful spectacle, crowds streaming through it, carriages and troops passing, quite like the coronation-day, and for me the same anxiety—no, much greater anxiety on account of my beloved Albert. The day was bright and all bustle and excitement. . . . At half-past eleven the whole procession in state carriages was in motion. . . . The Green Park and Hyde Park were one densely crowded mass of human beings, in the highest good humour, and most enthusiastic. I never saw Hyde Park look as it did,—as far as the eye could reach. A little rain fell just as we started; but before we came near the Crystal Palace the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all the nations were floating. We drove up Rotten Row and got out at the entrance on that side.

"The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, with the flourish of trumpets as we entered, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. We went for a moment to a little side-room, where we left our shawls, and where we found mamma and Mary (now Princess of Teck), and outside which were standing the other princes. In a few seconds we proceeded, Albert leading me, having Vicky at his hand, and Bertie holding mine. The sight, as we came to the middle, where the steps and chair (which I did *not* sit on) were placed, with the beautiful crystal fountain just in front of it, was magical,—so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt—as so many did whom I have since spoken to—filled with devotion,—more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains,—the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing); and my beloved husband the author of this 'Peace Festival,' which united the industry of all nations of the earth,—all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever. God bless my dearest Albert, God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day! One felt so grateful to the great God, who seemed to pervade all and to bless all! The only event it in the slightest degree reminded me of was the coronation, but this day's festival was a thousand times superior. In fact, it is unique, and can bear no comparison, from its peculiarity, beauty, and combination of such different and striking objects. I mean the slight resemblance only as to its solemnity: the enthusiasm and cheering, too, were much more touching, for in a church naturally all is silent.

"Albert left my side after 'God save the Queen' had been sung, and at the head of the commissioners—a curious assemblage of political and distinguished men—read me the report, which is a long one, and to which I read a short answer. After which the Archbishop of Canterbury offered up a short and appropriate prayer, followed by the 'Hallelujah Chorus,' during which the Chinese mandarin came forward and made his obeisance. This concluded, the procession began. It was beautifully arranged and of great length,—the prescribed order being exactly adhered to. The nave was full, which had not been intended; but still there was no difficulty, and the whole long walk from

one end to the other was made in the midst of continued and deafening cheers and waving of handkerchiefs. Every one's face was bright and smiling, many with tears in their eyes. Many Frenchmen called out, 'Vive la reine!' One could, of course, see nothing but what was near in the nave, and nothing in the courts. The organs were but little heard, but the military band, at one end, had a very fine effect as we passed along. They played the march from 'Athalie.' The beautiful Amazon in bronze, by Kiss, looked very magnificent. The old Duke and Lord Anglesea walked arm in arm, which was a touching sight. I saw many acquaintances amongst those present.

"We returned to our own place, and Albert told Lord Breadalbane to declare that the Exhibition was open, which he did in a loud voice,—which was followed by a flourish of trumpets and immense cheering. All the commissioners, the executive committee, &c., who worked so hard and to whom such immense praise is due, seemed truly happy, and no one more so than Paxton, who may be justly proud; he rose from being a common gardener's boy. Everybody was astonished and delighted,—Sir George Grey (home secretary) in tears.

"The return was equally satisfactory—the crowd most enthusiastic, the order perfect. We reached the palace at twenty minutes past one, and went out on the balcony and were loudly cheered. The prince and princess (of Prussia) were quite delighted and impressed. That *we* felt happy—thankful—I need not say; proud of all that had passed, of my darling husband's success, and of the behaviour of my good people. I was more impressed than I can say by the scene; it was one that can never be effaced from my memory, and never will be from that of any one who witnessed it. Albert's name is immortalized, and the wicked and absurd reports of danger of every kind, which a set of people, viz. the *soi-disant* fashionables and the most violent Protectionists, spread are silenced. It is, therefore, doubly satisfactory that all should have gone off so well, and without the slightest accident or mishap. . . . Albert's emphatic words last year, when he said that the feeling would be 'that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which he has bestowed upon us already here below,' this day realized. . . . We dined *en famille*, and then went to the Covent Garden Opera, where we saw the two finest acts of the 'Huguenots' given as beautifully as last year. I was rather tired; but we were both so happy, so full of thankfulness! God is indeed our kind and merciful Father!"

Among the first to offer their congratulations to the queen upon the brilliant success of the day's proceedings were Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. "It was a day," the latter wrote at the close of an official letter, "the result of which must be no less gratifying to your majesty than honourable to the nation whose good fortune it is to have your majesty for its sovereig...' Lord John Russell, fresh from the scene, could not refrain from congratulating "the queen on the triumphant success of the proceedings of this day. Everything went off so well," he continued, "that it is needless to mention particulars; but the general conduct of the multitudes assembled, the loyalty and the content which so generally appeared, were perhaps the most gratifying to a politician, while the wonders of art and industry will be the most celebrated among philosophers and men of science, as well as among manufacturers and the great mass of the working people."

Of course the Queen as well as Prince Albert had paid repeated visits to the Great Exhibition during its progress before its completion for the ceremony of inauguration, and many other well known faces were seen there. The Duke of Wellington was from the first an interested spectator of the works, and went to see many of the consignments almost as soon as they were unpacked. He was mostly accompanied by his daughter-in-law, the Marchioness of Douro, and the form and face of the great general became almost as familiar to the foreign as to the British workmen, nor was he greeted with less respect by the French, Swiss, and Italian artificers than by our own countrymen.

On one occasion the duke and his fair com-

panion, after walking through the high-arched transept, proceeded eastward to the foreign department, where they paused to observe one of the exhibitors removing from an oaken case various costly articles of gold and silver plate. At the moment of the duke's approach was uncovered a pair of silver equestrian statuettes of Wellington himself and his once formidable rival, Napoleon. The great captain smiled at the incident; and to an inquiring look of the exhibitor, quietly nodded assent. The news instantly spread that the Duke of Wellington was within "the French territory;" and in a few moments, probably for the first time in his life, the noble and gallant duke was surprised and surrounded by a body of Frenchmen. Their national character for politeness prevailed over other feelings; the hats and caps of the bearded foreigners were at once raised to the British hero; and the duke having returned a military salute, passed on to the next department.

To see the Duke of Wellington was always a great addition to the pleasure of the visitors to "the World's Fair," and this feeling was by no means confined to parties of English people from the country or of colonists on a tour. One day a party of American gentlemen had assembled in the lobby of the House of Lords waiting for him to appear, as they had heard that he was within the house. "Not many minutes had passed," says the narrator,[1] "when he was seen advancing down the narrow passage to the outer porch. He tottered as he walked, almost swaying from side to side; and as he reached the porch the Americans, some half-dozen in number, took off their hats and pressed forward to within two or three yards. The duke's coming and going were not usually noticed by any one with formality, nor did he, as a rule, seem to remark things near him, his eye being apparently intent on something far away, reminding an observer of how it might have looked, for instance, when detecting the weak point in Marmot's evolutions at Salamanca. But that distant sight nevertheless took in everything passing around, and on this occasion the duke paused for a moment, apparently interested by the unusual although silent demonstration before him, and he slowly raised a forefinger to his forehead in answering salute. In a few seconds he had entered his cab unassisted, and was driven away. The party present seemed to think a cheer might be an impertinence; but immediately the duke had gone the feeling of the spectators broke forth. 'There,' said one of the Americans to an English gentleman who had been chatting with them and informing them as to the men and things around, 'there—we have seen the Exhibition, but we wanted still more to see the Duke. It was worth coming all the way.'"

The mention of the silver plate at the Exhibition reminds us that the show of gold and silversmith's work and of jewelry was very magnificent, but for a long time the great central attraction was the famous Koh-i-noor (Mountain of Light) diamond, which had belonged to the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the chief of Lahore, who at his death in 1839 left it as a legacy to be worn by the chief idol of Juggernaut. It had been presented to the queen by the chairman and deputy-chairman of the East India Company on the 3d of July, 1850. This stupendous gem was valued at £2,000,000, and was believed to be the largest diamond in the world. It was exhibited with two other diamonds of the first water under a strong cage of gilt iron in the main avenue near the crystal fountain, which was of course conspicuous and the usual trysting-place for visitors. The "mountain of light," which formed part of the spoil taken in the Sikh war on the defeat of Runjeet Singh, was badly cut, as many Indian gems are, the people there preferring to preserve the size of the stone rather than submit it to such manipulation as would increase its fire and brilliancy. This led to some disappointment, and another large and superb diamond, "the *sea* of light," which was among the Indian collection, suffered from the same want of art in cutting, though it was set so as to show it off to advantage.

But few of the foreign princes attended the Exhibition, and indeed even if they had

[1] G. H. Jennings. *Anecdotal History of the British Parliament.*

been so disposed the condition of their own affairs would have prevented them. King Leopold would doubtless have been present, but the recent loss of his beloved consort, which had given to our queen a pang keener, perhaps, than even the death of the Dowager Queen Adelaide, had been the second great sorrow of his life, and he remained in comparative seclusion; but writing still to her Majesty and to Prince Albert letters full of affection, good counsel, and hearty congratulations. The Princes and the Princess of Prussia, Prince Henry of the Netherlands, and Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar were present at the opening ceremony, and no other foreign royal personage took any public part in the Exhibition; but the people of all nations represented themselves, and the concourse had, during the whole time that it was open, attested its genuine success and the interest which it had aroused throughout the world. On some days above 70,000 persons passed the turnstiles, and yet there was little disorder and few accidents of any importance. From the first the French president and the French people took close and practical interest in the undertaking. It gave the president himself an opportunity of showing that his policy was to cultivate a truly friendly spirit with this country, and the welcome and practical facilities given to French exhibitors tended still further to produce a cordial feeling of good-will which, during the time of "the show," was cemented into a real international regard. The friendly feeling between France and England was manifest everywhere, and the results have been very happy and beneficial to both nations. When the time for closing the Exhibition approached, invitations were sent to the council and those associated with the undertaking to be present at a series of fêtes in Paris, and the president hoped to have Prince Albert for his guest at the Elysée; but if for no other reasons, the prince was obliged to decline to join his colleagues because he found rest to be absolutely necessary after his really intense exertions to make the great enterprise a genuine success. With the queen he had attended a grand reception, ball, and supper at Guildhall, and *the real* reception by the hundreds of thousands of persons who crowded the streets and waited there till the royal pair returned to Buckingham Palace was one of unbounded enthusiasm. The French fêtes to which the leading members of the corporation of London as well as the commission were invited, were exceedingly brilliant, and the president received the more distinguished guests and entertained them with marked hospitality, the municipality of Paris also giving several entertainments. There were of course numerous festive celebrations in London and in various parts of the country, where the foreign commissioners, the executive, and the other members of the commission were honoured guests.

On the 11th of October the Great Exhibition was to be closed. The receipts up to the 19th of September amounted to £457,986, 13*s.* 10*d.* The influx of visitors during the month had continued undiminished, frequently exceeding 60,000 in a day. On the 18th no less than fifteen schools were in the building, amounting together to 1429 children, for whose admission £71, 9*s.* was paid. Agricultural labourers with their families had formed a large portion of the visitors. In one day 3000 persons of this description arrived in town from Devonshire.

Of course a very large number of articles had been lost by visitors at the Exhibition, but they were nearly all of comparatively little value, such as shawls, parasols, walking-sticks, and purses containing only small sums of money, and they were mostly found and returned when their owners appeared to claim them. Of all the stray property found during the Exhibition and handed over to the police for the discovery of ownership, the most remarkable and the most perplexing items came under the head of children; some eighty or ninety boys and girls having lost their parents or friends in the building. Happily the station-house at Prince's Gate provided a mode of escape, and thither all the stray little ones were regularly sent: one boy was kept there all night, and a bed having been made for him with great-coats he was next morning forwarded to his relatives at Winchester. Another little fellow was taken to lodgings in

Brompton Row, and was claimed there next day by his friends from Epsom. From eighteen to twenty children were forwarded to various parts of town by the constables going off duty, and no fewer than sixty were claimed at the station by their parents.

During the last week there was an enormous and unexpected increase in the number of visitors. The previous maximum on any one day had amounted to 74,000. But on the last Monday the number of persons admitted was 107,815; on the Tuesday it was 109,915; and on Wednesday 109,760. These vast multitudes conducted themselves with perfect order, and without a single casualty of any consequence. The receipts during the last week amounted to £29,795, 4*s.* 6*d.*; and the entire sum received, from the opening to the closing of the Exhibition, amounted to £505,107, 5*s.* 7*d.*—which sum included the money taken at the doors, season tickets, subscriptions, catalogues, refreshments, and some small items. The liabilities amounted to about £220,000, leaving a surplus of about *a quarter of a million.* Of the money received at the doors, £275,000 was in silver and £81,000 in gold. The weight of the silver coin so taken (at the rate of 28 lbs. per £100) would be thirty-five tons, and its bulk nine hundred cubic feet! The rapid flood of the coin into the hands of the money-takers prevented all examination of each piece as it was received, and £90 of bad silver was taken, but only one piece of bad gold, and that was a half-sovereign. The cash was received by eighteen money-takers, on the very heavy days six extra ones being employed during the busiest hours. From them it was gathered by three or four money-porters, who carried it to four collectors, charged with the task of counting it. From them it went to two tellers, who verified the sum, and handed it to the final custody of the chief financial officer, Mr. Carpenter, who locked each day's amount in his peculiar iron chests in the building till next morning, when, in boxes, each holding £600, it was borne off in a hackney cab in charge of a Bank of England clerk and a bank porter.

The closing of the Exhibition, on the 11th of October, was not marked by any ceremonial. At five o'clock all the organs in the building struck up the national anthem, after which the ringing of a bell warned the assemblage to depart. They dispersed slowly and quietly; and by half-past six every person not connected with the building had retired. On Monday and Tuesday, the 13th and 14th, the privilege of a separate inspection was granted to each of the exhibitors, with two friends. The queen, herself an exhibitor, was present on both of these days, early in the morning, before the general company were admitted. It is said that on these days enormous sales were made. Wednesday, the 15th, was the day appointed to receive the reports of the juries appointed to adjudicate the prizes to exhibitors. About 20,000 persons were assembled by twelve o'clock, at which hour Prince Albert entered the building, preceded by the members of the royal commission, the executive committee, the architect, contractors, foreign commissioners, jurors, &c. As soon as the procession arrived within the gates the organ and orchestra struck up the national anthem; and the vast assemblage burst into enthusiastic cheers. His royal highness took his seat on the magnificent throne presented to the queen by the Rajah of Travancore; and Viscount Canning, on behalf of the juries, read a long report detailing the manner in which they had discharged their duties. The medals awarded were of two kinds, prize medals and council medals. The prize medal was conferred "whenever a certain standard of excellence in production or workmanship had been attained;" the council medal (the larger) was awarded in cases of "some important novelty of invention or application, either in material or processes of manufacture, or originality combined with great beauty of design." The number of prize medals awarded was 2918; the number of council medals was 170. The number of exhibitors was about 17,000, and the task of the juries involved the consideration and judgment of at least a million of articles. The reading of the report being finished, and the voluminous reports of the juries having been laid before Prince Albert,

his royal highness made a reply expressive of his satisfaction with the proceedings. The Bishop of London offered up a solemn prayer; the orchestra of the Sacred Harmonic Society performed the Hallelujah Chorus; the prince retired, and the assemblage gradually broke up.

One of the most suggestive pieces of statistics connected with the Exhibition is the immense amount of railway travelling which it produced. A statement was published showing the number of passengers and receipts of eight railway companies having their termini in London, for the twenty-four weeks ending the 11th instant, the period of the Exhibition, and for corresponding twenty-four weeks of 1850. These railways were the Great Northern, Eastern Counties, Great Western, Blackwall, Brighton, North-Western, South-Western, and South - Eastern. The aggregate amount received for passengers in the twenty-four weeks of 1850 was £2,201,647; in the twenty-four weeks of 1851, £2,952,802; increase, £751,155. The increase on the receipts for carriage of goods in the same period was £98,460. In recording the final visit to the Great Exhibition the queen says, "It looked so beautiful I could not believe it was the last time I was to see it. . . . An organ, accompanied by a fine and powerful wind-instrument called the Sommerophone,[1] was being played and it nearly upset me. . . . The canvas is very dirty, the red curtains are faded, and many things are very much soiled. Still the effect is fresh and new as ever and most beautiful . . . the glass fountain was already removed in order to make room for the platform for the closing ceremony of to-morrow, and the sappers and miners were rolling about the little boxes just as they did at the beginning.

"It made us all very melancholy. The old Cornish woman (Mary Kylernack) who walked up several hundred miles to see the Exhibition, was at the door to see me; a most hale old woman, who was near crying at my looking at her."

Many influential persons, and among them Sir Joseph Paxton, were exceedingly desirous that the building—the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park—should be preserved as a permanent place of recreation and instruction, and Sir Joseph drew out plans and estimates showing how it might be converted into a delightful winter-garden and sanatorium, but the scheme was opposed, and Mr. Heywood's motion for a select committee of the House of Commons to take the subject into consideration was lost by 221 votes against 103. The building was afterwards bought by a number of gentlemen chiefly represented by Mr. Laing, the chairman of the Brighton Railway, that it might be re-erected at Sydenham in another and still larger Crystal Palace, the first pillar of which was fixed on the 5th of August, 1852, and which was completed in June, 1854, when it was opened by the Queen, who was accompanied by Prince Albert, the King of Portugal and other distinguished visitors, 40,000 spectators being present. Almost immediately after the close of the Great International Exhibition it was proposed by the civic authorities that a memorial should be erected in honour of Prince Albert, but the form which it should take afterwards became the subject of such long and troubled discussion that nothing worthy of the occasion was decided on, and it was not until it had become a memorial indeed, not only of the Exhibition but of him who had been its prime mover and its indefatigable director and supporter, that the present monument was erected to mark the site in Hyde Park which the Great Palace of Industry had occupied.

[1] So called from its inventor, Sommer, a native of Silesia, who played on it. Mr Theodore Martin, in his account of the Exhibition, asked, "Has any one been found with sufficient strength of lungs to do so since?"

CHAPTER VII.

THE YEARS OF OLD ENEMIES AND NEW ALLIES.

France—Louis Napoleon's *Coup d'état*—Palmerston's Opinion and Dismissal—Tyranny in Naples—Gladstone's famous Letters—Official Reply of Neapolitan Government—Gladstone's Retort—Parliament—Proposed Reform and Militia Bills — Palmerston's Revenge — Ministry of Earl of Derby — Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer—Defeated by Gladstone—Aberdeen Ministry—Death of Wellington—Louis Napoleon Emperor—Gladstone's Great Budget—Russia and the Holy Places—Claims on Turkey—"The Sick Man"—France and England—Sir Stratford Canning—Congress of Vienna—Crimean War—State of the Country—Legislative and Political Reforms.

The story of the *coup d'état* by which the president, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, paved the way to his "election" as Emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon III., is regarded by many readers of modern history as an oft-told tale. It has had many narrators from Granier de Cassagnac to Kinglake, and from Kinglake to Victor Hugo, who, in his *Histoire d'un Crime*, sought to revive the public interest in an event which at the time it was accomplished aroused equal surprise and condemnation. The fact seems to be that neither his friends nor his opponents had quite estimated the ability of Louis Napoleon. On the whole Kinglake's summary of him, from which we can take only a short extract, appears to have been closest, but this was written after events had unfolded the character of the man. "People in London who were fond of having gatherings of celebrated characters never used to present him to their friends as a serious pretender to a throne, but rather as though he were a balloon man, who had twice had a fall from the skies, and was still in some measure alive. . . . The opinion which men had formed of his ability in the period of exile was not much altered by his return to France; for, in the assembly, his apparent want of mental power caused the world to regard him as harmless, and in the chair of the president he commonly seemed to be torpid. But there were always a few who believed in his capacity; and observant men had latterly remarked that from time to time there appeared a state paper, understood to be the work of the president, which teemed with thought, and which showed that the writer, standing solitary and apart from the gregarious nation of which he was the chief, was able to contemplate it as something external to himself. . . . His doubting and undecided nature was a help to concealment, for men got so wearied by following the oscillations of his mind that their suspicions in time went to rest; and then, perhaps, when he saw that they were quite tired of predicting that he would do a thing, he gently stole out and did it."

Not altogether different, but taken from a French point of view, and by one who had had few opportunities of estimating the abilities of the president, is the opening of the first chapter in Victor Hugo's book, from which we will translate a few sentences. "On the 1st December, 1851, Charras shrugged his shoulders and discharged his pistols. It was humiliating to suppose that a *coup d'état* was possible. Such an hypothesis as an illegal violence on the part of M. Louis Bonaparte disappeared directly we came to examine it seriously. Where was the man capable of such a dream as an attempt against the republic and against the people? A tragedy requires an actor, and certainly the actor was wanting here. To violate popular rights, to suppress the assembly, to abolish the constitu-

tion, to strangle the republic, to overthrow the nation, to sully the flag, to dishonour the army, to prostitute the clergy and the magistracy, to reorganize, to triumph, to govern, to administer, to banish, to transport, to ruin, to assassinate, to reign—what, all these enormities to be achieved—and by whom? By a colossus? No! by a dwarf! One could only laugh at it. One no longer said, 'What a crime!'—but 'What a farce!' For one remembered that some crimes were too great for some hands. To make an 18th of Brumaire there must have been in his past Arcola, and in his future Austerlitz. It was asked, "Who is this son of Hortense? He has behind him Strasbourg instead of Arcola, and Boulogne in the place of Austerlitz. He is a Frenchman, born in Holland, and naturalized in Switzerland. He is only celebrated by the *naïveté* of his imperial attitude, and he who borrowed a feather from his eagle would risk having in his hand a goose-quill. Doubtless he has his bad qualities; but why accuse him of being an absolute scoundrel? Such extreme attempts are beyond him. He is materially incapable; why, then, should we suppose him to be morally capable of them? Has he not linked himself to honour? Has he not said, 'No one in Europe doubts my word; fear nothing.' . . . From 1848 to 1851 three years had elasped. Louis Bonaparte had been for a long time suspected; but prolonged suspicion disconcerts intelligence, and wears itself out by its useless duration. Louis Bonaparte had had deceitful ministers like Magne and Rouher, but he had also had honest ministers like Léon Faucher and Odillon Barrot. These latter affirmed that he was upright and sincere. They had seen him smite his breast before the gate of Ham. His foster-sister, Madame Hortense Cornu, wrote to Mieroslawsky, 'I am a good republican, and I answer for him.' . . . Louis Bonaparte himself pronounced these famous words, 'I shall see an enemy of my country in whoever desires to maintain by force that which is established by law.'"

The communication addressed to the National Assembly by the President of the Republic on the 13th of November, 1851, began by declaring that he regarded as great criminals those who, by personal ambition, compromised the small degree of stability secured by the constitution; that the invariable rule of his political life would be, under all circumstances, to perform his simple duty; that whatever the future solution of affairs might be, it was essential to make such provisions as should forbid passion, surprise, and violence from deciding the fate of a great nation. It was not till the beginning of the following month that the meaning of his ambiguous declarations became apparent. There was already a suspicion in the country that the republic of 1848 could only be maintained by the assembly with great difficulty. The dread of a repetition of insurrections which had already been the cause of so much bloodshed and such commercial and industrial distress, inclined a large portion of the nation to view with favour any plan that might be presented to it for a more settled form of government. It seems to have been a very general opinion that the re-election of Louis Napoleon as president would avert threatened disturbances and save the country from great dangers. A majority of representatives in the assembly had determined among themselves to vote for such a decision; but it was a fundamental rule that no constitutional change could be made without the sanction of three-fourths of the members. There had been a general tendency towards repression of popular demonstrations. The president had been intrusted with power to place under martial-law any district in which disturbances seemed likely to occur. The army was not cordially disposed towards the people, but there was no obvious disposition on the part either of officers or men to act against the populace without the authority of the minister of war.

Though these symptoms of reaction appeared it would have been impossible for the president to effect the ultimate change which he contemplated had he relied on eminent statesmen and generals. They doubted his ability and mistrusted his professions; and he had to summon to his aid the men who were, so to speak, fellow adventurers. Statesmen looked with suspicion on the man who had been exposed to ridicule for his previous failures at

Strasbourg and Boulogne, and generals met his advances by demanding an order from the minister of war for any change in which the army was expected to co-operate. Thus he was left to seek the assistance of persons on whom he could rely to support his plans. The most prominent of those were Persigny, Morny, and Fleury, all intimate friends who had a personal interest in his success.

Persigny, whose name was Fialin till he took that of his maternal grandfather—a practice not uncommon in France—had begun life as a non-commissioned officer under the Legitimists. Morny had been a member of the chamber of deputies in the time of the monarchy and was a speculator in the money-market—a man of great ability and personal address. Fleury was the spendthrift son of a wealthy tradesman of Paris, and having enlisted as a common soldier, rose from the ranks by his impetuous courage, his invincible gaiety, and the good-will of those officers who had known him as a man of fashion.

To him was consigned the task of finding a suitable minister of war, and from among the officers of the army of Algeria General St. Arnaud was chosen and appointed on the 27th of October. The prefect of the department of the Upper Garonne was M. de Maupas. It is said that he had been denounced by the legal authorities for a proposal to imprison thirty-two persons on a false charge of conspiring against the government, and was ordered to Paris in consequence. It was reported that he had been disgraced, upon which he sought an interview with the president and laid his case before him. On the 27th of October he was appointed prefect of police.

General Perrot, chief of the national guard, could not be dismissed, but it was possible to appoint a chief of the staff whose nomination would be offensive to him. This was done and he resigned, and a more tractable commander took his place. The troops in the garrisons round Paris were changed for those soldiers who had shown so much enthusiasm for the president in his journey through the provinces, and generals were placed in command who would be ready to support his pretensions. General Magnan controlled the forces in Paris and apprised twenty other generals that they might be called upon to take part in a movement against the assembly and even against the citizens. One of the usual assemblies held by the president at the Elysée took place late on the night of Monday, the 1st December. Ministers who were unacquainted with what was about to happen were there with those who were about to suppress them. The chief of the staff, whose appointment had caused the resignation of Perrot, undertook to prevent the national guard from beating to arms that night. To make sure of this he left the party early, and by eleven o'clock the meeting began to break up. Maupas, St. Arnaud, and Morny remained, but not Persigny, Mocquard, nor General Fleury. The latter was probably engaged in placing a battalion of gendarmerie round the building of the state printing-office as the first step to what was very soon afterwards accomplished. At all events the office was surrounded, and when a message to that effect was taken to the Elysée, where the three friends of the president were with him, a packet of manuscripts was given to an orderly officer of the president, and he at once carried it to the printing-office, where he stayed till its contents were set up in type and printed, the place being so closely guarded by the gendarmes that not a single workman could leave. These papers were the proclamations which were to be issued on the following morning. It was afterwards declared that some of the men employed to set them in type objected, but that their opposition was overcome. Each compositor, it was declared, worked between two policemen, and the manuscript was divided into so many slips that not one of the workmen could make sense of the portion assigned to him. By a masterly and artful yet decisive stroke it had been determined by the president and his confederates to arrest all those who would be likely either to lead an insurrection or to oppose obstacles to the sudden seizure of the reins of power in the name of law and order. According to the account of Granier de Cassagnac, who was one of the editors of the *Constitutionnel*, and whose family have always been strong Bonapartists, the *coup d'état* had

become necessary because of the plots and treasons which were hatching against the government, and the intention of incendiaries to fling France into another revolution.

"The persons of whom the police were to render themselves masters," he said, "were of two kinds—the representatives more or less mixed up with the absolute conspiracy, the chiefs of secret societies, and the commanders of barricades, always ready to execute the orders of the factions. Both had been for a fortnight under the surveillance of invisible agents of the police, and not one of those agents suspected the real object of his mission, having all received orders for imaginary purposes. The whole number of persons to be arrested was seventy-eight, of whom eighteen were representatives, and sixty chiefs of secret societies and of barricades. The 800 *sergens de ville* and the brigades of surety had been kept at the prefecture of police on the 1st of December until eleven o'clock at night, under a pretext of the presence in Paris of the refugees of London. At half-past three in the morning of the 2nd the officers of peace and the forty commissaries of police were convoked at their houses. At half-past four every one had arrived, and they were placed in small groups in different apartments for the purpose of not exciting suspicion. At five o'clock all the commissaries went down separately into the office of the prefect, and received from him a communication of the simple and entire truth with the necessary indications and orders. The men had been selected with special care for the duty to be confided to them, and all went away full of zeal and ardour, resolved to accomplish their duty at any price. None failed in his promise. A great number of carriages, prepared in advance, were stationed in groups on the quays in the neighbourhood of the prefecture of police so as not to excite suspicion. The arrests had been so arranged between the prefect of police and the minister of war that they should precede, by a quarter of an hour, the arrival of the troops on the places indicated. The arrests were to be made at a quarter past six, and the agents were ordered to be at the doors of the persons to be arrested at five minutes past six. All was accomplished with surprising punctuality, and no arrest took more than twenty minutes."

At all events the thing was done in such a way that no opposition to the will of the president was left, and not only insurgents and demagogues, but every man who might effectually have held up his hand against the disposal of the government of France by a president who sought empire, was suddenly put out of sight and hearing. The streets were invested with troops. Cavaignac, Changarnier, Bedeau, Lamoriciere, and Leflô were made to rise from their beds and taken to prison. Thiers, Miot, Baze, Colonel Chenias, and Roger du Nord were arrested along with a large number of the chiefs of secret societies and those accused of being leaders of the barricades, many of whose companions had been in custody for some days previously.

Morny had possession of the home office, through which alone communications could be made to the officials of the departments of France. The newspapers were seized. When morning dawned the proclamations were on the walls, the gates of the assembly were closed and guarded, and though a number of members had found their way thither and had gained admission through one of the official residences, they were prevented from meeting by the infantry soldiers, who burst in and dispersed them, taking twelve of their number prisoners. In the course of the morning the president with his uncle, Jerome Bonaparte, and Count Flahault, attended by several general officers and a brilliant staff, rode through the streets of Paris, but there were no demonstrations of enthusiasm. Everybody looked surprised, and wondered what was to come next. If he expected to be hailed with acclamation he must have been grievously disappointed. Paris was not quite prepared to endorse the *coup d'état*.

The deputies who were driven from the chamber adjourned to the mayoralty of the tenth arrondissement, where the eminent Berryer moved a resolution that the act of Louis Bonaparte was a forfeiture of the presidency, and that the judges of the supreme court should meet and proceed to the trial and

judgment of him and his accomplices. The resolutions were carried, but a battalion of chasseurs was already in the courtyard and on the stairs. The assembly refused to disperse except under stress of actual force. An aide-de-camp from General Magnan brought a written order "in consequence of the order of the minister of war," directing that the hall should be cleared. Still the 220 deputies present refused to yield. M. Benoist d'Azy, who was presiding, and one of the vice-presidents, were dragged out, followed by the members of the assembly, who were marched through the streets in the midst of files of soldiers, General Forey riding by the side of the troops. They were taken to the d'Orsay barracks, where they were shut up in the courtyard, nobody in the streets attempting to make any demonstration. Later in the afternoon three other deputies presented themselves and demanded to share the fate of their colleagues. In the evening the twelve already arrested at the hall of the assembly were brought to join them, so that there were 232 prisoners at the barracks. At night a number of prison vans were taken thither, and in these the deputies were conveyed to Fort Valérien, Vincennes, or the prison of Mazas. Among them were Berryer, Odillon Barrot, Barthèlemy St. Hilaire, Gustave de Beaumont, Benoist d'Azy, the Duc de Broglie, Admiral Cecile, Chambolle, de Courcelles, Dufaure, Duvergier de Haurranne, de Falloux, General Lamiston, Oscar Lafayette, Languinais, Lasteyrie, the Duc de Luines, the Duc de Montebello, General Radoult Lafosse, General Oudinot, de Remusat, and de Tocqueville. Twelve of these had been cabinet ministers, nine of whom had been chosen by the president himself.

There can be no doubt that the people of Paris, especially the middle class, desired a settled government, and had learned to dread any repetition of the insurrection to which the capital had long been subject. There were still a number of revolutionists and of ultra-Republicans who would have joined any determined attempt to oppose the acts of the president; but their leaders had mostly been imprisoned, and so had the generals and statesmen against whom they had been accustomed to raise popular tumults. "The rich and the middle classes were indignant, but they had a horror of insurrection; and the poor had less dread of insurrection, but then they were not indignant. Paris has generally abounded in warlike and daring men who love fighting for fighting's sake; but for the time, this portion of the French community had been crushed by the result of the great street battle of June, 1848, and the seizures and banishments which followed the defeat of the insurgents. The men of the barricades had been stripped of their arms, deprived of their leaders, and so thinned in numbers as to be unequal to any serious conflict, and their helplessness was completed by the sudden disappearance of the street captains and the chiefs of secret societies, who had been seized in the night between the 1st and 2d of December." The situation was an extraordinary one, and amidst it all, the proclamation of universal suffrage seemed to promise a popular government. There were not wanting some men to make an attempt at resistance, and several barricades were erected; but the insurgents were too few to occupy the houses—the city was invested with troops, who could pass through the streets and demolish the obstructions. From the first an insurrection appeared to be hopeless.

It has been repeatedly asserted that Louis Napoleon desired some distinct attempt at insurrection to be made in order that he might show that he was justified in the sudden and otherwise illegal steps that he had taken. It was declared that a conflict in the streets of Paris was necessary to him, that he might gain the confidence of the citizens as the prompt and sagacious preserver of order, and protector of property and industry. It must be remembered, however, that his enemies were not likely to overlook the circumstance that for some unexplained reason the efforts of the troops were relaxed during the 3d of December, and that by the afternoon of the 4th the streets between the Boulevard and the Hôtel de Ville were barricaded and held by parties of insurgents. The soldiers were preparing for an assault. They were

above 45,000 strong, and included cavalry, infantry, artillery, and engineers. Large bodies of the infantry were so disposed that they could converge upon the barricaded district, and they were instructed to attack without hesitation all who were in arms against them, or who were taking part with the insurgents. A notice, somewhat vague and general, was given to the people to remain in their houses and not to appear in the streets, but it surely could not have been understood to apply to ordinary peaceable spectators or persons passing along the thoroughfares. At all events the footways of several of the streets were crowded with people, who had assembled to see the troops march toward the insurgent quarter. The great Boulevard, from the Madeleine to a considerable distance, was thronged, and windows and balconies were also filled with people. The troops had apparently been exasperated against the people, and once more in the history of insurrections in Paris a single shot fired, no one knew how or by whom, caused a kind of panic which resulted in fearful bloodshed. Some of the soldiers fired immediately at the shrieking and retreating crowd and at the houses, where several persons, some of them foreign visitors to Paris, were wounded, while numbers of those on the pavement were killed; the agitated troops continuing to load and fire as the people fled and endeavoured to reach some place of shelter. Then an officer of lancers, Colonel Rochefort, charged with his troop, and unarmed men, as well as women and children, were slain. Meantime four brigades converged towards the barricades, which were quickly demolished by artillery and taken after a short and not very severe struggle—but the carnage was dreadful. People hemmed in by the movements of the troops were, many of them, shot down, and no quarter was given to the actual insurgents. Numbers were placed together and shot as they stood, others ferreted out of their hiding-places by the police, and, endeavouring to escape, were fired upon as they ran. It is almost impossible to realize that an émeute had really been either encouraged or tacitly permitted for a political purpose, and with these horrible results in view. We are not justified (without indisputable proofs) in imputing to any ruler, however ambitious or unscrupulous, so monstrous a crime, and it may be inferred that preparations having been made for the suppression of an expected insurrection, troops and people were mutually mistaken, and a carnage ensued which was out of all proportion to the occasion. Probably the numbers of victims amounted to thousands. Most of the bodies were buried at night, and no reports or returns of the numbers slain were allowed to be published. The loss among the troops was said to be no more than thirty men. The insurrection was at an end before the morning of the 5th of December. A "provisional" government had been formed, and the energy and decision of the president had already established his position, especially in the provinces, where the reports of the proceedings in Paris were now made known. When the people were called upon to vote they would be tolerably sure to regard Louis Napoleon as the head of the state, and to grant him power little short of dictatorship.

Immediately after the event it seemed to peaceable people in France, as it seemed to the majority of people in England, and among them to as astute an observer as Lord Palmerston, that the choice was between anarchy or socialism, and a strong hand at the helm of government. The evidence of the strength required appeared to have been given by the rapid defeat of an insurrection in the capital, and by the ability and courage which could defy and supersede an assembly that had within itself the elements of dissolution.

The proclamations which had been placed on the walls were addressed to the people and to the army. One of them said, "Persuaded that the instability of the government and the preponderance of a single assembly are permanent causes of trouble and disorder, I submit to your suffrages the following fundamental basis of a constitution, which assemblies will afterwards develop: (1) a responsible head, named for ten years; (2) ministers dependent on the executive power alone; (3) a

council of state formed of the most eminent men, preparing the laws and supporting the discussion of them before the legislative body; (4) a legislative body discussing and voting laws, named by universal suffrage without *scrutin de liste*, which falsifies the election; (5) a second assembly formed of all the illustrious of the country, a preponderating power, guardian of the fundamental compact and of public liberties." The "system created by the first consul at the commencement of the century" was that which the people were urged to restore and to support by their suffrages. Another proclamation decreed the abolition of the national assembly; restoration of universal suffrage; convocation of the people in their elective colleges from the 14th to the 21st of December; a state of siege in the first military division; dissolution of the council of state, and the execution of the decree by the minister of the interior. To the army a proclamation said, "Vote freely as citizens, but do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the chief of the government is the rigorous duty of the army from the general down to the soldier. It is for me, who am responsible for my actions before the people and posterity, to adopt the measures most conducive to the public welfare."

Louis Napoleon afterwards issued an address ending in an expression of his conviction that a new era would be opened to the republic, but it may be doubted whether he had not already superseded the republic in imagination. The rapid and summary measures for disposing of opponents were continued. It seems pretty certain that there must have been a very general feeling throughout France in favour of dealing promptly and effectually with any attempts at continued insurrection. There were men in several departments who would have revolted against founding a government by military force and arrest, and also men who would have proclaimed insurrection in the name of democracy, but the departments were already placed under martial law, and the generals in command were so completely ready to carry out their instructions that arrests went on and prisoners were tried by military commission, and many of them were transported to Cayenne or Algiers, while suspected persons who escaped from France were liable to expatriation. It was stated on the authority of De Cassagnac himself that 26,500 persons had been seized and transported. The influence of the clergy was in favour of the president, for he had already given evidences that he intended to support the pope, and the French occupation of Rome had not been forgotten—indeed a little too much was predicted in consequence of it. Thus the priests were ready to use their influence on behalf of the president, and those members of society (necessarily the most influential) who dreaded socialism saw in the new government safety from the terrors of revolution. Multitudes of supporters were ready on this ground alone to return "yes" to the question which was to be asked of the country—Whether Louis Napoleon Bonaparte should be chosen president of the republic for an extended term of ten years with power to frame a constitution? There was little probability of an adverse vote. Commissaries were sent into the provinces with powers that were practically coercive—public meetings and, in some instances, even meetings of committees, were prohibited—no other candidate for the presidency was admitted, and the army voted openly and without ballot some days before the plebiscite or general suffrage—a significant event, since to vote against the president would be to vote against the army at a time when a large part of France was under martial law. The declared result of the voting was 7,439,219 *ouis* and only 640,737 *nons*. On the 20th of December the president took the oath and made the declaration that confirmed his tenure of an office which two years afterwards he exchanged for the imperial power. Indeed the constitution which he framed as president was itself imperial, and little change had to be made on it to suit the subsequent alteration of the title by which he ruled the country. It may be mentioned that one of the first acts of Louis Napoleon during his tour in the French provinces in 1851 was to liberate the famous Arab chieftain, the Emir Abd-el-Kader, who had been taken prisoner

during the war in Algeria, and to order for him a suitable allowance on his retirement to his own country, no longer an enemy but an ally, or at least a passive dependant of France.

The particulars of the manner of effecting the *coup d'état* were of course soon known in England, but it is easy to understand that men who held opinions like those of Lord Palmerston would naturally conclude that it was an unconstitutional remedy for averting an altogether exceptional danger to the existence of any government whatever, and that constitutional procedure may necessarily cease in face of threatened anarchy. That was the view that was taken by the English foreign minister, and with his accustomed plainness and almost reckless want of reticence he gave his opinion pretty freely. Lord Palmerston was convinced that there had come a crisis in the French government, when either the president must succumb to the machinations of a party in the assembly, and the cause not only of law and order but of a liberal government would be lost in the intrigues of the princes of the Orleans family; or some sudden and effectual measures would have to be taken to assert his position and to vindicate the popular election. These opinions he had intimated to his friends months before the *coup d'état* took place, and he had suspected the Duc d'Aumale and Prince Joinville of having left Claremont for the purpose of promoting an attack on the president among the soldiers of the garrison stationed at Lille. This suspicion arose from a communication made to him by the editor of the *Morning Post* (Mr. Borthwick), who stated that General de Rumigny, attached to the French court, had given him the information, offering him daily accounts of the intended military operations in return for the civilities which he (Mr. Borthwick) had shown to the royal family of France. It was afterwards declared on high authority that there was no foundation whatever for the report that the Orleans princes were engaged in any such plot; but though Palmerston had probably been too ready to accept the suspicion of their intention, he doubtless had sufficient reason to be sure that, as he said, "if the president had not struck when he did he would himself have been knocked over." There can be little doubt that Lord Normanby, the English ambassador at Paris, was himself inclined to be hostile to the president, and we find Palmerston writing to him calling attention to reports from several quarters that his social intimacy with the adverse party in the assembly had led the president to infer that his political sympathies were more directed towards them than towards him. "As to respect for the law and constitution which you say . . . is habitual to Englishmen," he goes on to write, "that respect belongs to just and equitable laws framed under a constitution founded upon reason, and consecrated by its antiquity and by the memory of the long years of happiness which the nation has enjoyed under it; but it is scarcely a proper application of these feelings to require them to be directed to the day-before-yesterday tomfoolery which the scatter-brained heads of Marrast and Tocqueville invented for the torment and perplexity of the French nation; and I must say that the constitution was more honoured in the breach than the observance. It was high time to get rid of such childish nonsense; and as the assembly seemed to be resolved that it should not be got rid of quietly and by deliberate alteration and amendment, I do not wonder that the president determined to get rid of them as obstacles to all rational arrangement." In a word, it was Palmerston's opinion that though the motives of the president were doubtless mixed, and that, though he was impelled by ambition and a belief that he was destined to govern France, he might also have felt that, in the deplorable state of society which then existed, he was much more capable of promoting the interests of the country than his antagonists were. It was the expression of these opinions in a brief and emphatic form to the French ambassador in London, Count Walewski, which led to the remonstrances of the queen, of Lord John Russell, and of the government, and compelled the removal of the foreign minister; but it is necessary in estimating the degree of impropriety with which Palmerston was charged that we should

HENRY JOHN TEMPLE,

3RD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON

Premier 1855_1858 and 1859_1865

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY WATKINS LONDON.

BLACKIE & SON LONDON GLASGOW & EDINBURGH

remember the supposed attitude of the English ambassador towards the new government of the president, and the declaration of Palmerston that he did not regard words spoken by a minister in social conversation, and therefore unofficially, as having any relation to his duty in his official capacity—a doctrine from which the Duke of Wellington and other ministers strongly dissented.

But in order properly to understand the situation it is necessary to return for a moment to the subject of the popular demonstrations which had been made in London in favour of Kossuth, and the public appreciation of the decided part Lord Palmerston had taken in securing the safety and subsequent freedom of the Hungarian and Polish refugees who had fled to Turkey, where the Emperors of Austria and Russia desired that they should be kept in durance since the sultan refused to deny them the right of asylum. Of course while Kossuth was here he made a good many speeches, and at many of the meetings where the patriot was welcomed the Emperors of Russia and Austria were spoken of in anything but flattering terms. "Odious and detestable assassins" and "merciless tyrants and despots" were afterwards quoted from some addresses that were out of gratitude sent to Lord Palmerston by sympathizers with oppressed nationalities, or by excited advocates of freedom. As a matter of fact, when Kossuth desired to present his thanks to the English government for the efforts made on behalf of himself and others, he would have had an opportunity of being personally received by the foreign secretary with the accordance of the ministry, had he not begun as soon as he arrived here, to convene and attend political demonstrations where he and others denounced the sovereigns whose governments had already been denounced in England, and by more than one statesman beside Lord Palmerston himself. But as these sovereigns were on terms of amity with our own government, it was felt to be out of the question that any official reception should be given to Kossuth for the purpose of receiving expressions of his gratitude, and a cabinet council having been held on the subject, Palmerston, as in duty bound, deferred to the opinions of his colleagues, and the interview did not take place. When Kossuth left England, however, the Radicals of Finsbury and Islington met once more, and as a part of their proceedings adopted the addresses to the foreign secretary which have already been referred to, and appointed a deputation to carry them to the foreign office. The deputation was received by Lord Palmerston, who, in reply to their congratulations on the aid he had rendered to the Sultan of Turkey, expressed himself much gratified by their good opinion, and said he was fully aware of the sympathies of the British nation in favour of the cause of Hungary; but of course as the organ of her majesty's government, in friendly alliance with the great foreign powers which had been referred to, it could not be expected that he should concur in some of the expressions used in the addresses. The moral power of the British government was immense, more than people generally imagined; but it could only be effective so long as the people and the government wrought together. Of course these were words capable of a more significant interpretation than the speaker intended them to bear, and they may well have caused the queen and the government some uneasiness. It was in his answer to the address of the Islington deputation, and when referring to the negotiations that had procured the liberation of the refugees, that Palmerston said "much generalship and judgment had been required, and that during the struggle a good deal of judicious bottle-holding was obliged to be brought into play." This simile, borrowed from one of the now almost forgotten accessories of the prize-ring, was caught up, and Palmerston, as "the judicious bottle-holder," was for a long time the subject of caricatures in *Punch* and other humorous papers.

In the winter of 1850–51 Mr. Gladstone, in consequence of the illness of one of his children, was staying at Naples, and during his visit, was so impressed by the cruelty and tyranny of the Neapolitan government that he made careful inquiries, visited the prisons, and on his return addressed two letters

on the subject to the Earl of Aberdeen—letters which made Europe ring with their grave and emphatic denunciations. These letters, as Mr. Gladstone himself has said, through the countenance given to them by Lord Palmerston as foreign minister of England and through the notoriety they acquired, became a kind of historical document, and they have therefore since been reprinted. They contained specific and deliberate charges against the Neapolitan government which proved to be accurate, and though a reply was attempted it was impossible to refute (except in two or three comparatively unimportant details) the accusations which arraigned the King of Naples before the judgment of the civilized world. Without entering into the inquiry whether the government of the Two Sicilies was one of force and without a title, or was a legal one, Mr. Gladstone brought his indictment at once by saying, "There is a general impression that the organization of the governments of Southern Italy is defective that the administration of justice is tainted with corruption—that instances of abuse or cruelty among subordinate public functionaries are not uncommon, and that political offences are punished with severity and with no great regard to the forms of justice. I advert to this vague supposition of a given state of things for the purpose of stating that had it been accurate I should have spared myself this labour. The difference between the faintest outline that a moment's handling of the pencil sketches, and the deepest colouring of the most elaborately finished portrait, but feebly illustrates the relation of these vague suppositions to the actual truth of the Neapolitan case. It is not mere imperfection, not corruption in low quarters, not occasional severity that I am about to describe; it is incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law by the power appointed to watch over and maintain it.

"It is such violation of human and written law as this, carried on for the purpose of violating every other law, unwritten and eternal, human and divine; it is the wholesale persecution of virtue, when united with intelligence, operating upon such a scale that entire classes may with truth be said to be its object, so that the government is in bitter and cruel, as well as utterly illegal, hostility to whatever in the nation really lives and moves, and forms the main spring of practical progress and improvement; it is the awful profanation of public religion, by its notorious alliance in the governing powers with the violation of every moral rule under the stimulants of fear and vengeance; it is the perfect prostitution of the judicial office which has made it, under veils only too threadbare and transparent, the degraded recipient of the vilest and clumsiest forgeries, got up wilfully and deliberately, by the immediate advisers of the crown for the purpose of destroying the peace, the freedom, aye, and even, if not by capital sentences, the life of men amongst the most virtuous, upright, intelligent, distinguished, and refined of the whole community; it is the savage and cowardly system of moral as well as in a lower degree of physical torture, through which the sentences obtained from the debased courts of justice are carried into effect.

"The effect of all this is a total inversion of all the moral and social ideas. Law, instead of being respected, is odious. Force, and not affection, is the foundation of government. There is no association, but a violent antagonism, between the idea of freedom and that of order. The governing power, which teaches of itself that it is the image of God upon earth, is clothed in the view of the overwhelming majority of the thinking public with all the vices for its attributes. I have seen and heard the strong and too true expression used, 'This is the negation of God erected into a system of government.'"

It was the general belief that there were between fifteen or twenty and thirty thousand prisoners for political offences in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, but the government withheld all accurate information on the subject. It appeared, however, that a good deal was known—because of the enormous crowds of persons confined in certain prisons and in consequence of the numbers of individuals who had been missed from various localities. In Naples alone some hundreds were under indictment *capitally*, and when Mr. Gladstone

quitted the place a trial was expected to come on immediately in which the number charged was between four and five hundred. Nearly all those who had formed the "opposition" in the chamber of deputies were in prison and in exile. After the regular formation of a popular representative chamber, and its suppression in the teeth of the law, the government of Naples had consummated its audacity by putting into prison, or driving into banishment for the sake of escaping prison, an actual majority of the representatives of the people.

The law of Naples anterior to and independent of the constitution required that personal liberty should be inviolable except under a warrant from a court of justice authorized for the purpose; but in utter defiance of that law the government, of which the prefect of police was an important member, through the agents of that department, watched and dogged the people, paid domiciliary visits, very commonly at night, ransacked houses, seizing papers and effects and tearing up floors at pleasure under pretence of seeking for arms, and imprisoned men by the score, by the hundred, by the thousand, without any warrant whatever, sometimes even without any written authority at all, or anything beyond the word of a policeman; constantly without any statement whatever of the nature of the offence. Men were arrested not because they had committed or were believed to have committed any offence, but because they were persons whom it was thought convenient to get rid of, and against whom therefore some charge must be found or fabricated. The first process commonly was to seize and imprison them; and to seize and carry off books, papers, or whatever else the degraded hirelings chose. The correspondence of the prisoner was then examined, and he himself was examined upon it in secret without any intimation of the charges, which in fact did not then exist. In that examination he was allowed no assistance whatever, nor had he at that stage any power of communication with a legal adviser; he was not examined only, but (and this Mr. Gladstone said he *knew* to be the case) insulted at will and in the grossest manner, under pretence of examination, by the officers of police. This was essential to the system, of which the essential aim was to *create* a charge. For months, or for a year, or for two years or three as the case might be, these prisoners were detained before their trials, but very generally for the longer terms, and this in the case of men who had been arrested not by law but in defiance of law, and against whom were employed not only false charges fabricated by the examiners, but even purchased perjurers as witnesses, and if necessary forged writings. Suppose nine-tenths of the charges were too absurd to stand even before the Neapolitan courts, there remained one-tenth not absolutely self-contradictory, and the prisoner was not allowed to bring any rebutting or counter evidence. The manner in which the *detenuti* were treated during the long and awful period of apprehension and dismay between their illegal seizure and their illegal trial was horrible. The prisons of Naples were, as was well known, another name for the extreme of filth and horror. Mr. Gladstone had really seen something of them, but not the worst. He had seen "the official doctors, not going to the sick prisoners, but the sick prisoners, men almost with death on their faces, toiling up-stairs to them at that charnel-house of the Vicaria, because the lower regions of such a palace of darkness are too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional men should consent to earn bread by entering them." Though the black-bread was coarse to the last degree it was sound, but the soup which alone formed the rest of the diet was so nauseous that nothing but the extreme of hunger could overcome the repugnance of nature to it. The filth of the prisons was beastly. The officers hardly ever entered them except at night. The prisoners who were politically accused were placed indiscriminately with murderers, thieves, and ordinary criminals, some condemned and others uncondemned; not a chain upon a man of them, not an officer nearer than at the end of many apartments, with many locked doors and gratings between them and the prisoners and the visitor; but Mr. Gladstone says there

was not only nothing to dread but that there was even a good deal of politeness to him as a stranger. The prisoners were a self-governed community, the main authority being that of the *gamorristi*, the men of most celebrity among them for audacious crime. Employment they had none. That swarm of human beings all slept in a long low vaulted room, having no light except from a single and very moderate sized grating at one end. There was a crowd of between three and four hundred prisoners at this place. The political prisoners had by payment the privilege of a separate chamber for sleeping, but there was no division among them. From the 7th of December to the 3d of February Pironte, who had been a judge and was still a gentleman, and who was found guilty on or about the last-named day, spent his whole days and nights, except when on his trial, with two other men in a cell at the Vicaria, about eight feet square, below the level of the ground, with no light except a grating at the top of the wall out of which they could not see. Within the space of these eight feet Pironte and his companions were confined during these two months. Neither for mass nor for any other purpose whatsoever were they allowed to quit it. This was in Naples, where, by universal consent, matters were better than in the provinces, and was the case of a gentleman, a lawyer, a judge, accused but uncondemned. There was another case of which Mr. Gladstone heard on indubitable evidence, that of the Baron Porcari, accused of having had a share in the Calabrian insurrection, and awaiting his trial in the Maschio of Istria, a dungeon without light and at a considerable depth below the level of the sea. He was never allowed to quit it day or night, and no one was permitted to visit him except his wife—once a fortnight. There were other strikingly illustrative cases, as that of Settembrini, a man of high and pure character, who was convicted, and though the capital sentence was not executed, was reserved for captivity on a sea-girt rock where there was sufficient reason to suspect that he would be subjected to torture by the thrusting of sharp instruments under the finger nails. There was Faucitano, who was condemned to death (though at the last moment a reprieve was obtained for him) on the charge of an intention to destroy, by means of some terrible explosive agents, several of the ministers and other persons. The foundation for the charge was that he had in his breast-pocket on some great public occasion a single bottle, which exploded there without injuring him in life or limb. The chief example of the monstrous tyranny and corruption which Mr. Gladstone exposed was that of Baron Carlo Poerio, formerly one of the ministers of the crown under the constitution, and holding one of the most prominent positions in the Neapolitan parliament.

The history of his arrest (we are mainly quoting Mr. Gladstone's own words in these extracts from his letters to the Earl of Aberdeen), the history of his arrest as detailed by himself in his address of Feb. 8, 1850, to his judges, deserves attention. The evening before it (July 18, 1849) a letter was left at his house by a person unknown conceived in these terms: "Fly; and fly with speed. You are betrayed. The government is already in possession of your correspondence with the Marquis Dragonetti. From one who loves you much." Had he fled it would have been proof of guilt, ample for those of whom we are now speaking. But he was aware of this, and did not fly. Moreover, no such correspondence existed. On the 19th, about four in the afternoon, two persons, presenting themselves at his door under a false title, obtained entry, and announced to him that he was arrested in virtue of a verbal order of Peccheneda, the prefect of police. He protested in vain; the house was ransacked; he was carried into solitary confinement. He demanded to be examined and to know the cause of his arrest within twenty-four hours, according to law, but in vain. So early, however, as on the sixth day he was brought before the Commissary Maddaloni, and a letter, with the seal unbroken, was put into his hands. It was addressed to him, and he was told that it had come under cover to a friend of the Marquis Dragonetti, but that the cover had been opened by mistake by an officer of the police, who happened to have the same name though a different surname,

and who, on perceiving what was within, handed both to the authorities. Poerio was desired to open it, and did open it, in the presence of the commissary. Thus far nothing could be more elaborate and careful than the arrangement of the proceeding. But mark the sequel. The matter of the letter of course was highly treasonable; it announced an invasion by Garibaldi, fixed a conference with Mazzini, and referred to a correspondence with Lord Palmerston (whose name was miserably mangled), who promised to aid a proximate revolution. "I perceived at once," said Poerio, "that the handwriting of Dragonetti was vilely imitated, and I said so, remarking that the internal evidence of sheer forgery was higher than any amount of material proof whatever." Dragonetti was one of the most accomplished of Italians; whereas this letter was full of blunders, both of grammar and spelling. There were, Mr. Gladstone showed, other absurdities; such as the signature of name, surname, and title in full, and the transmission of such a letter by the ordinary post of Naples. Poerio had among his papers certain genuine letters of Dragonetti's; they were produced and compared with this, and the forgery stood confessed. Upon the detection of this monstrous iniquity what steps were taken by the government to avenge—not Poerio—but public justice? None whatever; the papers were simply laid aside.[1] "I have taken this detail from Poerio himself in his defence; but all Naples knows the story, and knows it with disgust. Poerio's papers furnished no matter of accusation. It was thus necessary to forge again; or rather, perhaps, to act upon forgeries which had been prepared, but which were at first deemed inferior to the Dragonetti letter. A person named Jervolino, a disappointed applicant for some low office, had been selected for the work both of espionage and of perjury; and Poerio was now accused, under information from him, of being among the chiefs of a republican set, denominated the Unità Italiana, and of an intention to murder the king. He demanded to be confronted with his accuser. He had long before known, and named Jervolino to his friends as having falsely denounced him to the government; but the authorities refused to confront them; the name was not even told him; he went from one prison to another; he was confined, as he alleges, in places fit for filthy brutes rather than men; he was cut off from the sight of friends; even his mother, his sole remaining near relation in the country, was not permitted to see him for two months together. Thus he passed some seven or eight months in total ignorance of any evidence against him or of those who gave it. During that interval Signor Antonio de' Duchi di Santo Vito came to him and told him the government knew all; but that if he would confess his life would be spared. He demanded of his judges on his trial that Santo Vito should be examined as to this statement; of course it was not done. But more than this. Signor Peccheneda himself, the director of the police and holding the station of a cabinet minister of the king, went repeatedly to the prison, summoned divers prisoners, and with flagrant illegality examined them himself, without witnesses and without record. One of these was Carafa. By one deposition of this Carafa, who was a man of noble family, it was declared that Peccheneda himself assured him his matter should be very easily arranged if he would only testify to Poerio's acquaintance with certain revolutionary handbills. It could not be; and the cabinet minister took leave of Carafa with the words—'Very well, sir; you wish to destroy yourself; I leave you to your fate. . . .' Besides the denunzia or accusation of Jervolino, on which the trial ultimately turned, there was against Poerio the evidence given by Romeo, a printer and co-accused, to the effect that he had heard another person mention Poerio as one of the heads of the sect. The value of this evidence may be estimated from the fact that it included along with Poerio two of the persons *then* ministers. It was a fact abandoned as worthless, for it spoke of Poerio as chief in the sect; but this was in contradiction with Jervolino, and the charge of membership only

[1] Not, as Mr. Gladstone supposed when writing his first letter, that it was abandoned. It was kept over for future consideration, and Dragonetti, untried, was kept in prison.

was prosecuted against him. The prisoner in no way took benefit from the explosion or failure of any charge; all proceedings went on the principle that the duty of government was to prove guilt, by means true or false, and that public justice had no interest in the acquittal of the innocent. There was also the testimony of Margherita, another of the co-accused. He declared also that as a member of this republican and revolutionary sect Poerio was one of those who contended for maintaining the monarchical constitution; and that he was accordingly expelled! On this ground, not to mention others, the evidence of Margherita was unavailable. It is too easy to understand why these efforts were made by the co-accused at inculpating Poerio and other men of consideration. But they did not issue in relief to the parties who made them, perhaps because their work was so ill executed, or even their treachery not thought genuine. Margherita was confined at Nisida, in February, in the same room with those whom he had denounced. Nay he had actually been chained to one of them. The accusation then of Jervolino formed the sole real basis of the trial and condemnation of Poerio. The matter of the accusation was that Jervolino having failed to obtain an office through Poerio, he asked him to enrol him in the sect of the Unità Italiana; that Poerio put him in charge of a person named Attanasio, who was then to take him to another of the prisoners named Nisco, that he might be admitted; that Nisco sent him to a third person named Ambrosio, who initiated him. He could not recollect any of the forms nor the oath of the sect! Of the certificate or diploma, or of the meetings which the rules of the sect when published (as the government professed to have found them) proved to be indispensable for all its members, he knew nothing whatever!

"How did he know, said Poerio, that I was of the sect when he asked me to admit him? No answer. If I, being a minister of the crown at the time, was also a member of the sect, could it be necessary for me to have him thus referred to one person, and another, and a third for admission? No answer. Why has not Ambrosio, who admitted him, been molested by the government? No answer. Could I be a sectarian when, as a minister, I was decried and reviled by the exalted party in all their journals for holding fast by the constitutional monarchy? No answer. Nay, such was the impudent stupidity of the informer, that in detailing the confidences which Poerio, as he said, had made to him, he fixed the last of them on May 29, 1849, upon which Poerio showed that on May 22, or seven days before, he was in possession of a written report and accusation, made by Jervolino, as the appointed spy upon him, to the police; and yet with this in his hand he still continued to make him a political confidant! Such was a specimen of the tissue of Jervolino's evidence; such its contradictions and absurdities. Jervolino had shortly before been a beggar; he now appeared well dressed and in good condition. I have stated that the multitude of witnesses called by the accused in exculpation were in no case but one allowed to be called. That one, as I have learned it, was this:—Poerio alleged that a certain arch-priest declared Jervolino had told him he received a pension of twelve ducats a month from the government for the accusations he was making against Poerio; and the arch-priest on the prisoner's demand was examined. The arch-priest confirmed the statement, and mentioned two more of his relatives who could do the same. In another case I have heard that six persons to whom a prisoner appealed as witnesses in exculpation were thereupon themselves arrested."

Not only was false evidence thus procured and upheld, but the official and formal procedure of a properly organized court of law was disregarded. It was objected with obvious force that as Poerio was a minister and a member of the Chamber of Deputies at the time of his alleged offences, the court before which he was brought was incompetent to try him, as by an article of the constitutional statute all such charges were to be tried by the Chamber of Peers. The exception was rejected, and the rejection confirmed upon appeal. But another objection and the manner in which it was met showed the depravity of the whole proceeding. It had been alleged that the prisoners had conspired against the

lives of some of the ministers, among whom was the judge Navarro, the president of the court, and even he, corrupt and unscrupulous as he was, had such a doubt of the legality of his sitting to try prisoners for an alleged crime of which he was himself to have been the victim, that he said he would be guided by the rest of the court whether he should retire or not. The court immediately decided that he should sit and judge these men upon a charge including the allegation of their intent to murder him; and fined the prisoners and their counsel 100 ducats for taking the objection! This decision also was confirmed upon appeal, though under the law of Naples, if he had even within five years been engaged in any criminal suit as a party against them, he could not have sat. Navarro afterwards voted for condemnation and for the severest forms of punishment. It was his expressed opinion that all persons charged by the king's government ought to be found guilty, and Mr. Gladstone was told and fully believed that Poerio, whose case was a pretty strong one even for the Neapolitan judges, would have been acquitted by a division of four to four (such is the humane provision of the law in cases of equality) had not Navarro, by the distinct use of intimidation, that is of threats of dismissal, to a judge whose name has been mentioned, procured the numbers necessary for a sentence. "But I need not," continues Mr. Gladstone, "go into these foul recesses. I stand upon the fact that Navarro, whose life, according to the evidence for the charge, was aimed at by the prisoners, sat as president of the court that tried them for their lives; and I ask whether language can exaggerate the state of things in a country where such enormities are perpetrated under the direct sanction of the government?" Even so ordinary a test of evidence as for a witness to be required to point out among a number of the accused the person against whom he brought a particular charge was refused by the court, and in one instance, where the counsel challenged a witness to point out the man of whose proceedings he was speaking, the judge Navarro, affecting not to hear the question, called out to that particular prisoner by name, to stand up, as the court had a question to ask him, and then informed the counsel that he could go on with his examination. "A laugh of bitter mockery ran through the court."

Three of the forty-one prisoners in the case were condemned to death—Settembrini, Agresti, and Faucitano; Poerio was condemned to twenty-four years of irons, but it would appear that the sentence to double irons for life was commuted. A strange error is stated to have occurred. It seems that the Neapolitan law humanely provided that when three persons were found guilty capitally the sentence could be pronounced only on one; but that this was forgotten by the judges, and only found out by the procurator-general or some other party after they thought they had finished. It was stated that Settembrini and Agresti received as of mercy a reprieve to which they were entitled as of right, and that Faucitano had his punishment commuted because of a threat of the withdrawal of certain useful support to the government if he were made to suffer the extreme penalty. The actual punishments inflicted on the prisoners, however, were full of horrible cruelties. Those who were consigned to the Bagno of Nisida were allowed to see their friends outside the prison but one half-hour a week, and that was the only time that they were not confined exclusively within the walls, sixteen of them, night and day, in a single room fourteen feet by ten and eight feet high; and a small yard for exercise. When the beds were let down at night there was no space whatever between them; they could only get out at the foot, and being chained two and two, only in pairs. In this room they had to cook or prepare what food was sent them by the kindness of their friends. On one side the level of the ground was over the top of the room, it therefore reeked with damp, and from this, tried with long confinement, they suffered greatly. There was one *unglazed* window, and that in a climate where it is always considered essential to health to have the means of excluding the open air before sunrise or after sunset, when there are often great vicissitudes of temperature. Each man wore a strong leathern girth round his hips. To this were secured the upper ends of

two chains. One chain of four long and heavy links descended to a kind of double ring fixed round the ankle: the second chain consisted of eight links, each of the same weight and length with the four, and this united the prisoners together so that they could stand about six feet apart. Neither of these chains *was undone day or night*. The political prisoner was dressed like the common felon in rough and coarse red jacket and dark trousers, and with a small cap on his head. The trousers buttoned all the way up, that they might be removed at night without disturbing the chains, the shorter of which was said to weigh sixteen and seventeen English pounds. The condition of a man of education, of integrity, and refinement, thus manacled to a fellow-prisoner of whom he knew nothing, and who might be really a criminal, must be imagined. It may be imagined too what additional barbarities were inflicted by the action of brutal officials—in one case a governor was living with a woman of profligate character, who interposed to prevent the friends of prisoners visiting them in their captivity, and caused a guard to be dismissed for not taking the infant from the arms of the wife of a prisoner before allowing her to enter. The health of the captives suffered greatly, and in a few weeks the young often grew prematurely old. Mr. Gladstone had seen Poerio in December during his trial, and he would not have known him in prison at Nisida, so greatly was he altered. He would not implore the king for pardon for crimes that he had never committed, nor would he permit his mother to do so though it was suggested to him from an authoritative quarter. That mother was losing her mental powers under the weight of her sorrow when Mr. Gladstone saw her afterwards at Naples, and at a still later period, Poerio was taken from Nisida to Ischia, and it was believed that the object was to remove him from any probable communication with his friends, and by wearing his life away to get rid of a man who was one of those whose mental power was to be feared, but to send whom to the scaffold would raise an outcry dangerous to the government. Of Poerio's character Mr. Gladstone's estimate is sufficient. "His father was a distinguished lawyer. He himself is a refined and accomplished gentleman, a copious and eloquent speaker, a respected and blameless character. . . . He is strictly a constitutionalist, and while I refrain from examining into the shameful chapter of Neapolitan history which that word might open, I must beg you to remember that the strict meaning of that word is just the same there as here; that it signifies a person opposed in heart to all violent measures from whatever quarter, and having for his political creed the maintenance of the monarchy on its legal basis by legal means and with all the civilizing improvements of laws and establishments which may tend to the welfare and happiness of the community. . . . I must say that the condemnation of such a man for treason is a proceeding just as much conformable to the laws of truth, justice, decency, and fair-play, and to the common sense of the community, in fact just as great and gross an outrage on them all, as would be a like condemnation in this country of any of our best known public men, Lord John Russell, or Lord Lansdowne, or Sir James Graham, or yourself. I will not say it is precisely the same as respects his rank and position, but they have scarcely any public man who stands higher, nor is there any one of the names I have mentioned dearer to the English nation —perhaps none so dear—as is that of Poerio to his Neapolitan fellow-countrymen." In his second letter Mr. Gladstone went more deeply into the subject of the iniquitous system of government at Naples, the perjury of the king, and the abominable teaching of a political catechism prepared by an official who was at the head of "public instruction," and was able to ordain that the book should be used in the schools of the church, where, in the words of its preface, it would "invariably follow close upon the catechism of the Christian." Of course means could be taken to secure its adoption by bishops and priests in the seminaries. Those who neglected it need scarcely look for preferment, nor would any one be likely to be admitted to holy orders till he had imbibed these doctrines along with those of the church. This work, which Mr.

Gladstone declared was one of the most singular and detestable he had ever seen, was entitled the *Catechismo Filsofico, per uso delle Scuole Inferiori.* It was intended to counteract the false philosophy of the Liberals, who are declared to be wicked, and whose disapproval of the rigorous acts of the legitimate authorities was represented as one of their evil characteristics. The contents of the book consisted of questions supposed to be asked by a scholar of a master, and as Mr. Gladstone pointed out, the author denied all obligation to obey the laws in a democracy, for he says it would be essentially absurd that the governing power should reside in the governed, and therefore God would never give it them. A people, it declared, "cannot establish a constitution or fundamental laws, because such laws are of necessity a limitation of sovereignty, and this can never receive any measure or boundary except by its own act, otherwise it would no longer constitute that highest and paramount power ordained of God for the well-being of society." When the pupil asks whose business it is to decide when the constitution impairs the right of sovereignty, and is adverse to the welfare of the people, the answer is: "It is the business of the sovereign, because in him resides the high and paramount power, established by God in the state, with a view to its good order and felicity." The next question is, "May there not be some danger that the sovereign may violate the constitution without just cause under the illusion of error or the impulse of passion?" To this the answer is: "Errors and passions are the maladies of the human race; but the blessings of health ought not to be refused through the fear of sickness." The right of a sovereign to disregard his oath if he thinks it necessary is plainly taught. "I will not," said Mr. Gladstone, "go through all the false, base, and demoralizing doctrines, sometimes ludicrous, but oftener horrible, that I find studiously veiled under the phrases of religion in this abominable book; because I do not desire to produce merely a general stir and indignation in the mind, but with the indignation a clear and distinct, and so far as may be, a dispassionate, view of that subject which is its moving cause. I say then, that here we have a complete systematized philosophy of perjury for monarchs, exactly adapted to the actual facts of Neapolitan history during the last three and a half years, published under the sanction and inculcated by the authority of a government which has indeed the best possible title to proclaim the precept since it has shown itself a master of the practice."

Mr. Gladstone had already reminded his readers that in the month of January, 1848, a constitution had been granted to the kingdom of Naples. It had been proclaimed and sworn to by the monarch amidst every circumstance of solemnity and the universal joy of the people. Liberatore, one of the Jesuits of Naples, in a sermon delivered on the 15th of April, 1848, had said, "The sovereign has shown himself neither obstinately tenacious nor precipitately pliable. He procrastinated, nay repelled, until it was demonstrated that the demand proceeded from the universal desire of a party; he deigned to accede with joy when it was still in his power to resist; thus it plainly appeared that he took the step not through violence or from apprehension, but of his own free and sagacious will."

On the 15th of May came the struggle, of which the origin is described in the most opposite colours by persons of opposite sentiments. It ended, however, in the unquestionable and complete victory of the king and the troops; and the triumphant monarch reiterated his assurances in regard to the constitution in the following words:—

"Neapolitans!

"Profoundly afflicted by the horrible calamity of the 15th of May, our most lively desire is to mitigate, as far as possible, its consequences. It is our most fixed and irrevocable will to maintain the constitution of the 10th of February pure and free from the stain of all excess. As it is the only one compatible with the true and immediate wants of this portion of Italy, so it will be the sacrosanct altar upon which must rest the destinies of our most beloved people and of our crown. . . .

"Resume, then, all your customary occupations; confide with the utmost fulness of your

hearts in our good faith, in our sense of religion, and in our sacred and spontaneous oath."

Mr. Gladstone then gave extracts from this constitution, requesting particular attention to its preamble:—"With reference to our sovereign act of the 29th of January, 1848, by which, concurring with the unanimous desire of our most beloved subjects, we have promised of our own full, free, and spontaneous will to establish in this kingdom a constitution conformable to the civilization of the times, whereof we then indicated, by a few rapid strokes, the fundamental bases, and reserved our ratification of it till it should be set out and arranged in its principles, according to the draft which our present ministry of state was to submit to us within ten days' time."

After a very solemn and awful oath the royal proclamation says:—

"Having heard with mature deliberation our council of state, we have decided upon proclaiming, and we do proclaim, as irrevocably ratified by us, the following constitution."

Then follow the particular provisions, four of which are cited, viz.:—

"Art. I. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies shall be from henceforward subject to a limited, hereditary, constitutional monarchy, under representative forms.

"Art. IV. The legislative power resides jointly in the king and a national parliament, consisting of two chambers, the one of peers, and the other of deputies.

"Art. XIV. No description of impost can be decreed except in virtue of a law; communal imposts included.

"Art. XXIV. Personal liberty is guaranteed. No one can be arrested except in virtue of an instrument proceeding in due form of law from the proper authority, the case of flagrancy or quasi-flagrancy excepted. In the case of arrest by way of prevention the accused must be handed over to the proper authority within the terms at farthest of twenty-four hours, within which also the grounds of his arrest must be declared to him."

In comparison with these solemn declarations Mr. Gladstone described the actual state of things; the monarchy of Naples was perfectly absolute and unlimited.

"In regard to Art. IV.," said Mr. Gladstone, "there existed no chamber of peers or chamber of deputies. In regard to Art. XXIV., persons were arrested by the hundred without any legal warrant whatever, and without the slightest pretext of flagrancy or quasi-flagrancy; they were not handed over to the competent authority within twenty-four hours, or even at all, and were detained in the most rigorous confinement by the police without any reference whatever to the courts and without any communication to them whatever of the grounds of their arrest.

Such was the state of facts in respect to the origin of the Neapolitan constitution, to its terms, and to the actual conduct of the government of the country, in contradiction and in defiance at every point of its indisputable fundamental law.

It will be too clearly seen how such a relation between the law of the country and the acts—not the occasional, but the constant and most essential acts—of its government throw light upon the distressing, and at first sight scarcely credible, allegations of my first letter.

But I have yet another source of evidence which I am bound to open; one which illustrates, in a form the most painful and revolting, the completeness, the continuity, the perfect organization of the system, which I have thought it my duty to endeavour, according to my limited ability, to expose and to denounce. I need hardly observe that in the Kingdom of Naples both the press and the education of the people are under the control of the government; and that, setting aside the question how far points of conflicting interest with the church may be an exception, nothing is taught or printed there unless with its sanction and according to its mind.

What will be said in England when I mention, upon authority which ought to be decisive, that during four months of the constitution, when the action of the police too was much paralyzed, there was not a single case of any of the more serious crimes in Naples among 400,000 people?"

But Mr. Gladstone was careful not to give room for conclusions which might be turned to wrong account. "I write," he said, "at a

moment when public feeling in this country is highly excited on the subject of the Roman Catholic Church, and I must not wilfully leave room for extreme inferences to the prejudice of her clergy in the Kingdom of Naples, which I know or think to be unwarranted by the facts. That clergy, no doubt, regular and secular, is a body of mixed character, which I am not about to attempt describing; but it would, in my opinion, be unjust to hold them, as a body, to be implicated in the proceedings of the government. A portion of them, beyond all question, are so. I am convinced, from what has reached me, that a portion of the priests make disclosures from the confessional for the purposes of the government, and I have known of cases of arrest immediately following interviews for confession in such a manner that it is impossible not to connect them together.

But on the other hand there are many of the clergy and even of the monks who are among the objects of persecution I have endeavoured to describe. The most distinguished members of the celebrated Benedictine convent of Monte Cassino have for some time past been driven from the retreat to which they had anew given the character of combined peace, piety, and learning. Several of them were in prison when I was at Naples; others not in actual confinement, but trembling as a hare trembles at every whisper of the wind. One was imprisoned for liberal opinions, another for being the brother of a man of liberal opinions. There was no charge against these men, but the two brothers were confined because it was thought that through the first of them might possibly be learned something against some other suspected person or persons. Among the arrests in December last there were, I believe, between twenty and thirty of the clerical order. It may indeed be, and perhaps is true that the greater part of the whole body stand by and look on without any sympathy, or at least any effective sympathy, for those on whom the edge of this sharp affliction falls; but this is perhaps not less true of the nobles, whose general tone I believe to be that of disapproval towards the proceedings of the government, while they have a kind of armistice with it, and it is the class beneath them that bears the brunt of the struggle."

"The history of one country," continues Mr. Gladstone in a subsequent page, "may afford useful lessons to the authorities of another; and I heartily wish that the annals of the reign of Charles I. of England were read and studied in the council chamber of Naples. We have there an instance of an ancient throne occupied by a monarch of rare personal endowments. He was devout, chaste, affectionate, humane, generous, refined, a patron of letters and of art, without the slightest tinge of cruelty, though his ideas were those of 'pure monarchy;' frank and sincere, too, in his personal character, but unhappily believing that, under the pressure of state necessity, such as he might judge it, his pledges to his people need not be kept. That king, upon whose refined figure and lineaments, more happily immortalized for us by Vandyke than those of any other of our sovereigns, to this day few Englishmen can look without emotion, saw his cause ruined, in despite of a loyalty and enthusiasm sustaining him, such as now is a pure vision of the past. It was not ruined by the strength of the anti-monarchical or puritanical factions, nor even by his predilections for absolutism; but by that one sad and miserable feature of insincerity, which prevented the general rally of his well-disposed and sober-minded subjects round him till the time had passed, the commonwealth had been launched down the slide of revolution, and those violent and reckless fanatics had gained the upper hand who left the foul stain of his blood on the good name of England.

And why should I not advert to another lesson which the last few weeks have ripened to our hand? King Ernest of Hanover is gathered to his fathers. When he went from England in 1837 to assume his German crown he was the butt and byword of Liberalism in all its grades; and among the professors of the Conservative opinions, which he maintained in their sharpest forms, few, indeed, were those hardy enough to own that prince as politically their kin; while Hanover, misled as it afterwards appeared by the freedoms of

English criticism, received him with more dread than affection. Fourteen years elapse. He passes unshaken through the tempest of a revolution that rocks or shatters loftier thrones than his. He dies amidst the universal respect and the general confidence and attachment of his subjects. He leaves to his son a well-established government and an honoured name; and in England itself the very organs of democratic feeling and opinion are seen strewing the flowers of their honest panegyric on his tomb. And why? The answer is brief but emphatic; because he said what he meant, and did what he said. Doubtless his political education had been better than men thought, and had left deeper traces upon him; but his unostentatious sincerity was his treasure; it was 'the barrel of meal that wasted not, the cruse of oil that did not fail.'"

To sum up all, Mr. Gladstone said that the execrable practices carried on by members and agents of the Neapolitan government, if they were before unknown to its heads, were now brought to their knowledge, and they themselves must have some idea with what feelings the statement of them has been received in Europe.

The case had come to this point; that either the Neapolitan government should separate from these hideous iniquities, or else the question would arise, Was it just or wise to give countenance and warrant to the doctrine of those who taught that kings and their governments were the natural enemies of man, the tyrants over his body and the contaminators of his soul? And if we thought not, then every state in Europe, every public man, no matter what his party or his colour, every member of the great family of Christendom whose heart beat for its welfare, should, by declaring his sentiments on every fitting occasion, separate himself from such a government, and decline to recognize the smallest moral partnership or kin with it, until the huge mountain of crime, which it had reared, should have been levelled with the dust.

We have dwelt at some length on these remarkable letters because, though they had not the immediate effect of inducing either our own or any other government to interpose on behalf of the falsely accused and barbarously persecuted prisoners in Naples, they dragged into the light the misdoings of the infamous Ferdinand and the advisers and parasites of whom he was alternately the tool and the commander. Thenceforward the eyes of Europe were upon Naples, and other tyrannical rulers began to calculate what might be the effect of such disclosures if the time should come when, with a fierce and sudden outburst of resentment, the leaders of a revolution should leap to the front with the moral if not the material support of England and the countries which held a free political creed. The result was that the sympathies of the English people, and the English rulers too, were with Garibaldi and the Italian patriots, and that there were no lack of demonstrations to prove it, while the funds for carrying out the revolution which subsequently overthrew the Neapolitan government, banished Ferdinand, set the surviving victims of cruelty free, and ultimately gave constitutional liberty to Italy, were largely augmented by the private subscriptions and the personal efforts of English men and women.

It is easy to understand that the letters written by Gladstone delighted Palmerston, who was then, of course, foreign minister, and had he remained in office in 1852 more direct results of their revelations might have ensued; but at all events Palmerston took a very decided course, and on the 17th of July (1851) all the world learned what he had done. It was just before the prorogation of the house that Sir de Lacy Evans said, "From a publication entitled to the highest consideration it appears that there are at present above 20,000 persons confined in the prisons of Naples for alleged political offences; that these prisoners have, with extremely few exceptions, been thus immured in violation of the existing laws of the country, and without the slightest legal trial or public inquiry into their respective cases; that they include a late prime minister and a majority of the late Neapolitan parliament as well as a large proportion of the most respectable and intelligent classes of society; that these prisoners are chained two and two together; that these

chains are never undone, day or night, for any purpose whatever, and that the prisoners are suffering refinements of cruelty and barbarity unknown in any other civilized country. It is consequently asked if the British minister at the court of Naples has been instructed to employ his good offices in the cause of humanity for the diminution of these lamentable severities, and with what result?" Lord Palmerston stated in reply that her majesty's government had received with pain a confirmation of the impressions which had been created by various accounts they had received from other quarters of the very unfortunate calamitous condition of the Kingdom of Naples. The British government, however, had not deemed it a part of their duty to make any formal representations to the government of Naples on a matter that related entirely to the internal affairs of that country. "At the same time," continued the foreign minister, "Mr. Gladstone, whom I may freely name, though not in his capacity of a member of parliament, has done himself, I think, very great honour by the course he pursued at Naples and by the course he has followed since; for I think that when you see an English gentleman, who goes to pass a winter at Naples, instead of confining himself to those amusements that abound in that city, instead of diving into volcanoes and exploring excavated cities—when we see him going to courts of justice, visiting prisons, descending into dungeons, and examining great numbers of the cases of unfortunate victims of illegality and injustice with a view afterwards to enlist public opinion in the endeavour to remedy those abuses—I think that is a course that does honour to the person who pursues it; and, concurring in feeling with him that the influence of public opinion in Europe might have some useful effect in setting such matters right, I thought it my duty to send copies of his pamphlet to our ministers in the various courts of Europe, directing them to give to each government copies of the pamphlet, in the hope that by affording them an opportunity of reading it they might be led to use their influence in promoting what is the object of my honourable and gallant friend—a remedy for the evils to which he has referred." This declaration was warmly accepted by the house.

Several so-called replies were put forward pretending to refute Mr. Gladstone's statements, among them one by M. Gondon, the editor of the *Univers*, another by Alphonse Balleydier; but they were so obviously written to bolster up Ferdinand and his government out of opposition to England, that they excited little attention, though they were full of invective against the author of the letters. There was another reply by a Mr. Charles Macfarlane, who was employed by some one in the confidence of the Neapolitan government; but the statements he made were many of them no more than mere contradictions of Mr. Gladstone's charges, most of which were sustained by undeniable evidence, and were afterwards proved to have been true. This pamphlet, written to order, was sent by the Neapolitan envoy in London to Lord Palmerston, with a letter requesting that the foreign minister would send it round also to the European courts; but Palmerston was not so easily to be cajoled, and coolly declined being accessory to the circulation of a composition which he bluntly characterized as "only a tissue of bare assertion and reckless denial, mixed up with coarse ribaldry and commonplace abuse of public men and political parties." As Prince Castelcicala had addressed him on the subject, he felt bound to say that Mr. Gladstone's letters to Lord Aberdeen presented an afflicting picture of a system of illegality, injustice, and cruelty, practised by the officers and agents of the government of the Kingdom of Naples, such as might have been hoped would not have existed in any European country at the present day; and the information which had been received upon these matters from many other sources led, unfortunately, to the conclusion that Mr. Gladstone by no means overstated the various evils which he described. But Mr. Gladstone's letters were evidently written and published not—as the pamphlet which had been sent insinuated—in a spirit of hostility to the King of Naples, or with feelings adverse to the parliamentary and monarchical constitution which his Sicilian majesty

had granted to his subjects and had confirmed by his royal oath. Mr. Gladstone's object seemed, on the contrary, to have been the friendly purpose of drawing public attention to, and of directing the force of public opinion upon, abuses which, if allowed to continue, must necessarily sap the foundations of the Neapolitan monarchy, and prepare the way for those violent revulsions which the resentments produced by a deep sense of long-continued and wide-spread injustice are sure, sooner or later, to produce. It might have been hoped that the Neapolitan government would have received those letters in the spirit in which they manifestly were written, and would have set to work earnestly and effectually to correct those manifold and grave abuses to which their attention had thus been drawn. It was obvious that by such a course the Neapolitan government would do more to frustrate the designs of revolutionists, and to strengthen the monarchical institutions of their country, than could be effected by the most vigorous proceedings of the most vigilant minister of police.

This was indeed taking things with rather the high hand of the schoolmaster, but in this instance there seems to have been no particular complaint of Palmerston's lecturing. The government of Naples was too bad to find any but paid or interested apologists. On the 7th of September (1851) we find Palmerston writing to his brother, "Your account of the effect produced by Gladstone's pamphlet is highly interesting and curious. The Neapolitan government will not have been much pleased and edified by my answer to Castelcicala about Macfarlane's pamphlet, nor would they be much gratified if they were to receive a collection of all the articles which have appeared on this subject in the various newspapers in England and in Germany. I still hope that the discussion may do some good and excite some shame in their minds; one might almost hope it would work some change in their conduct. The French, as you say, defend as well as they can the Neapolitan government, but they every now and then let out things which undermine their defence. Walewski told Milnes the other day, as a proof of the goodness of heart of the King of Naples, that at his, Walewski's, request the king had at one time promised to set free three hundred prisoners against whom no charge or no proof had been established. 'How grateful,' said Milnes, 'these men must have been; did they not come to thank you for their release?' 'Why,' said Walewski, 'you see, after the king had made the promise the chief of the police came to him and said that if the men were set free he could not answer for the king's life; and so, you see, the men were not set free.' I sent you a copy of my answer to Castelcicala to be given to the Neapolitan government, because I thought that my friend the prince would probably not send them exactly a correct copy, but would probably leave out the words about the king's oath."

Already several writers had taken up the subject in defence of Mr. Gladstone's statements as against the pretended replies; and one very able pamphlet by an anonymous author was acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone himself in his own subsequent reply to what purported to be the government defence. This reply, a publication which belonged more to politics than to literature in any ordinary sense of the word, was entitled "An Examination of the Official Reply of the Neapolitan Government." It was issued in the early part of 1852 by Mr. John Murray, and has been republished in the most recent collections of Mr. Gladstone's works. Speaking of the apology, to which it was a rejoinder, Mr. Gladstone wrote, "I have termed the production before me a reply which is no confutation, nor even an attempt at one; and I must freely confess that my first quarrel is with its title. It is called a 'Review of the Errors and Misrepresentations Published,' and so forth; but if the object of a title be to give a correct description it ought to have been denominated, 'A Tacit Admission of the Accuracy of Nine-tenth Parts of the Statements contained in Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen.' For those who do not enter into the case it sounds very well when they are told that the errors and misrepresentations, or, as they have in some quarters been called,

falsehoods and calumnies, of my letters have been answered; but I now assert, without fear even of challenge, that nine-tenths of my most startling assertions are passed by in total silence in the 'Apology of the Neapolitan Government.' And I suppose it is no extravagant assumption if I treat that silence, in an answer that made its appearance three or four months after the parties were made acquainted with the charge, as simply equivalent to an admission of the facts."

Mr. Gladstone divided his reply into four parts. In the first he qualified or withdrew certain comparatively unimportant statements in which he was apparently in error. He next dealt with the points in which, though the Neapolitan government contradicted him, he found himself bound to maintain his position. In the third part he exposed the passages in which, without denying the charges in his letters to the Earl of Aberdeen, the Neapolitan government endeavoured to throw dust in the reader's eyes, and leave him with a vague impression that they were false. In the fourth part Mr. Gladstone handled the "unofficial" contradictions of Mr. Macfarlane and other apologists, which the government of Naples had nothing to say to. The general effect was crushing; but the original letters had been effectual, and the reply had little weight. The "examination" therefore commanded only small interest. Mr. Gladstone's self-restrained manner gave offence to a few even of the moderate side, because they held it to be excessive and out of place. Upon this question, however, the right honourable gentleman was himself the best judge, and we now all of us know how often his external calmness is the result of an effort in behalf of what he considers Christian propriety, while the fire of indignation is throbbing white-hot within.

His resolute treatment of this subject—in which he had no interest but that of common humanity—was an interesting suggestion of the future of his career. He has been much ridiculed by cynics for his "flesh-and-blood" treatment of popular questions; but there was and is nothing ridiculous about it. It was noticed at the time this rejoinder was published that Mr. Gladstone appeared to take pains to avoid the larger political issues into which the discussion seemed bound to run; but that his writing contained prophecies, far from obscure, of a time when he would find himself forced into much wider and deeper discussions of political principle than, as a disciple of the cautious Peel, he had as yet openly approached.

The year 1851 may almost be said to have bequeathed a legacy of uneasiness to England in the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. The most extraordinary part of the whole story is the startling illustration which it gives of the power of a name, and, incidentally, of the depths of popular ignorance. France had no just, wise, or kind reason for honouring the name of Napoleon. He was probably one of the very worst men that ever lived; in all things but one or two a quack and very vulgar ignoramus; and cynically reckless of human life and welfare. In all the records of the bad things said by bad men there is nothing to excel in vileness Napoleon's unquotable remark as he surveyed a battlefield. *Un nuit de Paris*—but we dare not go on with it. It has been maintained latterly by historical critics that there is evidence that he contemplated a universal western empire, of which he was to be himself, of course, the head. There is some reason to think so, from his dwelling so much on his own *dictum*, that there are at bottom only two races, the Occidentals and the Orientals, and from his Russian enterprise. But when we consider the awful drafts which he made upon France in blood and treasure, his break-down at last, the evident fact that his ambition was a selfish insanity, and that though he was not designedly cruel there was no treachery or cruelty that he was not ready for when either lay in his path; when, in fine, we consider that his career has been visited with the universal execration of good men out of France—it is an awful lesson that the mere name of Napoleon was what gave Louis Napoleon, the reputed nephew of the departed emperor, his prestige. It is said indeed, and has not been denied, that scores of thousands of the peasantry of France—the Jacques Bonhommes of

the Fair Land—believed it was the emperor they were voting for when they made Louis Napoleon president over the head of Cavaignac. There is nothing incredible in this. But be that as it may, the year 1852 opens with "the days of December" very fresh in the memory of Europe, and the second French empire close at hand. On the first day of the new year Louis Napoleon went through the ceremony of a religious installation as president for ten years at the cathedral of Notre Dame, a ceremony which carefully imitated that which was adopted by Napoleon the Great as First Consul. Nicholas of Russia had conferred upon the president the order of St. Andrew, which was usually given to monarchs. Everywhere on the Continent out of France there was visible satisfaction to this extent, that the new-comer, the *parvenu*, as he was called, is manifestly a friend of "the party of order." Among minor matters in which Louis Napoleon parodied his reputed uncle, may be mentioned the restoration of the eagle to the national flag. But it must not be supposed that he was on the whole liked or trusted; certainly he was viewed with general, though not universal, suspicion in our own country.

Here there was much excitement in connection with the recent withdrawal of Lord Palmerston from the post of foreign minister, and the substitution of Lord Granville. The latter was, till now, unknown to general politics; was known, however, to be no stranger to the court; and was supposed by malcontents to be capable of entering into alliances,—with Prince Albert to help him,—that had a sinister bearing on liberty in England. His private history was severely criticised. Was not his wife a French or Austrian lady, and a Roman Catholic? It must be remembered that the prince consort was still an object of great suspicion with a large number of Englishmen; that Kossuth and Mazzini were much on the alert, especially the former; and that the wildest rumours were afloat in regard to the secession of Lord Palmerston. Never was there greater, or, in one sense, more amusing confusion as to what "ministers" had done. The names of Lord John Russell, Count Walewski, Palmerston, and Kossuth were mixed up in a manner which formed the staple of some of the best political *jeux-d'esprits* which ever appeared in England. We are not much, if at all, better informed now than we were then as to the real state of affairs in the disputes of the cabinet of those days. But we may certainly congratulate ourselves on certain great improvements. It would no longer be easy—not to say that it would be impossible—to construct such cabinets as seemed at that time a matter of course; family parties, they might be called; high-handed action, like that of Lord John Russell (whatever its motive or principle) is scarcely practicable; and the truth leaks out now much more rapidly than it did then. Indeed, the whole "platform" in public affairs has changed. A foreign minister like Palmerston is no longer conceivable.

The extreme distrust of the French president which was generally felt in this country led to many discussions as to our preparedness for war. The poet-laureate, who has always advocated the training of the whole male population to arms, was one of those who eagerly raised the cry of danger. His poems published in the *Examiner* newspaper, a little rough and "popular" in workmanship, and printed without his name, struck the key-note of a movement which never slackened much till, owing largely, if not altogether originally, to the exertions of Captain Alfred Bate Richards, the volunteer force of this country was an accomplished fact.

Most readers of Tennyson will remember the striking verses headed "The Third of February, 1852," a powerful remonstrance against the deprecation in the House of Lords of the extreme opposition to the president of the French republic and the *coup d'état* expressed by many influential newspapers and by violent speeches at public meetings. Some of the lines were not soon forgotten, nor should they cease to be remembered though they will, it may be hoped, never need to be repeated in relation to the country with which through all, we maintained friendly and even cordial relations.

"As long as we remain we must speak free
Tho' all the storm of Europe on us break;

No little German state are we
But the one voice in Europe: we *must* speak:
That if to-night our greatness were struck dead
There might be left some record of the things we
said.

"If you be fearful then must we be bold,
Our Britain cannot salve a tyrant o'er.
Better the waste Atlantic roll'd
On her and us and ours for evermore.
What! have we fought for Freedom from our prime,
At last to dodge and palter with a public crime?"

Meanwhile we were at war with the Kaffirs, who were giving us a great deal more trouble than we expected, and rapidly learning to fight British soldiers, while the nature of the country, their skill in firing from ambush, and their ingenious daring in making raids, gave our troops a great deal of trouble. The slaughter was dreadful.

Kossuth was now in the heyday of his American tour, and the idea of a "league of freedom" in which America should unite with England for purposes of intervention on behalf of Hungary, Italy, and even Poland, was popular in the United States. In addressing the first division of the militia of New York Kossuth powerfully advocated the formation of citizen armies in all free countries. "As to myself," said this great but over-excitable orator, "I have here a *sword* on my side given me by an American citizen. This being a gift from a citizen of the United States, I take it as a token of encouragement for me to go on in that way which, with the blessing of Almighty God, will perhaps lead us to see again our fatherland independent and free; and I swear here before you, gentlemen, that this American sword in my hand will be always faithful to the cause of freedom, that it will be foremost in the battle for it, and that it never will be polluted either by ambition or cowardice. First Division of New York State Militia, I engage you to become the controlling power of this my solemn oath!"

Here the contemporary accounts state that the "whole division rose and cheered the ex-governor of Hungary with a perfect *furor*." This is a small matter; but it is not unimportant to notice the strength of the revolutionary excitement in Europe and America which was so soon to decay, and the growth of the ideas springing out of it which led to practical results after all.

A topic which lies nearer home is that of National Education, and this also was much, and not unprofitably, agitated at the commencement of the year 1852. A deputation from the National Public School Association, headed by Mr. Milner Gibson and Mr. W. J. Fox (then member of Parliament for Oldham) waited upon Lord John Russell with the draft of a bill for establishing free public schools in England and Wales. Mr. Bazley, afterwards Sir Thomas Bazley, spoke in the warmest manner of the good which had been done by the education, poor as it was, which had been provided for under the Factories Acts. He said the little girls had been taught not only reading, writing, and accounts, but knitting and sewing; and the acquisition of these little accomplishments of female life had been productive of the best effects among the poor. The boys also, who had gone into the factories in a state of ignorance, had by the instruction they had received been rendered capable of discharging the duties of much higher positions than they could have undertaken without such instruction. Under the scheme at this time proposed, certain hours were to be set apart for the religious instruction, which was to be given separately from the secular, under a conscience clause; and it is an interesting fact that Jewish and Quaker gentlemen were among the members of the deputation, earnestly supporting the bill. At this date "the religious difficulty," as it was called, existed in great force, and Lord John Russell, the prime minister, made a reply, that was almost a manifesto, and which, though not very encouraging, well deserves to be remembered. "My own opinion," said his lordship, "is that the question is advancing to a solution, but I know it is the opinion of Lord Lansdowne—and it is my opinion also—that the question is not at present in such a state as to be ripe for the government to undertake it, and that by undertaking it prematurely they would be more likely to mar the object than promote it. I believe that a

great majority of those who in Manchester pay the rates are willing to concur in paying an additional rate for the promotion of education, and I think that a very encouraging circumstance. Men do not generally say they would rather pay more rates than they now pay, and their being willing to pay a rate for education proves the estimation in which education is held, and the great benefits to be derived from it. I wish only further to say that I hope you will go on with your scheme, without of course pledging myself to take any course with respect to it. I hope, however, you will go on with your scheme, because I think that even failure in schemes of this kind produces very great good. With regard to the measure to which we have often alluded —that of Sir J. Graham—though he failed in his most laudable object, and produced for the moment a great deal of clamour and dissension, yet the result was that great efforts were made to promote education, and great advantages followed from those endeavours. I must certainly say I do not share the opinions of those who think there is any hostility between secular and religious instruction. I am convinced that secular instruction, so far from being hostile to religion, will prepare the minds of those so instructed for the reception of religious instruction."

It will be seen from these sentences that "coming events cast their shadows before" in the matter of national education in England as well as in others. What Lord John Russell lacked at this time was not sagacity, but courage and energy. It was reserved for Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to show the world what could be done by men who would put their shoulders to the wheel. The hesitating answer of Lord John aroused some very strong criticism, especially on the part of Mr. Roebuck, but nothing more was done.

The National Reform Association was at this time actively engaged in driving the spur into the sides of the Whigs. Scotland took her full share in the attempts which were made by public meetings and otherwise to stimulate Lord John Russell and his colleagues, from whom too much was expected. But the state of affairs in the dispute between the iron-masters and the Amalgamated Engineers was in this as in other ways unlucky. The attention of tens of thousands of intelligent working-men was diverted, by what was called "the masters' strike," from public affairs in general. Much time, thought, and feeling were however expended on the subject of rifle-clubs and the national defences.

The abolition of all taxes on knowledge, and of the penny newspaper stamp to begin with, was a subject that was not allowed to sleep, because it may be said to have come home to "the business and bosoms" of all agitators and propagandists. Lord John Russell had declared, for himself and his colleagues, that there was on their part no desire to retain the penny stamp except as a matter of revenue, and strange devices were proposed for evading the law. The time for complete reform was not yet, but the tax on light (the window-tax) was gone—or at least it was imposed under the less irritating name of "house-tax"—and the taxes on knowledge were doomed.

It may safely be averred that things happened at or about this time which could not happen now. The *Amazon* had been hurried out to sea without a proper trial trip being made beforehand; but the lesson was not forgotten, and never will be. Again, thousands of tins of preserved meat had been served out in the navy without proper examination, and the story was of a kind to impress the dullest Englishman, and provoke much laughter from Frenchmen and Prussians. Perhaps the examination of these precious preserved meats interested the mass of the public more than any other domestic matter. Thousands of tins, which had been warranted, were found to contain nothing but putrid filth, clots of blood, lumps of rotten liver, clots of hair, ligaments of the throat, and indescribable garbage. The officers conducting the examination were repeatedly compelled to desist from their task, though Sir William Burnett's disinfecting fluid was profusely employed.

Memorable for generations yet to come will be some of the events of this eventful year. Of these the burning of the steamship *Amazon*, a

fine new vessel to which we have already referred, one of the new squadron of the West India Mail Steam Packet Company. She "set sail" from Southampton on the evening of Friday the 2d of January. By midnight on Saturday she had got well clear of the Scilly Islands, and had made 110 miles W.S.W. by midnight on Saturday. It was at twenty minutes to one on the Sunday morning, practically midnight, in a heavy sea, that the alarm of fire was given. There was a strong gale blowing from the south-west, and the flames, which appeared to begin from the engine-room, had in an awfully short space of time the entire mastery of the vessel. It might almost be said that the whole of the 161 passengers were now plunging about in the flames. There was only one lifeboat available, and the end of one of the most startling of sea-stories is that only about forty lives were saved. Mr. Eliot Warburton, a distinguished writer who had besides a political mission, was among the lost. The powder magazine exploded, and the ship itself, valued at £100,000, with other property to the amount of another £100,000, was sunk. A more important point is that this event, which caused the greatest excitement all over the civilized world, was not unaccompanied by those lights of heroism, energy, and skill which are happily almost certain to beautify scenes of danger.

In referring to the treatment of Marshal Haynau by the London draymen, and the manner in which Lord Palmerston evaded the demands of the Austrian government for satisfaction, we hinted that Austria remembered well an evasion which did not please her. Mr. Mather, an English gentleman, having, with no excuse or small excuse—none, certainly, that an Englishman would for a moment admit—been cut down by an Austrian soldier in a street in Florence, Austria treated all remonstrances in a spirit which showed that she had not forgotten the draymen, and the subject was one that kept quidnuncs angry for a long while. Any peg was big enough and strong enough to bear a fresh argument about our unfitness to enter upon war, and it was always presumed in these discussions that foreigners knew it, and laughed at us when in our diplomatic communications we rode the high horse.

On the 3d of February the queen opened parliament in person. Before passing to the more important work of the session we may enliven these pages with a commissariat episode. The "Committee on the Kitchen" being moved for in the usual way, a most amusing discussion occurred. Mr. French bitterly complained of the wine supplied to the members, insinuated that the table-cloths ought to be changed when there was a great change of guests, and suggested that good wine and clean table-cloths were infallible preventives for a "count-out." Mr. Anstey objected that there was no Catholic on the committee. The house laughed at him, but he said it was rather a serious matter, considering that a Protestant dinner on a Friday was not very acceptable to a Roman Catholic. Lord Marcus Hill, who had precipitately left the house during the address of Mr. French, now returned with equal *empressement*, carrying in each hand a bill of fare, of enormous dimensions, glazed and framed in the manner usual in clubs and coffee-houses. The noble lord placed this culinary programme with affectionate solicitude on the speaker's table, and having thus, as Soyer would say, "unfurled the banner of gastronomy," proceeded amid loud laughter to vindicate the committee from the imputation of exorbitant charges. He said he had often heard it objected that the prices charged for refreshments in the kitchen were too high, but he did not think that there was the slightest foundation for the assertion. Two years ago he had caused the bills of fare now on the table to be drawn up. He invited attention to them, and challenged any member to prove that the charges were exorbitant. He put it to the honourable gentleman, in candour and sincerity, whether there was anything so ruinously exorbitant in these charges:—

A portion of soup,	1*s.*
A mutton-chop,	1*s.*
A fish, boiled or fried,	1*s.*
A fried sole,	1*s.*
A whiting,	1*s.*
Salmon and lobster sauce,	2*s.*

Turbot or cod's head and shoulders on terms equally moderate. With regard to cutlets, if three were taken they could be had at the low charge of 6*d*. each; and as for wine, there was no such cause of complaint on that head as the honourable member for Roscommon seemed to think, for though the honourable member might pay 6*s*. a bottle for sherry, he ought to know that there was sherry in the kitchen which he could have at 4*s*. a bottle. *Mr. French:* "Much obliged, but I had rather not." *Lord M. Hill:* "There is no establishment in London where tea and coffee can be had so cheap."

The tradesmanlike manner in which Lord Marcus Hill, the member in charge, went through these details, and the defiance to all the other "establishments" in London to produce tea and coffee "so cheap," produced the loudest laughter that had perhaps ever been heard in the House of Commons.

But Mr. Feargus O'Connor was also at this time the occasion of much excitement in the House of Commons and elsewhere, and him also it will be as well to dispose of before taking up the serious business of the session, especially as his procedure in the house the very first week of that session led to his being definitely regarded as a madman, whom it was immediately necessary to place under confinement. Mr. O'Connor's career as a demagogue had suggested to sensible observers that there was a vein of insanity in him, and upon the failure of his land scheme, with regard to which he incurred much obloquy, he allowed himself fits of the wildest egotistic irritation, and after for some time playing mad tricks on the borderlands of sanity, he went mad. Upon the winding up of his land scheme (which it would be tiresome to explain) he was examined before Mr. Humphrey, the Master in Chancery, and some of the scenes that took place during the examination were as wild as the wildest farce. Mr. Roxburgh, one of the counsel employed in the case, requested Mr. O'Connor to be careful in giving his evidence, adding, "This is such a gigantic scheme that we shall get confused if we do not take care." "Yes," said O'Connor, "it is a gigantic scheme, and I have been greatly confused by it." *Mr. Roxburgh:* "It would appear from the various accounts to the House of Commons that you have received £16,000 on account of the company since 1848?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "Yes, more than that, I daresay." *Mr. Roxburgh:* "Well, what have you done with it?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "All the accounts have been published in the *Daily News* and *Northern Star.*" *Mr. Roxburgh:* "But we cannot find any materials in them to test the correctness of the statements they contain." *Mr. O'Connor:* "It is published word for word in the *Daily News*. I got the particulars from the pass-book of the Gloucestershire Bank. I have, I may state, in this movement spent £150,000 to improve and elevate the condition of the people, and am abused for it, whereas if a middleman or a nobleman had done it it would have been very different. If Prince Albert had built these cottages and located these lands, there would have been offices to promote them in every street in London for the benefit of these poor people, under the patronage of the philanthropic prince; but now if my Lord or Lady Nincompoop happens to be driving through these estates, and the daughter in the carriage happens to say, 'Lor, mamma, look at those beautiful cottages,' the anxious parent pulls down the blind exclaiming, 'My dear, it was that ruffian Feargus O'Connor built them.'" *The Master:* "Will you be good enough to look at these ledgers, Mr. O'Connor, to refresh your memory?" *Mr. O'Connor* (balancing a ledger in his arms): "But just look what thundering books they are!" *The Master:* "Thundering or not you must do it." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Oh! you can get it from the *Daily News* and in the *Stars*. All I received and paid." *The Master:* "We must put you to the trouble of looking at these books." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Oh dear! I could not look at them." *Mr. Roxburgh:* "We shall require you to-morrow." *Mr. O'Connor:* "I cannot be here, I must be at the house. Oh, my God! oh dear! oh dear! Will you have a pinch of snuff." *The Master:* "Allow me to look at that book." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Oh dear, oh lor! Now have you anything more to ask me? He's been at me for five hours. I'll take a hatchet and cut your head

off." *Mr. Roxburgh:* "Have you any books at all?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "None." *The Master:* "Did you ever have any?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "I never had any. I cannot come here to-morrow; I must be at the house." *The Master:* "The speaker will be ready to excuse you if there is any necessity." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Really, your honour, I must go out for a few minutes." Mr. O'Connor here retired from the court, and the Master left his seat and went into the robing-room. In about three minutes Mr. O'Connor returned and exclaimed, "Where is that juggler?" and shaking his fist in a mock menacing style at the official manager, "I say, Mr. Goodchap, you ought to be called Badchap. You know very well you are employed by the government, and the government are opposed to me." *The Master:* "Will you explain how?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "I will explain to your honour how I have been destroyed, ruined. Men that have been located on four acres of land each for five years, and who got £50 head-money, and as much manure as would fill this court twice, and lived on and cultivated it five years, have not paid a fraction of rent; while the men located at Great Dodford, where there was the best land in the world, and paid from £60 to £100 bonus—there, where originally they could plough the sod for 400 yards like soap, the land is now like land in a flower-pot, and all the rent paid. The ruffians on the four acres have not paid a farthing of rent, and one day last summer when I was down at O'Connorville, at Rickmansworth, from six o'clock in the morning to six in the evening, I had to roast a beefsteak with one of the bricklayers on the tongs for my dinner that very day. The ruffians cultivated the land, and collected heaps of manure, but paid no rent." Mr. O'Connor here sat down apparently much agitated and affected. *The Master:* "Mr. O'Connor, we can enter into all that another time." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Your honour, it makes my blood boil when I think of the amount of money I have expended, and the time I have given to locate these poor men." Here Mr. O'Connor interjected a terrible imprecation. "I've got the spasms. Will you let me go? I've got the spasms." *The Master:* "You can retire into my room." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Let me go entirely. I've got the spasms." *Mr. Chinery:* "I know Mr. O'Connor is in bad health." *Mr. O'Connor:* "I have not eaten a bit nor slept a wink these last thirteen days, and unfortunately now I've got the spasms." *The Master:* "You state that upon your oath." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Upon my oath. Let me go." *The Master:* "Will you be here to-morrow at twelve?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "I will. Let me go, I'm very bad. Oh dear! oh dear!"

If this was all of it genuine madness, it was at least madness of a kind which made it very difficult to get at the facts. On the Wednesday after this exhibition the honourable member distinguished himself still more in the House of Commons. While Mr. Osborne was discussing the ventilation of the house, Mr. O'Connor made himself so very disagreeable to numerous other members that loud cries of "Order!" issued from a dozen quarters. Mr. O'Connor, driven from pillar to post, now crossed to the treasury bench, and sitting down by Lord John Russell began to talk to him in a loud voice, with nudges, and jokes, and laughter. Mr. Cornewall Lewis now came up, and seeing the uncomfortable position of the premier, endeavoured to squeeze himself in between Lord John and his assailant, who had assumed an air of great importance. Mr. O'Connor did not like this, and got closer to the noble lord, who immediately endeavoured to escape, but was prevented by the former, who, pulling his coat tails, forcibly dragged him back to the treasury bench. This scene was followed by others of a similar kind, in which the member for Nottingham smacked other members on the back, punched them in the ribs, howled, laughed, and bolted in and out. The end of it was that he was finally ejected, and eventually confined in a lunatic asylum.

There is more than amusement in this humiliating story. Mr. Feargus O'Connor was a demagogue of a class not very common in this country—fortunately for the country. With him and his land scheme (whoever was most to blame for the failure) a certain phase of demagogue agitation and effort disappears, and it is not worth while to trace the narrative any further.

There was at this time a general expectation that the session would see the introduction of a new Reform Bill by Lord John Russell, and this was hinted at in a paragraph of the queen's speech. "It appears to me that this is a fitting time for calmly considering whether it may not be advisable to make such amendments in the act of the late reign relating to the representation of the Commons in Parliament, as may be deemed calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law is founded." But the first subject that gave rise to much debate was the question of the hour, so soon to be half-forgotten,—the relations of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues in the matter of the *coup-d'état*. To that we must now turn.

The really important topics in every one's mind at the meeting of parliament were the Reform Bill and the Militia Bill; both of them, it may be said, the results of agitation, and the latter in large part the result of the uneasiness felt by large numbers of the people about the attitude which Louis Napoleon would or might take. On both questions popular expectation was doomed to disappointment. But in the meanwhile there was some amusement and much excitement on other topics, the foremost of which was, as we have seen, the dismissal of Lord Palmerston by the premier, Lord John Russell. But the new House of Commons—the building itself, as well as its "kitchen" arrangements—was made to yield some mirth, Mr. Hume complaining of the ventilation, and denouncing the figures in the painted windows as "like the red lion at Brentford." But this somewhat Cobbett-like touch was not all. Lord Palmerston, who was eagerly watched, entered the house early and sat down by Mr. Roebuck below the gangway on the ministerial side of the house. Lord John, who was watched with great curiosity, bowed to his disgraced and dismissed colleague as he passed him, though not very cordially, and everybody made ready to "see sport." The moment Lord John made his appearance Mr. Feargus O'Connor darted from his seat, and rushing up to him shook him by the hand with the most cheerful and patronizing warmth, amidst loud laughter from all sides of the house. Mr. O'Connor was not done with, even for that evening, for when Sir R. W. Bulkeley spoke to the address he went out of his way to congratulate the country on the overthrow of the "miserable fraction of the Chartists," and did not fail to give a by-blow to the unfortunate member for Nottingham. "Could honourable members ever forget," said the orator, "that when a wretched faction threatened to roll a petition upon the floor of that house, so large that eight horses were required to drag it, every man who had a shilling in his pocket and a character to sustain enrolled himself under the banners of order? And when the awful day arrived, when London was to have been sacked, this miserable, deluded, humbug set of creatures, *with a member of that house at their head*, vanished at the first policeman, and shrank into the holes and corners where their miserable and obscure abodes were situated, the derision rather than the dread of their fellow-countrymen." The reference to Mr. Feargus O'Connor was hailed with shouts of laughter.

Chartism being dead, buried, and dismissed with this exceedingly coarse funeral oration, it fell upon Sir Benjamin Hall, member for Marylebone, to open the great game of the day. Sir Benjamin Hall, afterwards Lord Llanover, was a great gun with the mass of the Radical party, but he was not universally believed in. One of the most powerful political writers of the day openly denounced him as an impostor—a man who never had any motive but popularity and place, and was ever ready to sacrifice them to the pride of the "bloated aristocrat." He was a man, said his critics, who would shake hands in the most loving manner with the dirtiest pot-boy or dustman while an election was pending; but if a rich tradesman in his borough were afterwards to cross his path in Parliament Street and accost him, would wave him aside with, "Ah—ur—ur—I haven't a copper for you, my good man." That his programme was simply to worry the government till he got a peerage was common talk, true or not; and it was embodied by the late Robert Brough in a political

song entitled "Sir Menenius Agrippa" (*Coriolanus*, act I. scene i.).

"Sir Menenius Agrippa's a Radical stout,
With a rental of sixty-five thousand about,
Of opinions the lowest though lofty in grade,
A Sir Walter Fitz-Tyler, a Lord John de Cade.
You may call him a leveller—do, 'tis his pride;
Nay a stark staring Democrat—true! of the tide
He's a wave. You may stem him, my lord, if you can;
Sir Menenius Agrippa's a popular man!

"He sits for a borough remote from his home,
(Where he reigns like a slave-girt Patrician of Rome)
He goes on the hustings in very old coats—
(He's a change at the club) when soliciting votes,
His beard he neglects, and his nails he begrimes,
(His jokes on clean collars are killing at times);
Hang your wine! give him beer from the pewter or can;
Sir Menenius Agrippa's a popular man!

"He hates all routine—lift the cart from the mud!
But the drivers are failing—new blood, sir! new blood!
Though the Lords have such power—mind in principle quite
Constitutional—oh, most undoubtedly right!
But the men! an exclusive and arrogant class—
All behind in ideas—not a throb with the mass!
If we *could* to their ranks—Well, we'll do what we can—
Sir Menenius Agrippa's a popular man!

"Reform! Vote by Ballot! Short Parliaments—cry!
Down—down, with each bishop, church, pulpit, and steeple!
The peerage? Um! Ha! Well, we'll see by and by!
Sir Menenius Agrippa's the friend of the people."

Sir Menenius Agrippa, otherwise Sir Benjamin Hall, was the man who was "looked to" as the ferret in the Palmerston business, and there was dead silence, except for slight interruptions from Mr. O'Connor, while he questioned ministers upon the dismissal of the most popular of foreign ministers. How was it that, while Lord John Russell had so often spoken with admiration of his late colleague, and while our foreign relations remained as they were in 1850 and 1851, how was it that a man of such distinguished ability, and so much trusted by the people, had been thus suddenly dismissed?

The premier who had hitherto sat in his usual attitude with his arms crossed, and his enormous hat down over his eyes, at once rose to reply, and began by admitting the reasonableness of the question. After stating the usual terms of the relation between the crown, the premier, and other ministers, Lord John continued by stating that in the case of Lord Palmerston the terms on which he held office had been definitely laid down by her majesty in August, 1850, in a memorandum, the relevant portion of which ran thus:—"The queen requires, first, that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the queen may know as distinctly to what she is giving her royal sanction. Secondly, having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister. Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissing that minister. She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and the foreign ministers before important decisions are taken based upon that intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good time, and to have the draughts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The queen thinks it best that Lord John Russell should show this letter to Lord Palmerston." This memorandum Lord John Russell said he at once communicated to Lord Palmerston, who immediately replied, "I have taken a copy of the memorandum of the queen, and will not fail to attend to the directions which it contains." The premier then proceeded to state the duty, or part of the duty of his office, and not in his own words, but in those of Sir Robert Peel. "Take the case of the prime minister. You must presume that he reads every important despatch from every foreign court. He cannot consult with the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and exercise the influence which he ought to have with respect to the conduct of foreign affairs, unless he be master of everything of real importance passing in that department."

What followed this quotation from his predecessor was rather amusing. His lordship

gave the House of Commons to understand that he had found Lord Palmerston not steady in harness. Earl Grey had particular "age and experience." Viscount Melbourne had had "a long intimacy and connection with the foreign secretary," but Lord John had neither of those advantages, and sometimes felt himself in a position of "great responsibility." On the 3d of November, 1851, there was a cabinet meeting at which, says the premier, "I expressed myself in plain terms as to the state of our foreign relations, and said that I thought the situation of Europe was exceedingly critical; that I thought we were on the verge of seeing in 1852 (and there I was mistaken)—of seeing either what is called social democracy triumphant in other countries, or of seeing absolute power, on the other hand, prevail. I said that in either case the situation of England would be one of some peril; that we could not expect that a social democratic republic in France would observe the faith of treaties or refrain from attacking our allies. I said, on the other hand, that if absolute power should prevail there was a danger, this country being an exception in the form of its government, from other countries of Europe, that there might be combinations on the subject of refugees in this country, and that demands might be made which this country in consistency with its honour could not concede. I stated that, in my own opinion, in this critical situation of affairs it was the interest of England to observe a strict neutrality. I said that we ought to guard most especially against giving any just cause of offence to France—that we ought to exert the utmost vigilance in order to prevent any such cause of offence."

The whole cabinet, Lord John continued, had concurred in that view of the case. But then came a fresh complication, and though the matter looks exceedingly small at this distance of time, the premier treated it all with a solemnity which must have appeared puritanically absurd to the jaunty foreign minister. There were some deputations from Finsbury, in which the French president was spoken of by the deputies in very strong and unpleasant language. These deputations Lord Palmerston had received in a manner which the premier thought indiscreet, but *that* he had overlooked, and he had accepted, to use his own "dominie" style, all the responsibility. But when the *coup d'étât* had taken place, Lord Normanby, our minister at Paris, wrote home on the 3d of December for instructions, and on the 5th of that month Lord Palmerston, in accordance with the decision of a cabinet council, wrote to Lord Normanby in the name of the queen to do nothing "which could wear the appearance of an interference of any kind (on our part) in the affairs of France." But a few days afterwards, in looking over the foreign office despatches, Lord John Russell came upon a letter from Lord Normanby to Lord Palmerston, dated the 6th of December. Part of this letter must be given in the exact words of our ambassador.

"Paris, December 6, 1851. My Lord,—I this morning received your lordship's despatch, No. 600, of yesterday's date, and I afterwards called on M. Turgot, and informed him that I had received her majesty's commands to say that I need make no change in my relations with the French government in consequence of what had passed. I added that if there had been some little delay in making this communication it arose from certain circumstances not connected with any doubt on the subject. M. Turgot said that delay had been of less importance, as he had two days since heard from M. Walewski that your lordship had expressed to him your entire approbation of the act of the president, and your conviction that he could not have acted otherwise than he had done. I said I had no knowledge of any such communication, and no instructions but our invariable rule to do nothing which should have the appearance of interfering in any way in the internal affairs of France; but that I had often an opportunity of showing, under very varied circumstances, that whatever might be the government here, I attached the utmost importance to maintaining the most amicable relations between the two countries. I added that I was sure, had the government known

of the suppression of the insurrection of the *Rouges* [*i.e.* the Red Republicans] at the time I had heard from them, I should have been commissioned to add their congratulations to mine. I have thought it necessary to mention what was stated about M. Walewski's despatch, because two of my colleagues here mentioned to me that the despatch containing expressions to that effect had been read to them in order to show the decided opinion England had pronounced. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. NORMANBY."

This certainly looked rather serious; for Lord Palmerston was (supposing Lord Normanby accurate) going out of his way to inform M. Walewski, the French minister in London, that England approved of the *coup d'état*. Still, Lord John informed the house, he was not alarmed; he thought the matter susceptible of explanation, and he wrote to Lord Palmerston about it, remarking, what was obvious, that for England to express approval of the act of the president on the 2d December, 1851, was certainly to interfere in the affairs of France. Lord Palmerston took no notice of his chief's letter. On the 13th December, 1851, while Lord John was at Woburn Abbey, a messenger arrived from the queen requesting an explanation from the premier of what Lord Normanby had stated in his despatch of the 6th of the month. Upon the 14th Lord John wrote urgently to Lord Palmerston, but received no answer. On the 16th he wrote again, pleading that this "disdainful silence" was not respectful to her majesty—and, indeed, how can "disdain" be respectful to anybody?

On the morning of the 17th two more despatches came under the eye of Lord John Russell. One of them was dated the 15th of December, 1851, and is quite conclusive upon one point, namely, that Lord Normanby felt a real difficulty in the case. His language is decisive. "I am perfectly aware," said his lordship in this despatch (which we here abbreviate), "that it is beyond the sphere of my present duties to make any remark upon the acts of your lordship, except inasmuch as they reflect my own position. But within these limits I must, with due deference, be permitted to observe that if your lordship, as foreign minister, holds one language on such a delicate point in Downing Street, without giving me any intimation you had done so—prescribing afterwards a different course to me, namely, the avoidance of any appearance of interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France—I am placed thereby in a very awkward position. If the language held in Downing Street is more favourable to the existing order of things in France than the instruction on which I am directed to guide myself upon the spot, it must be obvious that by that act of your lordship's I become subject to misrepresentation and suspicion in merely doing my duty according to the official orders received through your lordship from her majesty. All this is of more importance to me, because, as I stated before, several of my diplomatic colleagues had had the despatch read to them, and had derived from it the conviction that, if accurately reported, your expressions had been those of *unqualified satisfaction*. I am, &c. &c., NORMANBY."

This looked even more serious. The premier, continuing his explanations in reply to Sir Benjamin Hall, went on to say that though he had himself received no answer from Lord Palmerston, and was still "unable to satisfy the inquiries of the queen," he found that Lord Palmerston had, on the 16th of December, written without the sanction of her majesty another despatch to Lord Normanby. In this despatch Palmerston rather snubbed Lord Normanby. He began by stating that he had said nothing in London which was inconsistent with the instructions sent to the ambassador (Normanby), and the question was, not what our ambassador was to say in Paris, but in what way he was to continue his relations with the French government. Our foreign minister then went on to say:—"As to approving or condemning the step taken by the president in dissolving the assembly, I conceive it is for the French nation and not for the British secretary of state or for the British ambassador to pronounce judgment upon that event; but if your excellency wishes to know my own

opinion on the change which has taken place in France, it is that such a state of antagonism had arisen between the president and the assembly that it was becoming every day more clear that their co-existence could not be of long duration, and it seemed to me better for the interests of France, and through them for the interests of the rest of Europe, that the power of the president should prevail, inasmuch as the continuance of his authority might afford a prospect of the maintenance of social order in France, whereas the divisions of opinions and parties in the assembly appeared to betoken that their victory over the president would be the starting-point for disastrous civil strife. Whether my opinion was right or wrong, it seems to be shared by persons interested in property in France, as far at least as the great and sudden rise in the funds and other investments may be indications of increasing confidence in the improved prospects of internal tranquillity in France. I am, &c., PALMERSTON."

This last clause goes far to explain the view of the "party of order" all over Europe, including Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. However, the premier went on to remark that though his colleague at last, after all this, wrote to him, his explanation did not touch the point, which was not whether the cabinet were pretty unanimous in their view of the policy of the prince-president, but that the foreign minister had disregarded the instructions of the queen and the wishes of the premier by acting on his own unfortified or unguaranteed authority in a matter of the very utmost national importance. With much reluctance, and not without obtaining the concurrence of his colleagues, Lord John had then advised her majesty to dismiss her foreign minister.

The matter was too grave to be wound up without some general statement, on the premier's part, of the feeling of the cabinet with regard to the act of the prince-president, and the face which the nation should show to France. The conclusion of the premier's speech was not in his happiest manner, and he carefully repeated one sentence. "It is impossible for me to make the present statement without also referring in some degree to the state of affairs which now exists on the continent of Europe. I think it necessary to make this statement, because I have been necessarily led into an avowal of my opinions that we could not properly or fairly express an opinion here favourable to the conduct of the president on the 2d of December. I thought it was not our part to do what we heard the Russian and Austrian ministers had done—to go at once and congratulate the president on what he had done; but then I am bound to say that the president of France, having all the means of information he has had, no doubt has taken that course from a consideration of the state of France, and that the course he has taken is best fitted to ensure the welfare of the country over which he rules. *Let me state that over again*—that while I do not concur in the approbation of my noble friend, I have no reason to doubt, and everything I have heard confirms that view, that in the opinion of the president the putting an end to the constitution, the anticipating the election of 1852, and the abolition of the parliamentary constitution, were all tending to the happiness and welfare of France. But I confess I have seen with great regret the language which has been used by a portion of the press of this country with respect to the president. He has this advantage over his uncle, that he is perfectly aware how much liberty we enjoy, how much license of discussion prevails, and that the most unmeasured invective of the press does not imply any feeling of hostility either on the part of the government or on the part of the nation." This was not very favourably received by many honourable members, and the premier concluded with an assurance that England would continue to be the asylum of political refugees, and a hope that whatever suffered, liberty would live and triumph.

This was, of course, followed by loud cheers, in the midst of which Lord Palmerston rose to give his own account of the matter, and he opened by calling Sir Benjamin Hall his "honourable friend," while he spoke of the premier simply as "the noble lord." In the course of his speech he did, however, apply the word "friend" to the latter, though he

after a pause withdrew it and substituted the words "noble lord." The speech of Lord Palmerston added nothing to the facts which the premier had already laid before the house. He denied having used the exact words attributed to him by M. Walewski; stated that the premier, with other members of the cabinet, had on the instant expressed the same opinion of the event of the 2d of December as he had himself done; urged that an Englishman was not "the mute of a pasha" just because he was a cabinet minister; and that in any case the French minister could not be supposed to go begging for English confirmation or sanction of his master's acts. Lord Palmerston wound up his speech by maintaining that he had in no way disregarded the instructions of the sovereign, or done anything unconstitutional, and that he had left our foreign affairs in a most satisfactory condition.

It may be remarked in passing that although in theory the government of France could not be supposed to wait for nod or beck from England, yet in fact Louis Napoleon was greedily anxious for the least sign of approval from us. His reputation was not that of an honest or a moral man; his immediate "creatures" and friends were much disliked; and it was plain to every one that the act of the 2d of December was a step towards his assuming the purple. Under these circumstances Lord Palmerston certainly did a most unwise thing, however much of the blame his colleagues must share; and the set of the wind was now abundantly shown by the somewhat eager manner in which he apologized for his reception of the Radical deputations from Finsbury.

In the debate that followed, Lord Dudley Stuart, the now half-forgotten friend of Polish and other insurrectionists, made a condemnatory speech, and Mr. Roebuck one stronger still. He said the government was a mere family party, fond of meddling and peddling, and that though "the right arm" of the cabinet was now gone, they were all, premier included, dealing unguardedly with France, from whom almost every danger was to be apprehended, now that it was ruled by "a man whom no sanction could hold to his bond."

Mr. Disraeli made the speech of the sitting—taking his address simply as a speech; it was too significant to be omitted here; and we shall see that on the subject of reform as well as that of the constitutional place of the sovereign he maintained his usual language. Condemning the foreign policy of the government under Lord John Russell, he said that the dismission of Lord Palmerston removed the only man who was competent to continue that policy. "I must make one observation," contined Mr. Disraeli, "on the speech of the first minister. The noble lord, eminent in many respects, is eminent for his constitutional knowledge—for his acquaintance with the spirit of the constitution, but I cannot recollect any analogous occasion on which the name of the sovereign had been so frequently introduced. Whatever was done at the command of the sovereign was at least done on the responsibility of the noble lord.

"As I am one who never voted for the motion that the power of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished; as I should be willing to maintain the converse of that proposition; as I think one of the great misfortunes of our time, one of the circumstances most injurious to public liberty, is that the power of the crown is diminished—*I am not one to look with unnecessary jealousy on the assertion of the prerogative of the crown.* But the noble lord is an eminent representative of a political party which has adopted opinions of a very different character. The noble lord is a member of that party which introduced, to our disgrace, that resolution on the journals of this house; and certainly I am astonished at the noble lord on an occasion like the present, when he seems to me—I suppose unintentionally—to have shifted from himself the responsibility which he should be the first to adopt for himself." There is not the slightest difference between this language, the language of Mr. Disraeli's books, and the course he pursued when he himself was premier, with regard to the power of the crown as an element of constitutional balance.

The Palmerston question having been so far settled, to the great disgust of many quidnuncs,

who expected wonderful disclosures, the house passed to other matters. But there never was any strong expectation abroad in the country as to the new Reform and Militia Bills, and it was on the latter that Palmerston had his revenge.

Before passing onwards to other topics belonging to the session it will be convenient to make a slight attempt to show Palmerston in his true light. His conduct in the matter of the *coup d'état* was displeasing not only to the queen and the premier, but also to the majority of the English people. But we could hardly expect a man like Lord Palmerston to do anything but rejoice (even though reluctantly on some grounds) at the suppression of an ill-soldered republic such as that of France in those days. What he wanted was peace and a revival of trade for us and for others, and he knew that for such purposes a strong government was the first necessity. Without approving all that Louis Napoleon did then, he might very well be glad when it was made clear that he could grasp the reins and rule. Nor did he, except in a matter of form, go farther than his colleagues.

Palmerston was a man of genuine popular sympathies, who did not like to offend any one. He was fond of science, studied sanitation, and—it is known on the highest authority—took a real interest in the condition of the poor. But he was an aristocrat, and he had no enthusiasm, or faith in principles. A most amusing and instructive pendent to what has gone before is to be found in a passage at arms between his lordship and Sir Benjamin Hall, when the latter had been made chief commissioner of works by the former, who was premier. Sir Benjamin Hall took upon himself to inclose the grass in Hyde Park and the Green Park. Lord Palmerston, who always had his eyes and wits about him, took his subordinate up pretty sharply:—"My dear Hall," wrote his lordship, "I cannot agree with you as to the principle on which the grass in the park should be treated. You seem to think it a thing to be looked at by people who are to be confined to the gravel walks. I regard it as a thing to be walked upon freely and without restraint by the people, old and young, for whose enjoyment the parks are maintained; and your iron hurdles would turn the parks into so many Smithfields and entirely prevent that enjoyment. As to people making paths across the grass, what does that signify? If the parks were to be deemed hay-fields it might be necessary to prevent people from stopping the growth of the hay by walking over the grass; but as the parks must be deemed places for public enjoyment, the purpose for which the parks are kept up is marred and defeated when the use of them is confined to a number of straight gravel walks. When I see the grass worn by foot traffic, I look on it as a proof that the park has answered its purpose, and has done its duty by the health, amusement, and enjoyment of the people. In the college courts of Cambridge a man is fined half-a-crown who walks over the grass plots, but that is not a precedent to be followed. Yours sincerely,—PALMERSTON."

Sir Benjamin Hall proving recalcitrant, his superior took him up again in a letter which was still stronger:—"My dear Hall,—I have been much surprised this morning at seeing a party of labourers employed in trenching a large piece of the Green Park. As head of the government, I have a right to expect that essential alterations should not be made in the spaces allotted for the enjoyment and recreation of the public without my previous sanction and concurrence, and I entirely disapprove of the restrictions which you are imposing upon the free enjoyment of the Green Park and Hyde Park by the public. Your iron hurdles are an intolerable nuisance, and I trust that you mean shortly to remove them. To cut up the Green Park into inclosed shrubberies and plantations would be materially to interfere with the enjoyment and free recreation of the public; and I must positively forbid the prosecution of any such scheme. As head of the government I should be held by the public to have authorized these arrangements, and I do not choose to be responsible for things which I disapprove. Yours sincerely,—PALMERSTON."

Two or three points come out very clearly here. First, that "Sir Menenius Agrippa" was a curious sort of people's

man; secondly, that Palmerston, though an aristocrat of blue blood and in sympathy with emperors and kings so long as they ruled and kept the peace, liked to see the people happy, and took pains in their behalf; thirdly, it is plain that Lord Palmerston was a premier who was as fond of being minded as Lord John or the Duke. The episode is so interesting as giving a side-view of his character that it may well be introduced in this place.

At this distance of time it is difficult to imagine the excitement produced in what is called "society" and the public generally by the dismissal of a foreign minister in whom there was so much confidence. When Lady Palmerston said that Lord John had now "got rid of all the brains in his cabinet" she only repeated what most people thought, and over and above the question of intelligence, it seems clear that Palmerston had a great horror of cruelty. As we have seen, some expressions in his letters and despatches are decisive. "The Austrians are really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilized men." He condemned the conduct of Barclay and Perkins's men in beating Haynau, but added that they "ought to have tossed him in a blanket, rolled him in the kennel, and then paid his fare in a cab to his hotel." And we must bear in mind that at the very hour of which we are now writing Austria was showing no signs of an improved tone in her ideas of political discipline. In a list of sentences just passed upon political offenders the *Vienna Gazette* contained this horrible paragraph:—"Eva Demmelhart, for using inflammatory language, to receive twenty blows with a rod and suffer eight days' imprisonment, sharpened with two fasts upon bread and water."

The same publication contained sentences upon four-and-twenty journeymen tobacco-makers, punished for agreeing among themselves not to work—to strike, in fact. They were to be imprisoned in irons for various periods of from fourteen to twenty-five days, and fast twice a week.

In the midst of all this, however, there was a party of politicians, headed by writers (one of them a Russian and one an Englishman), who maintained not only that Palmerston was favourable to Russia, but that he was bribed by Russian roubles to favour her policy while pretending to counteract it. This state of things did not escape the eye of the greatest philosophical humourist of the century. In his *Snob Papers* Thackeray introduces the "snob political." Whether it was a portrait-caricature does not now matter, and the type was not uncommon in those days.

"He it is," wrote Thackeray, "who expects a French fleet in the Thames, and has a constant eye upon the American president. It is he who says that Lord Aberdeen ought to be impeached and Lord Palmerston hanged, or *vice versâ*. Lord Palmerston's being sold to Russia, the exact number of roubles paid, by what house in the City, is a favourite theme with this kind of snob. I once overheard him—it was Captain Spitfire, R.N. (who had been refused a ship by the Whigs, by the way), indulging in the following conversation with Mr. Minns after dinner. "'Why wasn't the Princess Scragamoffsky at Lady Palmerston's party, Minns? Because *she can't show*.—And why can't she show? Shall I tell you, Minns, why she can't show? The Princess Scragamoffsy's back is flayed alive, Minns.—I tell you it's raw, sir! On Tuesday last, at twelve o'clock, three drummers of the Preobajinski regiment arrived at Ashburnham House, and at half-past twelve, in the yellow drawing-room at the Russian embassy, before the ambassadress and four ladies'-maids, the Greek papa and the secretary of embassy, Madame de Scragamoffsky received thirteen dozen. She was knouted, sir, knouted in the midst of England—in Berkeley Square, for having said that the Grand Duchess Olga's hair was red. And now, sir, you will tell me Lord Palmerston ought to continue minister?'"

At all events, Palmerston's own account of his dismissal, or rather of what led to it, was plainly enough stated in a letter which is now public property. "The real ground of my dismissal," said he, "was a weak truckling to the hostile intrigues of the Orleans family—Austria, Russia, Saxony, and Bavaria, and in some degree also of the present Prussian

government. All these parties found their respective views and systems of policy thwarted by the course pursued by the British government, and they thought that if they could remove the minister they would change the policy. They had for a long time past effectually poisoned the mind of the queen and prince against me; and Lord John Russell's giving way rather encouraged than discountenanced the desire of the queen to remove me from the foreign office."

One of the most shocking events of the early part of this year was the bursting of the Bilbury Reservoir, by which the neighbourhood of Holmfirth, near Huddersfield, was inundated. In the valley of the Holme numbers of mills were swept away. Whole ranks of cottages went down like cardboard before the rush of the water. A hundred persons were drowned, and many more hundreds thrown out of employment. The reservoir had been constructed in 1838, for the purpose of providing a continuous and steady supply of water to the mills in the valley; but in the year 1846 the commission intrusted with the care of the reservoir became bankrupt, and though the engineers and managers had declared that it was impossible the reservoir should be made safe without a puddle lining, the puddling was never done. It was given in evidence on the coroner's inquest upon the dead bodies that the catastrophe might have been prevented if the waste-pit had been in proper order and had been lowered below the level of the embankment, which could have been done for £12, 10*s.*!

The catastrophe took place on the 4th of February. At an inquiry which was held in the locality evidence was given that one of the commissioners had lived near the reservoir for six years, knowing all the while that leakages were taking place, and that the danger was extreme. Subscriptions poured in for the relief of the sufferers at such a rate as to reach scores of thousands of pounds in a few days. The Queen and Prince Albert headed the fund with a contribution of £150.

One of the most irritating of the domestic events of about this date was the dispute between the operative engineers and the masters already mentioned: the men demanding, among other things, the abolition of piece-work and overhours, the masters, after giving them notice that their demands would be resisted to the utmost, closed their factories.

Contemporaneously with the opening of the parliamentary session the Poor-law Association got to work, and what it had been formed for, and what it was at that time supposed likely to accomplish, will be gathered much more pleasantly from a striking letter of Mr. Carlyle to the secretary (Mr. Archibald G. Stark) than from any prospectus-like details. The working of the poor-laws was a subject that came just now into great prominence in connection with the strikes or lock-outs in the iron trade. The whole creed of the "Manchester school" seemed about to be put upon its trial afresh; and certainly Mr. Carlyle was of opinion that it ought to be. "It gives me much pleasure," he wrote, "to understand that the Poor-law Association has actually got in motion, and determines to proceed strenuously towards *the grand object of having all the paupers of Great Britain set to employment.* Till some veritably wise and human mode of dealing with that frightful, ever-increasing class called paupers is attained, or, at least, is zealously endeavoured after by the government and community, I can only consider English society as in a state of low continual *smoke;* every day bringing it nearer the state of *flame* and utter conflagration into which we have seen all other European societies already go in a very tragic manner! One thing may be asserted without risk, and has the closest reference to this matter. If free bargain in the market, and fair up and down wrestle and battle between employer and employed be the rule of labour (which I am far from believing it capable of being, except for a very limited time and in very peculiar circumstances); still more, if new and infinitely more *human* arrangements between employers and employed are—as all men begin to surmise, and as many men have long foreseen—an indispensable necessity for labour, in England as elsewhere, then, clearly, I say, in either case,

the first condition of fair-play is that all paupers be quite eliminated from the controversy, and carried clear away from it, out of the labour market, and its wrestles and its struggles."

The introduction by Lord John Russell on Monday the 9th of February, 1852, of the much-talked-of new Reform Bill was preceded by an unpleasantly droll incident. The speaker announced to the House of Commons that he had just received from Mr. Henry, the chief magistrate at Bow Street, a letter stating that Mr. Feargus O'Connor, member for Nottingham, had been committed to the house of correction for ten days for assaulting a gentleman at the Lyceum Theatre.

Lord John, in his speech, laid down the obvious principle that the object of this new bill, like that of the old one of 1831, was good government. He remarked that he thought the franchise of £10 had been placed too high in 1831, but that this was not a badly devised prudential measure. Now, however, that it had been proved that the constitution was safe, and that the education and intelligence of the people had greatly increased, it was time to propose an extension of the right of voting. He urged that it was a happy circumstance that this new measure of reform in the representation of the people had not been forced on by clamour or agitation; and he went on, amid general applause, to express an earnest hope that it would be followed by a comprehensive scheme of popular education.

The leading propositions of the bill now introduced by the premier in this quiet way may be stated in small compass. But it is worth noting that Lord John Russell avowed his intention to preserve "the existing balance of interests" in the country, and that one of the reasons he gave was the fear of a violent opposition in the House of Lords to any more radical proposals. The borough franchise of £10 was to be reduced to £5. The £50 tenant-at-will franchise in the counties to be reduced to £20—this bringing the Chandos clause down to two-fifths of its then existing dimensions. Certain small boroughs were to be united, and others augmented by the annexation of neighbouring districts. All citizens paying £2 annually in assessed taxes to have votes, but in this provision payments for licenses were not to be taken into account. The property qualification for members was to be abolished—a most desirable improvement, because the law as it stood was invidious on the face of it, a perpetual topic of aggressive comment among Radicals and Chartists, and a temptation to the "manufacture" of qualifications by processes not honest. The words "on the true faith of a Christian" were to be omitted in the case of Jews presenting themselves for the purpose of taking their seats. The anti-papal adjuration was also to be omitted—the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill notwithstanding!—a feature in *this* bill which gave rise to much merriment at the noble lord's expense. St. Albans to be disfranchised. Parliamentary commissions to inquire into the facts before boroughs were disfranchised for "corruption." Fictitious votes to be abolished as in Scotland, by requiring the tenement to be in the actual possession of the voter. There was to be a separate reform bill for Ireland.

This scheme was received in the quiet way which befitted such a milk-and-water affair. Mr. Hume, Mr. Bright, and all the advanced guard took the ground that as half a loaf was better than no bread the Radicals should help to pass the measure, but they all demanded vote by ballot (Mr. Bright speaking for the artisan class in towns) and short parliaments. Mr. Baillie, member for Inverness-shire, attacked the measure in the true spirit of Scottish thoroughness, not only complaining of the retention of septennial parliaments, but of the disregard of Scotland in the proposed redistribution of voting power. Mr. Roche spoke for Ireland in the same spirit. Nobody seemed to care much about the bill, which Sir John Tyrrell bluntly declared ought to be intituled a bill for the continuance of her majesty's present ministers in office.

The premier having announced his intention of getting the second reading fixed for the last day but one of the month, Mr. Disraeli complained that this gave far too brief an interval

for the consideration of the measure. "First of all," said that gentleman, "we have to consider whether such a scheme is wanted at all. It would be a bad thing if it were understood that any minister could bid for continuance in power by simply pulling a new reform bill out of his pocket." "It is nonsense," said Mr. Disraeli, "to talk of pledging one's self to the principle of a bill like this; the scheme is all detail, and by its details it must be judged." Finally he declared that *he had always been, and now was, in favour of an industrial franchise;* but he doubted if the £5 clause would act in that sense upon the representation of the country.

Ireland and her difficulties came before the parliament early in the session. Mr. Sharman Crawford moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulating and securing of the Ulster tenant right; to limit the power of eviction in certain cases; and to secure compensation to improving tenants who might not claim under the custom. Mr. Henry Grattan maintained that all the evils under which Ireland suffered were due to absenteeism, and he proposed to sell by auction the estates of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Lord Palmerston! Mr. Osborne and Mr. Hume both of them denounced "communistic" changes, but allowed that some alteration in the law was desirable. Lord John Russell stated that Mr. Bright had sent him a series of propositions on this subject, but that the Irish privy-council did not think them available. It seemed to the premier that almost any measure of the kind would at this time be made the pretext for agitation in Ireland. Mr. Bright declared that he should support Mr. Crawford's bill, and charged the government with "backing out of the difficulty." "The real question was," said Mr. Bright, "Should cats make laws for mice?" The disturbed state of Ireland was also a topic in the House of Lords. Lord Roden said that no conviction could be obtained even against murderers who murdered in open day, for they were "shielded by a confederacy of the whole population," while gentlemen dared not stir out unarmed. Several peers attributed the agrarian murders to the efforts of the Tenant-right Leaguers. The Marquis of Lansdowne declined to pledge the government to any special measures of repression.

The Manchester and Salford Education Scheme Bill had been brought in as a private bill. Mr. Brotherton—a gentleman who was known as "the night-cap of the House of Commons," because he was always endeavouring to close the debates early—moved the second reading. Upon this Mr. Gladstone maintained that it was not only contrary to all precedent, but contrary to justice and public policy, to pass as a private bill a measure of that kind, which really affected the whole kingdom. "It is," said Mr. Gladstone, "as great an anomaly to propose a local education bill as to propose a local reform bill." Mr. Bright, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Hume concurred in asking, at all events, for delay, and delay was granted. The appointment of committees on the income-tax and on the unsavoury preserved meats question, and a discussion about the outrage committed by an Austrian officer on Mr. Mather at Florence—the latter discussion in the House of Lords—occupied time to small purpose. Lord Granville was only able to state that no explanation had been offered by the Austrian government. Meanwhile the French journals were maintaining that the dismissal of Palmerston, whatever the pretext, was really due to the influence of a collective note addressed to the British government by the cabinets of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, complaining that the security which foreign refugees enjoyed in this country and the absence of any check from English authorities was practically an offence to foreign nations, against whom they plotted in peace;—Palmerston was taunted with certain expressions of his in 1848, in which he had taken, on a question of political asylum, a view which he now practically disavowed.

While the French journalists were attempting to enlighten us on our own affairs, an ugly event had taken place in Spain. A

renegade priest named Merino attempted to murder Queen Isabella. As she was passing along a corridor which led from a chapel attached to the palace in Madrid to her own room, Merino, in priest's garb, knelt down before her as if to present a petition. The queen, who had her newly-born baby in one arm, put out the other to receive the petition, when the ruffian stabbed her a little above the groin with such violence that the dagger passed through her robes of velvet, stays, and other underclothing to a depth of three inches. She cried out, but still kept the child, and Merino was seized by the attendants just as he was aiming a second blow. The queen at last fainted, and was ill for a few days, but soon recovered both from the wound and the shock. Not many good things are on record concerning Queen Isabella; but the people admired her courage and her brave care for the child, whoever was its father. They were pretty well enlightened upon that point; but the utter brutality of this attack upon a woman who had just undergone the great trial of her sex aroused universal indignation. The man escaped being torn in pieces by the people, but died under the *garota* in due time. He behaved with extreme insolence and perfect composure to the last. Two clergymen constantly attended him. He said to one of them who offered to confess him, "I thought some honest friar would have been sent to me for that purpose. As to you, I know you too well to have confidence in your ministry. You are as great a reprobate as I am myself. Your conduct is well known to me. Begone!" Merino at first quietly listened to the second ecclesiastic, but when the latter spoke to him of hell and his crime he suddenly stopped him, saying, "Let us not talk of such nonsense. You no more believe in hell than I do. Leave me quiet, I can dispense with your sermons."

The mode of execution was instantaneous death, the sudden compression of the *garota* squeezing the neck quite flat. The moment a man is doomed in Spain he is considered as already belonging to another world, and regarded almost with awe. He is attended by all the consolations of his religion, and as he passes through the streets on a mule of low size, repeating prayers for the dying and accompanied by the priests, flambeaux are burning in the balconies, and men, women, and children are on their knees in the streets praying for his soul. At the place of execution there is no indecent mirth; when the prisoner is on the platform, and the instrument adjusted, every head is uncovered, and the lips of all move in prayer.

On Monday, the 16th of February, the premier, Lord John Russell, moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Local Militia Acts. This being, of course, agreed to, he went on to state what were the proposals of the government in relation to this subject.

Lord John went back to the year 1848 with its alarms, and referred to many reasons for some uneasiness about our national defences. He referred also to the objections felt, by Whig and Tory alike, to large military establishments, and then proceeded to expound his own scheme at length. "With respect to the officers, we propose that two-thirds should be appointed by the lord-lieutenant; and one field-officer and one-third of the captains by the crown, so that the regiments may have the benefit of the experience of half-pay officers available for this purpose, and who must be of great use in assisting the officers appointed by the lord-lieutenant. We propose that the lord-lieutenant should not be bound by the restriction of qualification, but that he should name any person he may think fit, of course with the approbation of the crown as formerly, but without the requirement that they should be possessed of a certain amount of landed property. It is very desirable that the gentlemen of the county should take the command of the local militia, but we believe that that would be the case without this qualification being imposed in the act. When the original militia laws were framed there was a very great jealousy of the crown and of encroachments upon liberty, and it was supposed that if there was a limitation to persons of property it would form a security against any attempt of the crown in that respect; but our liber-

ties are now so firmly secured that of all dangers there is none less than that of an attempt by the crown, by means of a standing army, to suppress our liberty. With regard to the men, we propose some alteration from the former plan, according to which all men between 18 and 30 years of age were subjected to the ballot. That was a considerable number of years; and the process of sending round to each householder and requiring a return of the number of persons in his house between those ages was a long and complicated process. We propose, for the first year, that the ages at which persons should be subject to ballot for the local militia should be from 20 to 23, and in subsequent years that they should be only persons of the ages of 20 to 21. It is supposed that the former provision (from 20 to 23), taking one-fifth as the number to be balloted for, would give a force of about 80,000 men, and that in subsequent years the number would (from 20 to 21) amount to an average of 30,000. In procuring these men I think it would not be necessary to adopt the means taken formerly. I believe that, with the assistance of the census of last year, we should know the number of persons in each county and union who would be liable to take the ballot, and that it would be sufficient to require all such persons to present themselves on a certain day; that, however, is part of the machinery of the bill which requires great consideration."

The county authorities were to be present when the men were balloted for; there was to be a reserve force: there would be no ballot if a sufficient number of men between 18 and 30 volunteered; volunteers would have the advantage of serving for one year less than the men who were taken by lot, that is to say, for three years instead of four; the drill was to be for twenty-eight days in the year. The local militia when called out were to have the same pay and allowances as the general militia, and be, like them, under the Mutiny Act. The expense of all this the noble lord estimated at £200,000.

In spite of the inspiriting nature of the topic of our national defences, not a single cheer greeted this speech. It was closed in dead silence. Then the Irish members wanted to know why Ireland was excluded from the measure. Mr. Hume cut up the whole scheme root and branch. "I have lived long enough and seen enough of these matters to know" (said he) "that the best way of increasing our military forces is to increase our standing army. It is unjust to take people away from their regular employments by a process which is in fact a conscription, and which would prove a serious burden on the working-classes. Why should we want to increase our military resources just now? France is weaker than she ever was, and it is her interest to keep the peace. Are the government about to enter upon some new unholy holy-alliance? Call home the Channel fleet, which is now roaming over the face of the earth, and we shall be safe. But if this bill passes, I shall move that every man drafted into the militia shall have a vote."

This was the substance of Mr. Hume's speech, which laid, besides, great stress upon the violation of "the principle of division of labour." He had clearly not entertained the idea of a citizen army yet. Colonel Sibthorp, who is now forgotten, but who was then the very familiar "Mr. Merryman" of the house and a standing figure in caricatures, a man on whom all sorts of absurdities were fathered, got up and said right out that he should not tolerate the bill, and he despised ministers! Mr. Hume having called the army "a hotbed of immorality," Sir H. Verney made an angry speech in defence of it, maintaining that in all the world you could not collect together a more honourable, well-behaved, and scrupulously moral set of men than a regiment of British soldiers!

Mr. Cobden made a strong Manchester-school speech. In thirty-seven years we have (said he) "scandalously voted" £250,000,000 for the navy alone; during the last ten years £24,000,000. And where are the ships? he asked. "Why, in the Tagus, in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Africa, in the East and West Indies, among the South Sea Islands." If there was any fear of invasion, why were not our ships ordered home? "Now I must say," continued Mr. Cobden, striking

home, "the noble lord, in the speech he delivered this night, and in the arguments he used, has put himself very much in antagonism with what he told us the other day at the opening of parliament. The noble lord on that occasion informed us that the newspaper press of this country had taken great liberties with the president of France; but that that gentleman had lived in England, that he knew the habits of this country, that he knew the press was free, and that though it might be licentious it was not to be taken for granted that what the press said of the president of France was the opinion of the English people. Now, without offering a word of objection to what the noble lord said with regard to the press of this country, I must say I think he has contrived to take up a position which, while it is ten times more menacing to France than anything the newspapers can say, has not the excuse that he is not speaking in the name of the English people; for if you agree to this proposal to organize a militia of 80,000 men—to set up this force with an elastic organization which may become 110,000 or 120,000 men—I say then the noble lord will do far more than the press of this country, which he took on himself to lecture, to put us in a state of antagonism with the French people. But the noble lord, when he called on us to do this, failed to give one proof that what he said at the opening of parliament, and that which the speech from the throne declared, was not true, and that his assertions as to the pacific intentions of the French government were unfounded,—he failed to show that what the noble lord who leads the opposition in the other house stated was unfounded on the same point; he had not done a single thing to show that what the noble lord the member for Tiverton said was wrong, when he declared he had left us in relations of amity and security with all the nations of the world. The noble lord had in fact not shown the statements were unfounded which made the funds go up, as I fear they will go down to-morrow. But, comparing the noble lord's statement now with that which he made in 1848, we may find arguments to show why there is less danger at present than then of any attack from the French people." Mr. Cobden then proceeded to deal with a suggestion in the *United Service Gazette*:—"What we have to dread, said a military authority, is not an invasion, but a hostile descent, throwing on some part of our coast a force of 10,000 or 12,000 men, who, although not strong enough to occupy the country, might do irreparable mischief before they were subdued. A buccaneering expedition might even make its way into the Thames and demand a Canton ransom from the metropolis of the world." "Now this," continued Mr. Cobden, "is a very grave and serious matter. But in the first place I take exception to it on this ground—it is a libel on the French army. I don't believe you could find a French officer to undertake a buccaneering expedition of this kind without a declaration of war; and if you did, then the expedition would be an act of piracy. If it be too high an appeal to make to French morality and French honour to suppose they would not act in this way, there is still this appeal—that they will be pirates. I am told one of the objects of such an invasion would be to avenge Waterloo, but how could it avenge that defeat if they only came over here to be hanged? Again, I am told they will burn our ships in Liverpool and Bristol. If they did, they would not burn English ships only, but they would burn American, Dutchmen—vessels under every flag in the world, and the nation that warranted such an act, and the government that permitted it, would be hunted at last from the face of the ocean by all the ships of every maritime nation of the earth. These are the most serious arguments I have met with for the increase of our defensive armaments. Now, I have no belief in anything of the kind."

Neither the premier, nor Mr. Hume, nor Mr. Cobden had hit the bull's-eye of the discussion. That was reserved for Lord Palmerston. He claimed credit for having himself put forward proposals for strengthening our national defences before 1848, and insisted that France was by no means the only country that *could* attack us. "Our insular position is our weakness as well as our strength, the Channel is narrow, and, as Lord Howe said, 'the sea

is a wide place.' Continental nations are only approachable by known roads, which can be fortified, watched, and defended; our great extent of coast is open on every side. As to the navy, that is as efficient as it had been. But it would be madness to rely only on our navy. Sir, it is perfectly impossible for any navy, however active, vigorous, and numerous, to prevent altogether the landing of a hostile force, when we consider the short interval between our own shores and those from which an enemy might come, and whence an expedition might sail to some spot of our wide-extending shores, and land in Ireland or any less guarded portion of the country. If it be necessary, as I think it is, that we should have a land force, that we should have armed men to resist armed men, for, as to fortification, it is useless for us to think of fortifying more than our arsenals and dockyards, and such places of vital importance—there is no fortification like brave men armed, organized, disciplined, and ready to meet an enemy. That is the best fortification, and such a fortification you will always find in the hearts and arms of Englishmen; if it is necessary that we should have armed men to meet the unfortunate possibility of an invasion—I hope not the probability; and mind, it will be the less probable the more you are prepared for it. Nothing so much tempts as weakness and incapacity to resist, when to that is added enormous wealth and a great temptation for political objects. If it be necessary that this country should have a force capable of defending our homes against an invading army, and of protecting us from the incalculable calamity which would arise from the occupation of any portion of our country, even for a month, by an invading force, why then, I say, something like the mode proposed seems to me the best if not the only possible mode of doing so."

Lord Palmerston went on, amid ringing cheers, to maintain that it was no hardship for citizens to defend their country, and referred to the examples set by America, Prussia, and Austria, while even in France the disbanded national guard had been partially reorganized. "Considering our enormous wealth, there is no country in the world so ill defended. The regular militia, too, raised in Great Britain and Scotland, is liable to serve in the whole of the United Kingdom; and I am astonished that in a plan for the defence of the realm Ireland should be left without the protection said to be essential for the defence of this country. The local militia can only be called upon to serve in Great Britain, and why Ireland is not provided for I am at a loss to conceive. Do the government doubt the loyalty of the Irish people? Why, sir, I would pledge my existence that there is not a man in Ireland who would be called out, and who had taken the oath of allegiance, who would not lose his life rather than not defend his country against foreign invasion. I have the most complete confidence in the loyalty of the millions in Ireland. I am persuaded they would be true to the queen and to their oath; and as to their courage, that is sufficiently well known to need no mention from me."

Having urged that our reliance should be on a regular and not a local militia if we were to have any militia at all, the late foreign secretary sat down amidst loud cheers, which could not have been reassuring to Lord John and his colleagues. Mr. Sidney Herbert took the same side. Sir George Grey being put up to reply to both speakers, and to Mr. Fox Maule (who had concurred), insisted that a local militia was an army of defence only, while the general militia had always been on the footing of the army in general. Mr. Osborne—who was now rapidly making his way as a dashing debater—took Mr. Cobden to task. "The honourable member had said that he had great confidence in the morality of the French army. The morality of the French army! The morality of any army! Did the honourable member derive his confidence from the scenes lately enacted? Was it from the successful fusillade on the Boulevards? or from the execution done by the artillery in other streets where the cannon was fired by Frenchmen on Frenchmen! Did the honourable member suppose that Generals Espinasse and St. Arnaud would hesitate to attack this country when they had not hesitated to break all laws, human and divine, and place their

own legislature under arrest?" As a matter of course, however, the preparation of the bill was agreed to, and the report ordered for Friday, Lord Palmerston giving notice that he should move, among other things, the omission of the word "local."

The government was smartly attacked on several points: for not having brought forward some measure dealing with savings-banks, for instance, and this brought out a promise of a bill. Mr. Slaney obtained from the government a pledge to appoint a commission to inquire into the law of partnership, with an eye specially to the industry and investments of the working-man. The debate turned mainly on the hindrances and difficulties of co-operative associations and the need of a law of limited liability. The solicitor-general introduced a bill for the relief of suitors in Chancery, proposing to abolish £50,000 a year in fees and £10,000 in salaries.

In the House of Lords the Earl of Clancarty—having previously announced his intention by a letter to the lord-chancellor—presented himself at the table to be sworn, but claimed leave to omit the anti-Catholic portion of the oath. This led to nothing but a discussion. Lord Roden moved for a return of murders and murderous attempts in Ireland since 1849, and the Marquis of Lansdowne "had no objection" to lay this agreeable document "on the table."

After an amusing squabble between Lord Campbell and Lord Brougham,—which is only worth mentioning because such squabbles formed frequent episodes of debate,—the County Courts Extension or Further Facilities Bill passed through committee.

Mr. Headlam moved (in the House of Commons, of course) that the existing stamps on receipts should be abolished, and that a uniform penny stamp on checks and receipts should be substituted. This was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and the motion negatived. But the fact is worth recording.

A somewhat important act was printed at this date—the Sale of Beer Act, under which debts incurred for beer "drunk on the premises" ceased to be recoverable. The effect of this piece of legislation upon the habits of the people has been much disputed. It was strongly objected to by political philosophers of the school which maintains that all legislative attempts to make people moral, which go beyond bare protection of personal rights, only make matters worse; and it has been alleged against the working of this measure as a matter of fact that it simply led to this result, that the working-man who was fond of drink just took his wages straight to the public-house and spent them off-hand, or a good part of them, in lieu of carrying his money home to his wife.

We now approach a small political crisis. It was plain enough that the Whig hold of office was very feeble, but there was something ludicrous about the fact that while all the weekly newspapers of Saturday, the 21st of February, 1852, were discussing the new Reform Bill and the Militia Bill, ministers were out, and the discussions, which were all in print, had to appear side by side with the postscript announcing the resignation. On bringing up the report on the Local Militia Acts the premier announced the withdrawal of two of the provisions of the new measure. Lord Palmerston at once pointed out that these changes made the whole scheme inconsistent, and followed this up by a speech in his best vein of what is called "British pluck." Referring to some of the objections, he said, "To listen to these objections one might suppose that Englishmen are cheats, that Scotchmen are cowards, and that Irishmen are traitors. All the objections I ever heard are founded upon a practical distrust of the people of these countries. Sir, I, on the contrary, am disposed rather to confide in them. But if you cannot trust your population to defend themselves you must give them up. If you cannot trust Englishmen to come up to the defence of their country—if Scotchmen will not take up arms and fight against an invading army—if Irishmen will not be true to their queen and country—why, let us send for a Russian force at once. Let us have an Austrian garrison in London. Let us hide our heads in shame and confusion, and confess that England is no longer England, and that

her people have no longer spirit to defend themselves, their homes, their families, and their country. Sir, that is not my opinion. I am of opinion that Englishmen are proud of their country, that they are sensible of the value of what they have to defend, that they are fully determined to maintain their liberties, that they will not give way to an unreasonable panic, or imagine dangers that do not exist, but that they will be prepared deliberately to guard themselves against any dangers that are sufficiently probable. And I say, sir, that if the government make the appeal to the people, if they show them the dangers that may probably arise, if they point out to them the value of the stake they have to defend, I for one believe you will not find the English substitutes running away from their colours, that Scotchmen will maintain their character for courage, and that Irishmen will not be found unworthy of the country to which they belong."

Lord John Russell followed this by making a determined attack upon his late colleague, sarcastically suggesting that he should bring in a bill himself, ministers leaving him to do what he pleased. "If," said the premier, "the house should agree to the noble lord's motion to omit the word 'local,' I shall leave him to bring in a bill, and shall feel at liberty to oppose it when brought in." The only other noticeable feature in the debate, which had been short and sharp, was a brief speech from Mr. Disraeli, in which he condemned Lord John Russell for being so much in the habit of threatening the house that he would resign. This was received with cheers. Lord Palmerston had been applauded to the echo. Sir Benjamin Hall advised ministers to resign. Mr. Hume rushed to the defence, but in vain. The late foreign secretary obtained a majority of 11 in a house of 261, and Lord John immediately rose and declared that he looked upon this as equivalent to a vote of want of confidence. Lord Palmerston made a mock-friendly speech, in which he expressed his surprise that "ministers should think of resigning upon a mere temporary and incidental failure of principle;" but he had had his revenge.

For all this the country was to suffer by a very serious waste of time. In another week Lord Derby was prime minister, with Mr. Disraeli for chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Malmesbury for foreign minister, Mr. Henley at the Board of Trade, Lord John Manners at the Woods and Forests, Mr. Walpole at the home office, Sir John Pakington at the colonial office, Sir Edward Sugden on the woolsack as Lord St. Leonards, and the Duke of Northumberland at the admiralty. The results of this change were some of them very amusing. That Mr. Disraeli should be chancellor of the exchequer took away people's breath at first, but some literary men, claiming to be politicians, formed expectations which were ludicrous enough. To one of these cases we will for a moment turn our attention.

The "repeal of the taxes on knowledge" was an object which had an association all to itself, and (part of a general scheme or tendency to put the screw on a ministry which was bound to be squeezable if it meant to live long) the association just now made great efforts to put its power out to interest. The annual public meeting of this February was an immense success. Mr. Milner Gibson—an unwavering and unflinching free-trader, and one who took a special interest in this subject—was in the chair, and Mr. Hume and Mr. Cobden both make powerful speeches, attacking the duty on advertisements, the stamp duty on newspapers, and the excise duty on paper. The preamble to the stamp act of 1819, which plainly disclosed the gagging purpose of the promoters, was quoted, as well as the opinions of continental "friends of order," who had openly said and written that if it had not been for the repressive influence of these taxes on the circulation of political knowledge England would have fared ill amid the struggles of the last thirty years. Among the letters from distinguished men one from Leigh Hunt and one from Douglas Jerrold were especially good. "Taxes on knowledge," said the author of *Rimini*, "appear to me very like taxes for the prevention of finger-posts, or for the better encouragement of 'erring and straying like lost sheep.' Misdirections

EDWARD GEOFFREY STANLEY

14TH EARL OF DERBY

Premier [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] A PH[illegible]TOGRAPH [illegible]

BLACKIE & SON [illegible]

may be set up here and there; but how could it be anybody's interest in the long run to give wrong information when everybody was concerned in going right? Partial knowledge, indeed, is foolish enough to do so, but that is the very reason why partial knowledge should be displaced by knowledge all-completing and universal."

Douglas Jerrold—a man who was more closely engaged in political life than Hunt—may well be taken as representing the popular view of the question:—

"The tax on advertisements is a tax even upon the industry of the very hardest workers. Why should the exchequer waylay the errand-boy and oppress the maid-of-all-work? Wherefore should Mary-Anne be made to disburse her eighteenpence at the stamp-office ere she can show her face in print wanting a place, although to the discomfiture of the first-created chancellors of the exchequer—the spiders. In conclusion, I must congratulate the meeting on the advent of the new chancellor of the exchequer, the Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, who is a successful man of letters. He has ink in his veins. The goose-quill—let gold and silversticks twinkle as they may—leads the House of Commons. Thus I feel confident that the literary instincts of the right honourable gentleman will give new animation to the coldness of statesmanship, apt to be numbed by the tightness of red-tape. We are, I learn, early taught to despair of the right honourable gentleman because he is allowed to be that smallest of things—'a wit.' Is arithmetic for ever to be the monopoly of substantial respectable dulness? Must it be that a chancellor of the exchequer, like Portia's portrait, is only to be found in lead?—No; I have a cheerful faith that our new fiscal minister will, to the confusion of obese dulness, show his potency over pounds, shillings, and pence. The exchequer £ s. d. that have hitherto been as the three witches—the weird sisters—stopping us wherever we turned, the right honourable gentleman will at the least transform into the three graces, making them in all their salutations at home and abroad welcome and agreeable. But with respect to the £ s. d. upon knowledge he will, I feel confident, cause at once the weird sisterhood to melt into thin air, and thus—let the meeting take heart with the assurance—thus will fade and be dissolved the penny news-tax—the errand-boy's and maid-of-all-work's tax, and the tax on that innocent white thing, paper."

These sanguine hopes, founded on the mere fact that Mr. Disraeli, who had written novels, was now chancellor of the exchequer, are nearly ridiculous.

In spite of all the usual talk about constitutional procedure in these cases it will be admitted that the situation was curious. The Whig government, presided over by Lord John Russell, was beaten on a secondary question, and he resigned. He then, as it appears, advised the queen to send for the Earl of Derby (Lord Stanley had succeeded to the title by the death of his father in 1851), though it was not the earl's party who had beaten him, and it would have been in some respects the regular course for Lord Palmerston to be sent for. The result of Lord Derby's being placed in the position of premier in this fashion was that he had to undertake to govern by a minority in the House of Commons, and he did actually appeal to the "indulgence" of the house, though Mr. Disraeli, as leader of it, denied that his chief in the other house had made any appeal *ad misericordiam*.

It will shortly be seen that the new government showed all the usual Tory characteristics. But the point upon which all eyes were at once fixed was that of free-trade. Will the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli attempt to restore protection? Mr. Christopher, who, accepting the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, had to go to his constituents in the usual course, distinctly assured them that his party *would* attempt to restore protection, for which no doubt he got a severe scolding from his chiefs. The Anti-Corn-law League was immediately revived, and in full force too. A meeting was held at Manchester, and in twenty-five minutes the subscriptions had amounted to £27,500.

Having brought the direct political story of

the spring of 1852 to this anomalous situation, we may well be glad to turn aside for a short space to other matters which left a deep mark on the heart of the nation, and indeed of the civilized world. It is the proper place at which to suspend the parliamentary narrative in order to introduce an event at sea which has been the theme of poets and will never be allowed to escape the pen of the historian. That event is the wreck of the *Birkenhead.*

The *Birkenhead* was a queen's steamer, and was on her way to Algoa Bay and Buffalo Mouth with troops to reinforce our army in Kaffirland. The wreck took place on the 27th of February, and about 460 men were drowned. It was at two o'clock in the morning, the sea being smooth and the vessel steaming at the rate of eight and a half knots an hour. She struck on a rock near Point Danger, and it went through her bottom just aft of the foremast. The water rushed in at such a rate that most of the men in the lower troop deck were drowned in their hammocks. The rest of the soldiers, very few of them old hands, came on deck with the officers, who were charged by Major Seaton and Captain Wright to see that discipline was preserved among the men, and that silence was maintained. The ship was rolling heavily. About 120 of the men were put to the pumps, and the remainder were gathered together on the poop, so as to ease the fore part of the ship. The horses were pitched out of the port gangway, and the cutter got ready for the women and children. As soon as ever these were safe in the boat the entire bow of the ship broke off at the foremast, and the funnel fell on the side, carrying away the starboard paddle-box and boat. This boat capsized, and the large boat in the middle of the ship could not be got at. About 60 men were crushed by the falling of the funnel and about 60 more drowned below at the pumps. The vessel then broke in two crosswise, and the stern part filled and went down. A large number of men clung to the rigging of the mainmast and others to the driftwood, which the ocean swell carried towards Point Danger. About 70 men got on shore in this way.

"The order and regularity that prevailed on board from the time the ship struck till she totally disappeared," wrote a military survivor, "far exceeded anything that I thought could be effected by the best discipline; and it is the more to be wondered at, seeing that most of the soldiers had been but a short time in the service. Every one did as he was directed, and there was not a murmur or a cry among them until the vessel made her final plunge. I could not name any individual officer who did more than another. All received their orders and had them carried out as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom. There was only this difference, that I never saw any embarkation conducted with so little noise or confusion. All the women and children were put safely on board a schooner that was about seven miles off when the steamer was wrecked. This vessel returned to the wreck at about 3 p.m. and took off 40 or 50 men that were clinging to the rigging."

When the vessel was just going down the commander called out, "All those that can swim jump overboard and make for the boats." The military officers in charge of the soldiers saw that this was certain to swamp the boat which contained the women and children, and those gentlemen bade the soldiers stand still. Not more than three made an attempt to jump over. Of the whole 683 persons who were on board only about 190 were saved. We will not now revive any of the criticisms made either on the captain, the furniture of the ship, or the management of the boats. The obedience of the soldiers in the face of death is the legacy of wonder for which we recall the story. It was noticed that when the Duke of Wellington referred to it at a dinner he did not say a word of the bravery of these soldiers, it being taken for granted by him that a soldier should be brave, but dwelt on their obedience and discipline with all the national pride and pleasure of a great captain who knew their value.

Another deeply moving story of this year was that of the Patagonian missionaries. Except in certain circles the murder of the Rev. John Williams, missionary to the South Seas, by the savages of Erromanga, had been

almost forgotten, and much of the missionary fervour of *his* days had subsided. To the world in general the Patagonia tragedy—if tragedy is a word that may be allowed in such a case—was merely the collapse of a piece of folly, and the men who perished were "deluded men." But for all that, when, just in the midst of political squabbling in which there too often seemed neither heart nor hope, the death-diary, as we may call it (there was no *bed*) of the missionary Allan Gardiner was made known in England, a thrill of wonder, grief, and hope went round wherever there were hearts to beat and even embers of faith and trust to kindle. The society who started the mission were subjected to severe criticism; but it is not for us to express any opinion upon their schemes or their management. It was said that the stores expected by Gardiner and Maidment were left at the Falkland Islands upon the chances of a ship calling there and risking her insurance by taking them on to the forlorn missionaries. It was the admiralty itself, not the society, that sent out the *Dido*, Captain Morshead, to ascertain the fate of Captain Gardiner, R.N., who was the chief of the mission.

It was as far back as September, 1850, that the missionaries left England, and on the 5th of December of that year they pitched their tents in Picton Island. Here they found the natives looking more likely to murder them offhand than to learn catechisms. They then went off to their ship again, and on the 20th of the month they started for the opposite shore on the south-west of Tierra del Fuego, the natives still keeping up a very unchristian attitude. Their two boats, the *Pioneer* and the *Speedwell*, both ran on rocks, but though one was destroyed they hauled the other up on the beach and made a tented dormitory of her, taking refuge in a cavern. The natives still behaved in a manner discouraging to apostolic men. In February, 1851, Mr. Williams, surgeon and catechist, was taken ill, and before long the scurvy broke out among the party. Late in April their provisions run very low, and as they can only afford to eat pork thrice a week, they dine off part of a fox which they kill (for stealing their pork), and salt the remainder. They caught fish and ducks, but their powder was soon reduced to a flask and a half. On the 12th of May all but the sick were put on short allowance, and the 22d of the month was set apart for prayer. The story is heartrending. It is one record of disasters from sea and scurvy, and in the midst of it all we seem to see the wan figures of Gardiner and Maidment kneeling on the rocks to offer up thanksgiving for mercies received. Let us take a few entries from the journal of the heroic Gardiner. In all our story of fifty years there is nothing more deeply moving.

"July 4.—Having been seven weeks on short allowance, and latterly even this having been curtailed, the party are utterly helpless. Everything found in the shape of food is cooked and eaten—a penguin, a shag, a half-devoured fish washed upon the shore, and even the salted fox washed out of the cavern, is thrown up again on the beach and used for food." Captain Gardiner writes, "We have now remaining half a duck, about one pound of salt pork, the same quantity of damaged tea, a very little rice (a pint), two cakes of chocolate, four pints of peas, to which I may add six mice. The mention of this last item in our list of provisions may startle some of our friends should it ever reach their ears, but circumstanced as we are, we partake of them with a relish, and have already eaten several of them. They are very tender and taste like rabbit."

July 22.—They are reduced to living on mussels, and feel the want of food, and sometimes the craving of hunger is distressing to them. Captain Gardiner writes, "After living on mussels for a fortnight I was compelled to give them up, and my food is now mussel broth and the soft part of limpets."

July 28.—Captain Gardiner writes of the party in the other boats: "They are all extremely weak and helpless; even their garden seeds used for broth are now all out."

August 14.—Captain Gardiner takes to his bed, but a rock-weed is discovered which they boil down to a jelly and find nourishment from.

August 23.—John Erwin dies.

August 26.—J. Bryant dies, and Mr. Maidment buries them both in one grave.

John Pearce, the remaining boatman, is cast down at the loss of his comrades, and wandering in his mind; but Mr. Williams is somewhat better.

Sept. 3.—Mr. Maidment has never recruited from that day of bodily and mental exertion.

We give a portion of a literal transcript of Captain Gardiner's last entries.

Sept. 3.—Wishing if possible to spare Mr. Maidment the trouble of attending on me, and for the mutual comfort of all, I purposed if practicable to go to the river and take up my quarters in the boat. This was attempted on Saturday last, feeling that without crutches I could not possibly effect it. Mr. Maidment most kindly cut me a pair (two forked sticks), but it was with no slight exertion and fatigue in his weak state. We set out together, but soon found that I had not strength to proceed, and was obliged to return before reaching the brook on our own beach. Mr. Maidment was so exhausted yesterday that he did not rise from his bed until noon and I have not seen him since, consequently I tasted nothing yesterday. I cannot leave the place where I am, and know not whether he is in the body or enjoying the presence of the gracious God, whom he has served so faithfully. I am writing this at ten o'clock in the forenoon. Blessed be my heavenly Father for the many mercies I enjoy—a comfortable bed, no pain, or even craving of hunger, though excessively weak, scarcely able to turn in my bed, at least it is a very great exertion; but I am by his abounding grace kept in perfect peace, refreshed with a sense of my Saviour's love, and an assurance that all is wisely and mercifully appointed, and pray that I may receive the full blessing which it is doubtless designed to bestow.

Thursday, Sept. 4.—There is now no room to doubt that my fellow-labourer has ceased from his earthly toils, and joined the company of the redeemed in the presence of the Lord whom he served so faithfully; under these circumstances it was a merciful providence that he left the boat, as I could not have removed the body. He left a little peppermint-water which he had mixed, and it has been a great comfort to me, but there was no other to drink; fearing I might suffer from thirst, I prayed that the Lord would strengthen me to procure some. He graciously answered my petition, and yesterday I was enabled to get out and scoop up a sufficient supply from some that trickled down at the stern of the boat by means of one of my india-rubber overshoes. What combined mercies am I receiving at the hands of my Heavenly Father, blessed be his holy name!

Friday, Sept. 5.—Great and marvellous are the loving-kindnesses of my gracious God unto me. He has preserved me hitherto, and for four days, although without bodily food, without any feelings of hunger or thirst.

These last remarks are not written so plainly as the previous day's and it was concluded that they were the last, but another paper was found dated September 6th, addressed to Mr. Williams, and written in pencil, the whole being very indistinct, and some parts quite obliterated.

"My dear Mr. Williams,—The Lord has seen fit to call home another of our little company. Our dear departed brother left the boat on Tuesday afternoon, and has not since returned. Doubtless he is in the presence of his Redeemer whom he served faithfully. Yet a little while, and though . . . the Almighty to sing the praises . . . throne. I neither hunger nor thirst, though . . . days without food . . . Maidment's kindness to me . . . heaven, 'Your affectionate brother in . . . Allan F. Gardiner, September 6, 1851.'"

Our readers are in tears—and we pause. At the time the news of these deaths in 1851 reached England a few cynics made a mock at the "faith" of such men. Those of us who would rather die their death than mock at them, may at least say it was an awful thing that their "faith," shown in the most desolate regions of the whole world, was not better supported by the "works" of those who sent them out and stayed at home at ease in the most comfortable land under heaven.

To about the same date as that upon which we pause, belong a few other non-political topics.

One of the incidents of the early spring of this year is the death of Thomas Moore, who died at Sloperton Cottage aged seventy-two, after a weary time of illness, mental decay, and enforced seclusion from the world. Moore has been much depreciated of late years, and his life was open to the grave criticism of more cultivated, more earnest, and more courageous men. But there is real feeling with real music in his songs, which will preserve his name when "Lalla Rookh" and its compeers are forgotten.

But the literary event of the year 1852 was the publication in England, or rather in all Europe, of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's story called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a book which may be called historical. As everybody knows that it was a story of negro slavery in America, that it circulated by millions, that it was translated into every language (in some of which it cut a queer figure), and that it had much influence on the side of the abolition of slavery in the United States, it is not necessary to say much about it. Mrs. Stowe was the wife of an orthodox minister, and came of a remarkable family, all the Beechers being clever and energetic. *Uncle Tom* was written in a desultory manner, in the midst of family toil—part of it on a cooking-stove, said the author—and was first published *en feuilleton* in a newspaper. The striking feature of the book in the eyes of critics was its free spontaneous humour. Indeed it was at first said that a man must have helped the lady; but her subsequent writings have abundantly proved that she was equal to the whole of it. The book produced much excitement in Great Britain. There was, among other things, a meeting of ladies convened at the Duchess of Sutherland's, and these ladies addressed an appeal to their American sisters, to use their influence towards getting "the peculiar institution" dispensed with. This indiscreet measure was met by a recriminatory address, in which the English were bidden to take the beam out of their own eyes and leave other nations to mind their own affairs.

The publication of Thackeray's *Esmond* was another notable event in the literary record of the year. This novel is a classic, which cannot be said of *Uncle Tom*. A very striking fact in literature was the manner in which lady-novelists were now coming more and more to the front,—Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë.

In 1852 the literature of the new Theism, or Spiritualism as some called it, was very full of life, and the propagandism of the school represented by men like Professor Francis Newman (brother of Dr. J. H. Newman), Theodore Parker, Mr. F. J. Foxton, and others, was more active than it has ever been since. Professor Newman's writings (one of which was entitled *Phases of Faith*) were vigorously attacked by Professor Henry Rogers, a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* and attached officially to an Independent college—in a book entitled *The Eclipse of Faith*, which went through numerous editions. But a marked change was passing over the language of popular theology, and that change has ever since proceeded in an accelerating ratio. That of politics, popular or not, has undergone no such alteration.

Mr. Roebuck, once the Radical purist, and always the unsparing critic of others, has now gone to a land where there are no politics in any human sense of the word. But we may return to the main political current of 1852 by a brief reference to his dispute with Mr. Coppock, the celebrated—we will not say notorious—electioneering agent. In the debate in which he charged certain members with sitting by purchase, and which led to the appointment of the corrupt elections committee, Mr. Roebuck, the invulnerably pure, had said some bitter things. Naturally they came home to him. It was soon noised abroad that Mr. Roebuck had himself had dealings with the despised Mr. Coppock. Mr. Roebuck, foaming at the mouth, denied it: "Mr. Coppock would never have *dared* to come where I was a candidate. I never had anything to do with him in any of my elections." In reply Mr. Coppock published in the *Times* a letter in Mr. Roebuck's hand-

writing, asking him to come down to Bath at the election of 1841 and manage the co-operation of the Whigs and Radicals, as especially to "six artful vain fools" (named), whom Mr. Roebuck could not manage himself. Mr. Roebuck particularly asked Mr. Coppock to go down "*incog.* mind!"—and Mr. Coppock went. In 1852, when the point was the disfranchisement of St. Albans, Mr. Roebuck declared that he had totally forgotten the circumstance of having used Mr. Coppock in 1841. Nobody doubted Mr. Roebuck's word except a few base fellows; but the case was a great lesson to hot-headed assertors and deniers.

One of the first things that befell after the accession to power of the Derby ministry was a meeting of the supporters of Lord John Russell at his house in Chesham Place. This meeting took place at Lord John's own invitation, and was very numerously attended. The object was to come to an understanding upon the line of tactics to be pursued by the Whig Liberals. Lord John—always ready to quote precedents—recalled the crisis of 1846, in which Sir Robert Peel had called upon him (Lord John) in the House of Commons to state what course he intended to take upon the question of the corn-laws. It would therefore be in order now to demand of the Tories what *their* intentions were. With this view he had written to Mr. Disraeli to ask whether it was the intention of the government to disclose their policy. Mr. Disraeli had replied that they had no such intention. Lord John had then consulted Sir James Graham and Mr. Cobden, both of whom concurred in the view that it was incumbent on the Liberal party to force the Conservatives to show their hand. Mr. Villiers agreed. Mr. Hume and Mr. Duncombe thought that Lord John ought now himself to state what his own policy would be. Mr. Bright supported Lord John, who withdrew his reform measure, but threw out hints that if the Liberals would only trust him and work heartily with him, he would propose a new and broad basis of action for the party. The general outcome of the meeting was that Mr. Villiers was to ask for a statement of the ministerial intentions. If the answer should prove unsatisfactory it would then be open to any member to move a vote of want of confidence or to limit the supplies, or to do anything else that would compel a dissolution.

It cannot be said that there was much information (as to what the government would do) in Mr. Disraeli's address to the Buckinghamshire electors, which was short enough to be quoted here, and vague enough to puzzle even an elector as ingenious as its author.

"The late administration," wrote Mr. Disraeli to his constituents, "fell to pieces from internal dissension and not from the assault of their opponents; and notwithstanding the obvious difficulties of our position we have felt that to shrink from encountering them would be to leave the country without a government and her majesty without servants. Our first duty will be to provide for the ordinary and current exigencies of the public service; but at no distant period we hope, with the concurrence of the country, to establish a policy in conformity with the principles which in opposition we have felt it our duty to maintain. We shall endeavour to terminate that strife of classes which of late years has exercised so pernicious an influence over the welfare of this kingdom, to accomplish those remedial measures which great productive interests, suffering from unequal taxation, have a right to demand from a just government; to cultivate friendly relations with all foreign powers and secure honourable peace; to uphold in their spirit, as well as in their form, our political institutions; and to increase the efficiency as well as maintain the rights of our national and Protestant church. An administration formed with these objects, and favourable to progressive improvement in every department of the state, is one which we hope may obtain the support and command the confidence of the community, whose sympathies are the best foundation for a strong administration, while they are the best security for a mild government."

Outside of parliament the subject of parliamentary reform was just now taken up with great vigour, but only to be soon thrown into the shade by another, namely that of protec-

tion. There is something melancholy in glancing at the activities of the National Association and the names of the speakers at a "mass meeting" which followed close upon the defeat of the Whigs at the opening of the session. The very place at which the meeting was held —St. Martin's Hall—has since become the Queen's Theatre, and, that failing, the building has been applied to other purposes, while the leading speakers are not only (with few exceptions) dead, but some of them were of a type which has entirely disappeared like the mastodon during the years which have since elapsed. The great point insisted upon at this meeting was that by the secession of the Whigs "opportunity was restored to the party of progress;" which of course meant, being interpreted, that it would be natural and easy for Radicals of every school to oppose the Tories tooth and nail, while that was hardly feasible while Lord John was in power with a new reform bill in his hand. *Then* the Radicals were naturally expected by the moderates to take half a loaf because it was better than no bread, whereas it was not only feasible but a duty to drive Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli over the precipice, and wait the event. Mr. Hume, Sir Joshua Walmsley, and other accredited politicians lent their presence to the meeting and to the movements of the association, which set itself to stir up the public mind, and goad the consciences of members of parliament upon such questions as manhood suffrage, the ballot, annual parliaments, and no property qualification; but too many working-men, from the ends of the earth, weakened the force of the whole thing by destroying the unity of the meeting and its plans. It was nonsense, for example, to disturb a general meeting of an association for promoting parliamentary reform by abusing bishops and clergymen, or by yelping at abuses which only a very strong Liberal government could think of touching. This was a common incident of political agitation a generation back, and it is interesting to note how much less there is of it than there used to be. It is also amusing to see that the presence of ladies at political meetings was still considered something phenomenal. In those days it was always made a point of by the reporters if "a few ladies were accommodated with seats upon the platform."

A more directly practical matter was the resuscitation of the Anti-Corn-law League, which, with immense subscriptions at its back, raised in a day or two, sprang into full life at Manchester in the first week of this March. The heroes of the old fight were present at the first great meeting: Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Milner Gibson; and Mr. George Wilson took the chair as he used to do. Mr. Cobden made a very spirited and humorous speech in his best manner. "You must not," said he, "be hoodwinked by those who counsel you to wait. You must act on the instant, for enthusiasm cannot easily be kept alive for months. Turn out Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, and the whole company, bag and baggage, at once. They will tell you that *now* is not the proper time to dissolve parliament. I have seen," said Mr. Cobden, "a good deal of parliamentary life, and I never yet knew the government which thought 'now' was the proper time to dissolve. They want time. Take care they do not have it. They will get up all sorts of irrelevant issues to divert popular feeling from the one great issue. In old times they 'who devoured widows' houses for a pretence made long prayers,' and you will see that religion will be one of the topics with which they will try to bewilder us all. Perhaps the monarchy—the rights of the crown—about which Mr. Disraeli is so much concerned. Lord Derby and his colleagues know their mind or they do not. Do not grant them a few months in which to decide whether they will turn their coats or not. They must take one of 'three courses'—resign, dissolve parliament, or recant." Mr. Bright and Mr. Gibson made speeches, and Mr. Bazley related an anecdote of Sir Robert Peel which produced a tremendous effect. Just before he died Mr. Bazley had been telling him how well the repeal of the corn-laws had worked. "I am very glad to hear it," said the statesman, "but take care to keep what you have got." A petition to the queen to dissolve parliament was adopted with enthusiasm, and, as we have before seen, in

twenty-five minutes the subscription list of the evening reached £27,500.

The ministerial statement made by Lord Derby was temporizing. He pleaded for time. He had been taken by surprise when the late ministry resigned, and had only had four days in which to form his cabinet, and he was of opinion that no great political change should be introduced without a previous appeal to the intelligent portion of the community. As he was in a decided minority in the House of Commons he must trust to the indulgence of friends and the forbearance of enemies. Then his lordship began to show his real colours. "Let us," said he, "stick for the present to measures of legal and social reform." But Lord John Russell's reform bill was "fraught with incalculable danger, not only to the monarchy but to the liberties of the people." Educational measures which were not based on the Scriptures he would resist to the last, and any attempt to diminish the power or privileges of the Established Church. He then went on to attack the free-trade policy of Sir Robert Peel and defend the protection tariff of the United States. Upon this subject he gradually became cloudy, but after sitting down was viciously attacked by Lord Grey, who acted as ferret with pertinacious vigour.

It was of course around the question of protection that the great battle was fought in the House of Commons, and the Peelites came up armed to the teeth and eager for the fray. The great speech in the first great debate was made by no less a warrior than Sir James Graham, whose towering form, impressive manner, clear, steady eloquence, wary logic, and great experience produced an effect which made even Mr. Disraeli obviously uncomfortable. Sir James Graham had real disclosures to make. "I stated last year, having then listened to him (Mr. Disraeli) when his proposed measures on the subject of agricultural relief seemed somewhat mystified—I stated that I was forced to go to another house for the information which I wished, and I said that there were peers who acted in combination with the party of the right hon. gentleman who had been quite explicit as to their general policy. That policy was, as I understood it, first to change the administration, next to dissolve parliament, then to impose duties on imports, and among them upon corn. That was then my solution. A clue having thus been given elsewhere as to the objects of what was then the party in opposition, I adhere to that view of their objects now, and I call on them to deny it if they can. They have succeeded in their first move—they have displaced the last ministry and are in power themselves; and it is now my belief that they wish to dissolve parliament for the purpose of imposing, if they can, in the new house, duties on imports, and among those duties on corn. Do I represent the matter rightly? Well, it is entirely a question of evidence, and we have a difficulty here in ascertaining it."

But Sir James had to make a more striking disclosure still, which introduced the name of Mr. Gladstone. "When the noble lord (Lord John Russell) resigned, and the present first lord of the treasury attempted to form a ministry, the whole arrangement was kept open pending the return of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Gladstone), who was then upon the Continent. Earl Derby made to him a proposal to join his government. But what was the preliminary point? My right honourable friend asked the noble earl what we have asked in vain here—What are your intentions on the subject of protection? The Earl of Derby said, 'My opinion is pronounced; I am quite decided in favour of duties on imports, and I am not prepared to say that corn should be excepted.' My right honourable friend therefore, true to those principles which he had constantly advocated in reference to this question, said, 'That preliminary step then is fatal to our union. I cannot consent to join your administration.' So earnest was Lord Derby in adhering to the faith of his pledges, and so sincere in his opinion in favour of a reversal of a free-trade policy, that though he had made the whole of his arrangements as to the formation of an administration to depend upon the adhesion of my right honourable friend, when he got that answer he abandoned the project, conceiving that success was not

possible. I regret that the noble lord, the member for Tiverton (Lord Palmerston), is not in his place to add his testimony; but unless I am greatly deceived—I should have stated it in his presence, and he could have contradicted me if I am misinformed—I am told, and I confidently believe, that the Earl of Derby had an interview, by the permission of her majesty, with the noble lord the member for Tiverton when the present administration was formed; that he did propose to that noble viscount that he should take part in the new administration, and that the same question as was put last year by my right honourable friend the member for Oxford was put this year, and within the last fortnight, to the noble lord—that the same question, I say, was put and the same answer given—that it was as possible for the Exe to flow backward from the ocean as for the corn-laws to be restored, and that it was impossible for him to join the administration. Well—but now I think by this time I have gone very far to prove my case."

Sir James Graham brought his speech to a most effective close by referring to his last conversation with Sir Robert Peel. "I remember the last conversation which I ever had with Sir Robert Peel. It was upon the eve of that great discussion upon our foreign policy in which he and I found it our painful duty to vote against a government which upon other accounts, and more especially upon the account of their support of a free-trade policy, we had usually assisted. It was impossible not to look to the consequences of that vote, and I pointed out to Sir Robert Peel the possibility that the government would be overthrown, and asked him what would then ensue? He said, 'I know that in this country, without party connections, no man can govern. I know that my party ties are dissolved, and I am not prepared to renew them, and do not desire to renew them. But come what may, there is no effort that I will not make to maintain that free-trade policy which I believe to be indispensable for the maintenance of the peace and happiness of this country.' Sir, I do not possess the abilities of my right honourable friend, but I possess his determination, and, like him, there is no effort I will not be prepared to make, and no sacrifice I will not be prepared to undergo, to uphold that policy which, in my heart and conscience, I believe to be necessary for the peace, the happiness, and the well-being of my fellow-countrymen."

It was not every benevolent man or every sincere friend of the working-classes who looked with a partial eye at the opposition, whether inside or outside the House of Commons, which the advent of the Tories to power had evoked. Nothing is more curiously instructive than to watch the unexpected divergences of feeling and opinion which often arise within boundary-lines which, it might be expected, would include nothing but what was simple and unanimous. For instance, the Christian socialist party, as represented by men like Maurice and Kingsley, were by no means pleased with the dead set, so to speak, which was made at the new government on the point of protection. Mr. Maurice spoke of "the base attempts of the Anti-Corn-law League to goad ministers to committing themselves to protection," when there seemed reason to "trust" that they had abandoned it. There seemed some grounds for hope that a measure legalizing limited liability (with an eye to workmen's industrial associations) was on the cards, and this alone was enough to make some of the more serious—not to say the more conservative—of the working-man's friends a good deal averse to anything like badgering the party in power. The one thing which could be played off against the dread of any revival of protection was the hatred which multitudes of cultivated Englishmen felt towards that Manchester School of which we have already heard. A hatred which was represented by men like Mr. Tennyson, Mr. Maurice, and Mr. Kingsley could not be a wholly uninfluential eddy in the current of affairs. These men and their friends were anxious, in their own phrase, to reconcile the working-man with the real aristocracy of the country, the clergy, the monarchy, and all the old English traditions. Whether a man who cherished this desire could justifiably come

forward, as Kingsley did, before an assembly of working men and declare himself "a Chartist" is a question which each must decide for himself. The exact *practical* meaning of a word is a nice matter, a matter of feeling and honour. The word Chartist carried with it sub-meanings which were abhorrent enough to many of those who did not seem afraid of it, for example, Mr. Disraeli. But then in times of great excitement what is now the fashion to call the "connotations" of words are apt to be let slide.

The view of a large and powerful party, as summed up by Kingsley, may be put in small compass. They looked upon the old Whiggery as dead, and "true-blue Toryism of the Sir Robert Inglis school" as dead too. What were the two *working* parties of the day? The Peelites first, and then the Manchester party. The view thus taken of the situation we are not now adopting; we merely present it as part of a *complete* view. But it was held by the Liberal-Conservative party of the poetic old English school, that the Peelites would ultimately absorb into themselves all the remains of Whiggery and a large proportion of the Conservative party. The thing to be hoped, said Mr. Kingsley, was that the Peelites would serve as ballast and cooling-pump to both parties; but in the meanwhile it seemed as if their very moderation, and that capacity of trimming which they inherited from their great master, would make them likely to obtain power.

As to the Manchester party, the feelings and opinions of the poetic-English school were so admirably expressed by Mr. Maurice and Mr. Kingsley that we cannot do better than put a few of their words side by side. The great thing, said Mr. Maurice, was for the government to "throw themselves into social measures, and . . . avert that horrible catastrophe of a Manchester ascendency, which I believe in my soul would be fatal to intellect, morality, and freedom, and will be more likely to move a rebellion among the working-men than any Tory rule which can be conceived." This is followed up by Mr. Kingsley in language still stronger and more definite. "To pretend to be the workman's friend by keeping down the price of bread, when all they want thereby is to keep down wages and increase profits, and in the meantime to widen the gulf between the working-man and all that is time-honoured, refined, and chivalrous in English society, that they may make the men their divided slaves: that is—perhaps half unconsciously, for there are excellent men amongst them—the game of the Manchester school. I have never swerved from my one idea of the last seven years, that the real battle of the time—if England is to be saved from anarchy, and unbelief, and utter exhaustion caused by the competitive enslavement of the masses—is not Radical or Whig against Peelite or Tory, but the church, the gentleman, and the workman against the shopkeepers and the Manchester school. The battle could not have been fought forty years ago, because on one side the church was an idle phantasm, the gentleman too ignorant, the workman too merely animal; while on the other the Manchester cotton-spinners were all Tories, and the shopkeepers were a distinct class interest from theirs. But now these two latter have united, and the sublime incarnation of shopkeeping and labour-buying in the cheapest market shines forth in the person of Nebuchadnezzar and son, and both cotton-spinners and shopkeepers say, 'This is the man!' and join in one common press to defend his system. Be it so: now we know our true enemies, and soon the working-man will know them also. But if the present ministry will not see the possibility of a coalition between them and the workmen, I see no alternative but just what we have been straining every nerve to keep off—a competitive United States, a democracy before which the work of ages will go down in a few years. A true democracy, such as you and I should wish to see, is impossible without a church and a queen, and, as I believe, without a gentry. On the conduct of statesmen it will depend whether we are gradually and harmoniously to develop England on her ancient foundations, or whether we are to have fresh paralytic governments succeeding each other in doing nothing, while the workmen and the Manchester School fight out the real questions of the day in ignorance

and fury, till *culbute generale* comes, and gentlemen of ancient family, like your humble servant, betake themselves to Canada to escape, not the Amalgamated Engineers, but their 'masters' and the slop-working savages whom their masters' system has created, and will by that time have multiplied tenfold."

Of course this view of the subject was far too remote and too calculated to be presentable to the multitude, but it had considerable weight in thoughtful circles, and lay behind much of the reserve and hesitation which were noticed in the Houses of Lords and Commons at this time. In the latter house, however, there was a fierce resolve to force the hand of Lord Derby's government. It is not necessary to charge Lord John Russell or the Peelites with party spirit—certainly not the Peelites. Their tradition was a sacred thing with them, and they honestly believed that the welfare of England turned upon the preservation, untouched, of the whole scheme of free-trade; nay, that the policy and method required enlarging indefinitely from time to time. Mr. Cardwell—a very able Peelite, who was said to have inherited his master's mantle, and who has not received the credit due to his great abilities—made at Liverpool what was perhaps a greater, more exhaustive free-trade speech than even Mr. Cobden's or Sir James Graham's. Mr. Disraeli had run over a list of minor reforms, including Chancery law, which he thought would justify the government in postponing an appeal to the country. But Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone, the latter with much gravity and precision, rejected the pleas put forward by the chancellor of the exchequer as utterly hopeless in constitutional logic. Mr. Gladstone did not blame the government for accepting office, but he earnestly maintained that the issue as to protection must be clearly stated and openly dealt with, and that they must almost immediately dissolve parliament. Mr. Gladstone declined to enter into any discussion of the merits of the policy of free-trade; that he took it as a settled question, which the country would very speedily answer by declaring, as he did himself, that it should neither be reversed nor modified—unless in the way of extension or development.

Mr. Disraeli's defence of the government position seized in the most dexterous manner upon every point which had been raised by Lord John Russell (in a not very wise and guarded, but very lively speech), and taunted him with some matters on which he had been silent. The question whether free-trade was to be taken as a panacea for really "*all* the evils of states" was addressed to the feeling in the house and the country which has been already indicated as belonging to the quasi-socialistic church-and-throne Liberals. "I should now sit down," said the chancellor of the exchequer, with latent malice in every word he uttered, "did I not feel that I have a duty to perform to her majesty's opposition. The opposition has very frankly inquired what are the principles upon which the administration is formed. There is a subject scarcely second to that in importance in this country, and that is the principle on which her majesty's opposition is formed. I hope, therefore, I may be permitted to take this opportunity of making that inquiry. Is it the principle of Papal supremacy or Protestant ascendency? Is it the principle of national defences or of perpetual peace? Is it the principle of household suffrage or of the electoral groups? Is it the opinion of the new opposition, along with the honourable member for the West Riding, that free-trade is a panacea for *all* the evils of states? Or is it the opinion of the new opposition, in deference to the noble lord the member for London, that free-trade is a great exaggeration? He thought those questions ought to be frankly answered. For himself, great as were their difficulties, he did not despair. He had confidence in the good sense and temper of parliament; and if these failed him he was sure of the country, convinced that it would support the government in their attempt to do their duty to the sovereign and in their resolution to *baffle the manœuvres of faction*."

Among other matters, it will be noticed that in making this "inquiry" Mr. Disraeli played off the Manchester or "peace" party

against the national defence or militia party. The occasion was certainly tempting, when Mr. Roebuck and Lord Palmerston, the former a regular "Dog Tear-'em" (so he was nicknamed) on foreign affairs, were at hand, ready and likely to make mischief. As we shall again come upon the militia question we will be indebted to Mr. Roebuck for a few of his vigorous sentences on the subject of our relations with France, which were becoming every hour more uneasy, in spite of the steadiness of the funds, to which the Tory party appealed so much. "If," said "Dog Tear-'em," "if it be made plain to me that we do want forces to defend ourselves against these projected attacks, I am prepared to vote for any force — to call out every man in the kingdom if required. Egad, I don't know whether I would not call out the women also. I will tell you what I believe is the cause of danger. There is at the present moment in France—I was going to say upon the throne, for it is pretty nearly that—a man who up to the present time has shown himself totally incapable of being bound by any ordinary principle of virtue. Oaths have no power over him. He has broken all oaths. He has trampled down law; he has put down the constitution. He has put an end to anything like constitutional government—the result of something like sixty years of labour to the French people—and has brought them to a state of total despotism. He has done this by means of the army. I speak of that army well knowing the leaders of it—well knowing the history of most of its great deeds—and I know the feeling of that army is that we are the only people in Europe that has not succumbed to the arms of France. We were never beaten. Our capital is still the only capital of Europe that has not been entered by a French army. The very expectation and longing of their lives—the very talk of their bivouacs—is the getting to London. Why, if there was a danger of invasion for three hours, fancy what would be the effect on all the world. Remember that London is not like Paris. Paris affects France—London affects the world. Of the whole mercantile world, from one end to the other of Asia, Africa, America, and Europe, the heart is London. Paralyze that heart, and the arteries cease to beat. Let one incident of palsy come, and all the varied trembling lines of commerce that exist, from one end of the country to the other, would be snapped asunder. Terror, dismay, ruin, would seize millions, and against that direful calamity the statesmen of England have to be forewarned. I love peace—I hate war. Aggressive war I think a direful crime, as well as a calamity. Defensive war I think a great duty. Every Englishman, every honest man, will be ready to lift up his hand in defence of his country and his voice against aggressive war."

There was nothing new in the principles laid down here, but the majority of the nation applauded them to the echo, shrinking as they did from the shadow of the empire in France. We have, however, now brought out in some degree the more critical points in the politico-social map of this critical year, and may pass on.

The scene at the re-election of Mr. Christopher, the Tory chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and member for North Lincolnshire, was noteworthy for one incident only: Mr. Seeley, candidate for Lincoln at the next election, proposed in opposition to Mr. Christopher no less a person than Mr. Macaulay! Three cheers were given for free-trade, the same for Mr. Cobden, and three groans for protection.

Sir John Pakington, the new colonial secretary, was scarcely in office before his troubles began. Lord Grey had promised before the Tories came into power that transportation to Australia should be abandoned. In spite of this promise some shiploads of convicts had been despatched or were about to be despatched to Hobart Town, and Sir William Molesworth now headed a deputation to Sir John Pakington upon the subject. Sir John said that he had arrested the sailing of two shiploads of criminals, and that the subject should have the attention of the government. Sir William Molesworth urged that the Australian colonies were on the point of becoming "potent states," and that nothing would endanger their loyalty more than continuing this

practice of burdening them with the refuse of our population. The subject is an important one, and we have before referred to the services rendered by Sir William Molesworth to our colonies.

Among other matters, lying beyond the home horizon, it may be briefly mentioned that the Kaffir war was now beginning to wear a much more favourable aspect. But the government could not be induced to look upon rifle-clubs at home with a friendly or patronizing eye. They postponed the question very coldly, even when pressed upon them by the Marquis of Salisbury.

Both in the House of Lords and the House of Commons explicit pledges were obtained from ministers that parliament should be dissolved well within the year, and that there would be no attempt to restore either the corn duty or the navigation laws. In the House of Lords Lord Brougham introduced a bill to reduce the interval of fifty days to thirty-five days between the dissolution and the reassembling of parliaments.

Mr. Hume bringing forward his annual motion for parliamentary reform, including extended suffrage, the ballot, and the rest of the usual Radical programme, a debate ensued in which Mr. Disraeli, alluding "delicately to a certain abandoned proposition" of Lord John Russell's (the last reform bill), strongly opposed Mr. Hume's motion. He quoted stories of American elections in which it was said there had been stabbings in the polling-booths in spite of the ballot, and maintained, mounting the high "moral" horse—a thing not usual with him—that the law could not prevent corruption at elections, and that only education could. Lord John made a speech in which, though he declared himself in favour of an extension of the suffrage, he denounced Mr. Hume's propositions as fraught with danger to the crown and the House of Lords. Mr. Gladstone voted against Mr. Hume's motion.

Few periods have been more suggestive of social and political progress than the year to which we have necessarily devoted so many pages, and yet it was comparatively barren of immediate practical results. The effects which had been anticipated from the success of the Great International Exhibition had been only partially realized in a revival of trade and a sense of general activity, which was perverted by combinations of masters and men against each other and the temporary paralysis of some of the largest industries in the kingdom. The "Peace Congress," as the Hyde Park show had been called, was followed by a widely-spread feeling of insecurity, and that kind of preparation for possible resistance which itself too often develops into aggression. All over Europe the political atmosphere was disturbed, and wars and rumours of wars continued to excite public attention. The whole session of parliament produced little or nothing of importance, and yet both in and out of parliament a number of tentative proposals had been brought forward which were suggestive of future legislation, and were to be realized at a comparatively early date. The only policy of which the new government was suspected was one which would never be accepted by the country, and it was understood that the ministry of Lord Derby could not continue in power against an opposition which consisted of a practical though not an organized coalition of the Whigs and the Peelites. The proceedings in the house, and still more a great deal that was going on outside, had the salutary effect of clearing the way for more definite action. The ministry had promised little, and at the outset was obliged to disavow its intention of putting forward principles which at the same time it professed to entertain as a part of its theoretical programme. It came into power under conditions which made extensive pledges impossible. The financial measures of its predecessors were for a time necessarily continued; and when at the end of the year Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his budget, it soon became evident that he would only be able to carry it by a *tour de force* which would require more energy than his colleagues could bring to his support.

The financial statement of Mr. Disraeli was ingenious, and it would certainly have had the merit of being a complete change from previous arrangements, but it had the inevit-

able defect of all measures designed to induce a particular class of people to believe that they are specially considered. It was intended to please the agricultural interest, which in this instance was supposed to mean the farmers; but the more intelligent farmers could not see what real advantage they were to gain from it, while townspeople, mechanics, and manufacturers were entirely opposed to its professed adjustments of taxation. Macaulay's declaration that it was "a plan for taking money out of the pockets of people in towns and putting it into the pockets of growers of malt" was not bad, but of course the budget was a great deal more than that.

It should not be forgotten that the chancellor of the exchequer, when he first took office, admitted that he required time to examine the financial condition of the country before bringing forward a scheme; and when after dissolution, parliament again met in November, and it was found that the result of an appeal to the country had been still to leave the government in a hopeless minority—the plan proposed would have had little chance of acceptance even had it been one of far-reaching sagacity.

Mr. Disraeli had, in fact, claimed the indulgence of the house on account of the unusual circumstances of difficulty in which he was placed, and because the present financial year was only two parts concluded. Unlimited competition being established as the commercial system of the country, it was his object to adapt the financial system to this new state of things. And this led to the consideration of the claims of those who believed themselves to have received particular injury from recent legislation. Those different interests were - the shipping interest, the sugar-producing interest, and the agricultural interest. The shipping interest believed themselves to be labouring under injuries caused by the repeal of the navigation laws, and, after attentive investigation, their claims seemed to be founded upon truth. For their relief the government proposed to abolish all light dues, except those actually for the maintenance of the lighthouses themselves; to intrust the complicated questions of pilotage and ballasting to a committee of the house, with a view to their reform; and with regard to various grievances, which he classified as admiralty grievances, and in which he included the privilege of enlistment in the navy by merchant seamen, salvage, and anchorage—it was proposed by the government, with the co-operation of the admiralty, to modify or abolish them to an extent which would give the merchant service additional privileges. With regard to the claims of the sugar interest, the government did not see any ground for entertaining them, with the exception of the request to admit sugar to be refined in bond for home consumption — which the government proposed to concede, subject to certain conditions. The next subject related to the general taxation of the country. There was a body of taxation composed of three rates—the highway-rate, the county-rate, and the poor-rate. With regard to the first the government intended to propose a bill which he believed would receive the confidence of the house and the country. With regard to the county-rate he might say that there was not the slightest objection on the part of the government to the introduction of the representative principle into its adjustment; but, nevertheless, the government was not at present prepared to recommend any change. He next came to the poor-rate and described the progress of its diminution since 1848, amounting to nearly twenty-five per cent. Considering this fact, and the various circumstances bearing on the question, he did not feel it necessary to make any change in this law, or in local taxation generally. He then came to the subject of the general taxation of the country under a system of unlimited competition. It was the boast of honourable members on the other side of the house that they had given cheap bread to the country. But to carry out their principles they must cheapen every other article of consumption: and in carrying out those principles they could not fail to benefit every class and give particular relief to those classes who had suffered from the system which they had introduced. The house would not be surprised, therefore, when he stated that he proposed to

reduce the malt-tax by one-half, and to abolish altogether the drawback on malt in Scotland —the system to come into operation on the 10th of October. He then arrived at another article on which he proposed a reduction—tea. Since the period when Mr. Pepys first enjoyed the "new China drink," tea had every year been imported into this country in larger quantities, and at a reduced price until 1851, when no less than 71,466,000 lbs. were imported; and the last reduction of duties had tended to give a great impetus to this increase. The extent of reduction which he proposed was 1*s.* 4¼*d.* per pound, which would leave only 1*s.* per pound remaining—the reduction to be effected gradually during a period of six years. In cheapening another important beverage of the people they had to consider another duty—that was the duty on hops. He was not going to remove the entire duty on this article—something must be left for future statesmen. What he proposed was to take off the tax of 1*d.* per pound, which had been laid on during the war. Reflecting upon the policy of these measures, the right honourable gentleman combated the notion which was entertained in some quarters that the consuming power of the people was on the decline. The supposition was induced by the large amount of emigration; and it was true that there were more persons going out of the country than were counterbalanced by the excess of births over deaths in England and Wales. But it should be taken into consideration that the calculations of births and deaths were confined to England and Wales, while the emigration calculation had reference to the extent of about two-thirds of Ireland. Under these circumstances he could not but consider emigration as a most beneficial symptom. Another great cause of the prosperity of the country was the discovery of the gold regions, which might have the effect of raising it to a height which had never before been attained. Under all these circumstances he could not consider that the consuming power of the people was on the decline. The loss to the revenue by the reductions would amount to between three and four millions sterling. Then they would remember that one of the principal sources of the revenue would soon terminate—he alluded to the property and income tax. He recommended to the house the extension of that tax to funded property and salaries in Ireland; and, with respect to its general operation, he wished to introduce a new principle, which was to acknowledge a difference between permanent and precarious incomes; and to recommend that on all industrial incomes the exemption should commence at £100 a year, and on incomes arising from property at £50 a year. After explaining the details of the proposed plan by which the tax on property would remain at 7*d.* in the pound, whilst that on income was to fall to 5¼*d.* in the pound, he added that the general result would be that the tax on the new basis would yield about the same amount as the average of the last three years. He had now to propose the ways and means by which the diminution in the revenue would be met. He should be obliged to make a considerable increase in the estimates, especially in those necessary for the defence of the country, for which the government had a great and comprehensive scheme to propose. He should be obliged to ask that the expenditure of the present year should be supplied through the ways and means; and for the next year he should make an estimate which would exceed the usual estimate by £600,000. He considered himself justified in proposing this expenditure, when he stated that the surplus, which he expected on the 5th of April would amount to about a million and a half. He proposed the abolition of the loan fund commission as a useless and expensive body, and from their repayments he expected a large sum to accrue to the country. He showed by various calculations that the increased expenditure joined to the large reductions would leave a considerable deficit, and this he proposed to meet by doubling and extending the house-tax, so that instead of its being chargeable only on houses rated at £20 and upwards it should commence with houses of £10 rating, while the tax on private houses should be increased from ninepence to eighteenpence in the pound, and shops instead of paying sixpence should be rated at a shilling in the pound; the

tax would then amount to about £150,000 a year less than the window-duty, and would yield £1,723,000. By these means he calculated that for the financial year 1853–54 there would be £2,500,000 in hand to meet an extra expense of £2,100,000. That for the financial year 1854–55, allowing for all losses in respect of diminution of duties, the surplus from the previous year, and the house-tax which would then be in full operation, he would have on hand £3,510,000. Thus he came to the conclusion that the surplus the first year would be £400,000, and that of the second year something under £500,000, which he considered a healthy state of the finances, promising happiness and prosperity to the country. This was the scheme which, in a speech lasting over four hours, Mr. Disraeli proposed, and it obtained warm support from several of his colleagues as a masterly and statesman-like measure.

The debate upon the budget was long, but by no means uncertain, and it soon became evident that the attempted adjustments in favour of the agriculturists, of which it was alleged that though they would scarcely benefit by them, other classes of the community would be unduly burdened, were unacceptable even if there had been any disposition on the part of the opposition to accept a financial scheme from a government which must evidently resign. It has been said that Mr. Disraeli never fought more effectually than when he was fighting against what appeared to be inevitable defeat, and it may be imagined that he did not spare his opponents either taunt or sarcasm. Sir Charles Wood was one of the first to analyse and to oppose the measure—the remission of the malt-duty he said would be intercepted by the maltster and the brewer. He made much of the unpopular character of the extension of the income-tax to persons in humble circumstances and the extension of the house-duty to farmers' houses, one of the "benefits" to be conferred on the farmer. Practically the house-duty would lead to extensive disfranchisement of electors. The public works loan fund consisted of money originally borrowed to be lent out again with accumulations of interest, and had been very useful in aiding local works, and if it were to be discontinued the debt ought to be extinguished; but who ever heard that it could be considered as annual revenue? Yet Mr. Disraeli proposed to use it in making up a fictitious surplus. It was malappropriation.

Mr. Cobden protested against the ingredients of compensation and the revival of antagonism between town and country, denouncing the increase of the house-tax as unjust and partial, since it increased the existing disproportion of taxation upon houses and upon land, and moreover fell upon owners as well as occupiers.

In this debate Mr. Lowe came forward in an elaborate speech against the scheme of the chancellor of the exchequer, and directed his attacks particularly against the malt-tax, saying it was by no means clear that a diminution in prime cost would be followed by a reduction in the price of beer in the face of a close monopoly of the brewers—while as the publicans were in the brewers' hands they had to make up for the small profits allowed them either by adulterating the liquor or reducing the measure till the quart bottle appeared likely soon to become a pint and the pint a medicine bottle. There were representatives of the brewing interest in the house who knew better what were the relations between brewers and publicans (especially in the case of publicans who had free licenses), and who could have told something of publicans' profits. Mr. Bass, of course, supported the repeal of the malt-tax, and there was a general tendency on the ministerial side to uphold that as the most important feature of the budget, of which, however, the chief point was the increase and extension of house-duty. The opposition, however, would not hear of the readjustment, and unattached members like Mr. Lowe and Mr. B. Osborne condemned it—the latter making a vigorous onslaught, in which he declared that the budget was based on tyranny and injustice, and maintained that the plan of the government with respect to the house-tax was nothing more than a contrivance to compensate the agricultural interest by throwing an additional burden on

the middle classes, while he denied that the reduction of the malt-tax would be a consumer's question since the price of beer would not be materially affected, and still less would the agricultural interest generally be benefited, as he well knew, being himself a barley grower.

Mr. Hume declared that with regard to the agricultural interest, neither producers nor consumers would be benefited by dealing with the malt-tax unless it were abolished altogether. There were 233 articles remaining on the tariff on which protective duties were still collected yielding only £434,000, the removal of any one of which would benefit somebody. He advocated the substitution of a system of direct taxation which would attach to all property, for taxes by excise and customs, and denounced the house-duty as one of the worst of taxes—a tax upon domestic comforts most unjust in its nature and unequal in its operation.

Sir James Graham followed with a critical and exhaustive examination of the proposed budget, which he said was of an ordinary character when stripped of the repeal of half the malt-tax and the increase of the house-tax. With respect to the former, he had invariably opposed a remission of any part of that tax, and he assigned various reasons why such remission would be of little or no advantage to consumers or producers. Sir James next insisted upon the inexpediency of interfering with the operation of the exchequer loan fund, which was of great local importance, and asked why the chancellor of the exchequer laid his hands upon a part of this useful fund to supply a deficiency he would himself create, by tampering with the taxation of the country. The views of Mr. Disraeli upon the subject of direct taxation, he remarked, were incongruous. He had laid it down at one time that direct taxation with large exemptions was confiscation; and at another, that without large exemptions it was impossible. Sir James exemplified the manner in which the income-tax, as it would be introduced into Ireland, and the increased house-tax in England, conflicted with these maxims, and contended that the proposed scheme of distinguishing between realized and precarious incomes would work unequally in both countries. He held that the admixture of direct and indirect taxation was sound policy, but that the admixture required great caution and the proportions must be carefully regulated. As we have said, it was quite evident from the attitude of the house and also from opinions out of doors that the budget would not be passed, when Mr. Disraeli rose to reply. He first addressed himself to the subject of the exchequer loan fund, of which he had taken £400,000 as ways and means of the year. He explained the origin of this establishment (which he proposed to abolish), and observed that when his attention was drawn to this fund he found in this department a balance of upwards of £380,000 lying idle, a law being in existence, peremptorily requiring that this unproductive balance should be increased every quarter; and he stated cases in which, he said, the minister of the day had availed himself of this public fund, virtually without the cognisance of parliament, and sums had been squandered which had escaped the vigilance of even Mr. Hume. £250,000 had been lent to the Thames Tunnel, of which not a shilling had been repaid. Battersea Park, one of the most woful of speculations, had had an advance of £150,000. He had a catalogue of parallel instances, from 1824 to 1850, in which a sum very little short of £700,000 had been advanced, every shilling of which had been lost to the country. He had been asked why he had touched this fund. He replied, to relieve the consolidated fund from this annual charge, and to put a stop to a machinery which wasted the public money. He then noticed the second arraignment of his financial statement by Sir C. Wood, namely, the mistake he had been supposed to make in the estimate of deficiency in 1854–55, through the semi-repeal of the malt-duty, which he contended he had properly assumed at £1,700,000. Approaching the subject of the house-tax, he touched rapidly upon those parts of our colossal system of taxation which had to be accommodated to the policy of unrestricted competition, observing that the government had to fix upon some direct tax

to enable them to carry out financial reform, and he retorted with great keenness the charge of endeavouring recklessly to increase the direct taxation of the country, upon Sir C. Wood, who had proposed one day to double the income and property tax, and next day told the house he had sufficient ways and means without it. In providing an amount of direct taxation for their purpose the government were guided by two principles—first, as regarded the income-tax, to establish a distinction between realized and precarious incomes; and secondly, to enlarge the basis of direct taxation.

This necessarily brief indication of the points of his reply, of course offers no illustration of the pungency and energy of the language in which he retorted on his opponents, nor of the "loud and prolonged cheering" and the roars of laughter with which it was accompanied. Speaking of the declaration that the brewer only would be benefited by the repeal of the malt-tax, he reminded the house of similar observations made when they used to discuss "the effects of taxation on another article." "I don't care," he said, "now to remember from what quarter they emanated, but the effect and object of those observations were exactly the same. Then it was, 'Oh, those villains the bakers!' You may reduce the price of corn, you may injure the agricultural interest, you may ruin the farmers and the county gentlemen, but you could not reduce the price of the loaf to the consumer. No; the baker took it all—oh, yes! and there were the millers. The millers were worst of all. They carried off all the reduction. . . . Well, those arguments had a considerable effect; and there was such a prejudice raised against the bakers throughout the country that I should not have been surprised if they had been all hanged in one day, as the bakers once were in Constantinople. Well, here are those who wanted to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, using all the fallacies which we at least have had the courage honourably to give up. Tell me Protection is dead! tell me there is no Protectionist party! Why, 'tis rampant, and 'tis *there*." Here the speaker pointed to the opposition benches. "They have taken up our principles with our benches, and I believe they will be quite as unsuccessful." It was of course highly improbable that such an antagonist as Disraeli would forget that in 1848, when Sir Charles Wood was chancellor of the exchequer, not only had the government resisted the extension of the income-tax to Ireland, on the ground of the distress existing in that country, but that, in view of an expected deficiency in the revenue, it had been proposed to increase the income-tax—an intention which they were obliged to abandon because of the strong expression of public opinion. A select committee had then been appointed to consider what reduction could be made in the estimates; and after prolonged secret consultations, during which the chancellor of the exchequer refused to reveal the intentions of the government till the select committee sent in its report, an amended financial statement was brought forward announcing that reductions had been made in the army, navy, and miscellaneous estimates—that an increase had been realized in various items of the ordinary revenue beyond the former calculations—and that, therefore, with the last remnant of the "China money" the deficiency had been so reduced that at the end of the financial year it would probably disappear. At the same time the expenses of the Kaffir war and other matters had raised the deficiency to be provided for to £2,500,000, and therefore it would be necessary to borrow £2,000,000. It was this that Disraeli referred to when, in reply to Sir C. Wood's strictures, he said: "Talk of recklessness; why, in the whole history of finance there is nothing like this recklessness of the right honourable gentleman. And what was the ground on which he withdrew the monstrous and enormous proposition which he vainly sought to justify? When he was defeated, baffled, and humiliated he came down to the house and found that he had sufficient revenue without doubling the property and income tax. Why, history will not credit it. The future historian will not be believed who tells that a minister proposed to double the property and income tax, and when refused, that he came down to say that he had suffi-

cient ways and means without it. And then he tells me, in not very polished and scarcely parliamentary language that I do not know my business. He may have learned his business. The House of Commons is the best judge of that. I care not to be his critic; but if he has learned his business he has still to learn that petulance is not sarcasm, and that insolence is not invective." Then came Sir James Graham's turn. "We had last night from the member for Carlisle a most piteous appeal to the house upon the hardship of taxing poor clerks of between £100 and £150 a year. He stated that £150 is exactly the point where skilled labour ends. You can recall the effective manner in which the right honourable gentleman said that:—an unrivalled artist in my opinion, when he tells us that this is the point where the fustian jacket ceases to be worn and broad-cloth becomes the ordinary attire. Such, sir, was the representation of that eminent personage, for whom I have a great regard—I don't so much respect him, but I greatly regard him."

It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that the greater part of this reply was a kind of bitter jesting; it seemed to display the *abandon* with which a satirist might turn upon those by whom he already knew that he would be defeated. Though the house laughed and his colleagues cheered, everybody must have thought that it was going beyond the ordinary sobriety of such an occasion to refer to the national "reserve of producing power"—in the sense of the number of unmarried women of from twenty to forty-five years of age which the census of the population had shown were dwelling in one of the south-eastern counties. This rather extraordinary turn given to an expression which was used in referring to a remark of Mr. Lowe was taken further than this, and members were a little surprised. Towards the end of his reply, however, he gathered himself up. "I know what I have to face. I have to face a coalition; the combination may be successful. A combination has been before this successful; but coalitions, although they may be successful, have always found that their triumphs have been but brief. This I know, that England does not love coalitions; and I appeal from the coalition to that public opinion which governs the country—that public opinion whose wise and irresistible influence can control even the decrees of parliament, and without whose support, even the most august and ancient institutions are but as the baseless fabric of a vision."

It seemed to be generally expected that this slashing defence would close the debate; but scarcely had Disraeli done speaking when Gladstone sprung to his feet. On the night when the budget was first proposed he had sat, bending forward, listening attentively to every word, and occasionally making a note, and he was now ready to take up point by point the scheme of finance; but he was also eager to repel what he deemed were unwarranted strictures on his friends. "The right honourable gentleman must permit me to tell him that he is not entitled to charge with insolence men of as high position and of as high character in this house as himself. I must tell him that he is not entitled to say to my right honourable friend, the member for Carlisle, that he does not respect him; and I must tell him that whatever else he may have learned he has not learned to keep within those limits, in discussion, of moderation and of forbearance that ought to restrain the conduct and language of every member of this house; the disregard of which, while it is an offence in the meanest amongst us, is an offence of tenfold weight when committed by the leader of the House of Commons."

After condemning the course of proceeding adopted by the government with reference to the resolutions, Mr. Gladstone objected to the resolution before the committee, whether it was a vote for a house-tax or a vote for the budget. He enumerated specific objections to the house-tax, for which he would not legislate until all these questions had been fully considered. He showed how severely the additional direct taxes would affect persons with small incomes, some of whom, including the clergy, would come for the first time within the sweep of the income-tax. He objected to the additional house-tax because it was connected with the repeal of half the malt-tax—a measure which

was professedly for the immediate benefit of the consumer, whereas it was a sacrifice of £2,500,000 for a reduction in the price of beer that would be scarcely appreciable, and the principle of reproduction would consequently be dormant. The imposing a tax of one kind to repeal a tax of another kind was a most delicate operation, and one which would attract the most jealous scrutiny. The question, however, which lay at the root of the whole discussion was that of the income-tax and its modifications. Nothing would satisfy the country upon this head but a plan, not an abstraction—not something seductive, which they who proposed it knew could not be carried into effect. There was, however, no plan, and the House of Commons would forfeit its duties if it consented to deal in the abstract with a matter respecting which the theories were endless. Passing to the budget generally he asserted that the chancellor of the exchequer had introduced a new principle, subversive of all rules of prudence, by presenting a budget without a surplus, for the £400,000, he insisted, in opposition to Mr. Disraeli, was borrowed money and no real surplus. That right honourable gentleman, he said, complained of being opposed by a coalition. He (Mr. Gladstone) wanted to know whether a minister of the crown was entitled to make a charge against an independent member of parliament, and without any evidence. He voted against the budget, not only because he disapproved on general grounds of its principles, but emphatically because it was his firm conviction that this was the most perverted budget in its tendency and ultimate effects that he had ever seen, and if the house should sanction its delusive scheme the day would come when it would look back with bitter and late, though ineffectual repentance.

On a division there was a majority of 19 against the government, and the house adjourned. It was a cold and wet winter morning. "It will be an unpleasant day for going to Osborne," said Disraeli to a friend as they went out together from Westminster Hall. Nothing seemed to affect his extraordinary imperturbability under defeat. His activity and intensity in attack was no more remarkable than the passive aspect with which he listened to denunciations of himself or his policy until the opportunity came for a retort, and he could wait for that opportunity with remarkable patience. Nor was he without the kind of tact which could win back the good feeling of the house even after he had made one of his direct onslaughts. "I hope," he said, after the ministry had given in its resignation, and the queen had sent for the Earl of Aberdeen; "I hope the house will not think it presumptuous on my part if I venture to offer my grateful thanks for the indulgent—I may even say the generous—manner in which on both sides of the house I have been supported in the attempt to conduct the business of this house. If, sir, in maintaining a too unequal struggle, any word has escaped my lips (I hope never except in the way of retort) which has hurt the feelings of any gentleman in this house, I deeply regret it, and I hope that the impression on their part will be as transient as the sense of provocation was on my own. The kind opinion of members of this house, whatever may be their political opinions, and wherever I may sit, will always be to me a most precious possession, and one which I shall always covet and most highly appreciate." These sentiments were received with hearty applause on both sides of the house, and were endorsed by Lord John Russell, Sir Charles Wood, and Sir James Graham, who expressed his admiration for the talents of Mr. Disraeli, and for the ability with which for the past ten months he had conducted the cause of the government. This was gratifying, especially as during a week or two just before the debate on the budget, the ex-chancellor of the exchequer had been under a disagreeable imputation to which we shall presently have to refer.

Though there had been no coalition leagued together for the destruction of the late government by any settled plan of combination, the task intrusted to the Earl of Aberdeen necessitated the formation of a coalition ministry, in which Mr. Gladstone was chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Cranworth, lord-chancellor; Earl Granville, lord-president of the council; Sir James Graham, first lord of

GEORGE HAMILTON GORDON

4TH EARL OF ABERDEEN

Premier 1852–1855

FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT

BLACKIE & SON LONDON GLASGOW & EDINBURGH

the admiralty; the Duke of Argyll, lord privy seal; Sir C. Wood, president of the board of control; Sir W. Molesworth, first commissioner of public works; Mr. Cardwell, president of the board of trade; Sir A. Cockburn, attorney-general; and Mr. Bethell, solicitor-general; Lord Lansdowne had a seat in the cabinet without office. The secretaries of state were the Duke of Newcastle, who took the colonial office; Lord John Russell, who became foreign secretary; and Lord Palmerston, who accepted the home-office. He had been asked to become chancellor of the exchequer in the Derby administration, but had declined. Lord Derby had intimated that his adherence to or abandonment of a duty on the importation of corn would depend on the result of the next general election, and Palmerston was too decided a free-trader to listen to such a proposal. Another objection would have been that the Derby government was not based on any union of parties, although Palmerston was invited to join it. His position would have been anomalous; and though he might have yielded if the government had been a coalition, he could not accept office by going in singly as chancellor of the exchequer, nor is it likely the result would have been very different if he had.

In the new Aberdeen ministry, which *was* a coalition, Sidney Herbert was secretary at war; and he was soon to find it an onerous position. This government, with a premier who was painfully anxious to preserve peace, and a foreign minister by no means disposed to be belligerent, was soon to be engaged in preparations for one of the most tremendous conflicts that the world has ever seen. It has been believed that the war might have been averted if the British government had been a little more decided and a little less reticent in the interests of peace—that if at the outset the Emperor of Russia had been told unmistakably that England would not stand by or join in any implied understanding while he disposed of Turkey, under the representation that he was the acknowledged protector of the Greek Christians, who made so large a proportion of the subjects of the sultan—hostilities might not have commenced.

Before the close of the year 1852 two events had happened which, though they had no actual relation to each other, came so close together that the coincidence was remarked. The Duke of Wellington died at Walmer Castle, and the empire was restored in France.

The Duke of Wellington was at Walmer Castle when he was suddenly seized with what appeared to be only a slight ailment—a temporary attack of indigestion. He was nearly eighty-four years old, but he had preserved his active habits, and on the 13th of September, the day before his death, appeared to be in his usual health. He had taken his customary walk, had visited the stables and made arrangements for a journey to Dover, where he was to meet his daughter, Lady Westmoreland. There were no other visitors at the castle than Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley, and the duke had dined heartily from a dish of venison, and was apparently in good spirits. He retired to rest at about his regular hour, and no one knew that anything was amiss till his valet went to call him in the morning, when instead of rising he ordered Mr. Hulke, his apothecary, to be sent for. So little did that gentleman expect any serious result that he prescribed no medicine, but advised the duke to remain in bed, and to take only a little tea and dry toast; he then left the castle, and on his way home called on Dr. M'Arthur, the local medical attendant of the duke, who approved what he had done, as his grace had before been subject to similar attacks which they had treated without any great difficulty. During the morning, however, the duke had a second attack, partly lost consciousness, and was unable to speak articulately. Both the medical attendants were again summoned, and on their arrival administered remedies which had been effectual on previous occasions, but the breathing of the patient became imperfect, and though on his being removed from the bed and placed in a chair he seemed to respire more easily, the pulse fell, and he was seen to be sinking fast. Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley, the valet, and the two medical attendants alone were present. Dr.

Hume and Dr. Ferguson were telegraphed for, but were both out of town, and Dr. Williamson only arrived late at night in reply to the summons. The Marquis of Douro (afterwards Duke of Wellington) and the Marchioness, were on the Continent. The remedies which were used had little or no effect, and the duke suffered from two more attacks of the disorder, after which he became insensible, and passed so quietly away that it was only by holding a mirror to his lips that those around him could be convinced that he had ceased to breathe. The Earl and Countess of Westmoreland, who were on their way to Calais and thence to Vienna, and to meet whom the duke had intended to go to Dover, arrived in the evening, but all was then over, and they were obliged to continue their journey.

Old as the Duke of Wellington was, the intelligence of his death was deeply felt by the nation. The common people had long learned to look upon him with respect. He stood before them at last in his true and best character—the brave soldier who loved not war; the honest, earnest friend of the country and the queen, who had never swerved from what he believed to be his duty; the man who remained unchanged by honours such as never before were conferred on any subject; the blunt, abrupt, simple, bent old warrior, whose plain speech and undemonstrative presence had become familiar as he walked with swaying and somewhat feeble steps, or rode stooping forward over his horse's neck, but yet kept a firm seat and held the rein with a steady hand. He was the foremost man in Europe if multiplied honours could give fame, and yet people forgot his honours. He himself only remembered them with a certain humility; and "the Duke," as he was always called, had outlived political hate and popular misapprehension, and even his own prejudices born of hard and cruel times. For nearly forty years he had taken no personal part in war, and he continued to be the representative of those traditions which recalled our greatest victories, all the time that he spoke of war itself as a horrible necessity to be avoided always except where honour was at stake. Few men detested what Napoleon called the "magnificent game" more than he whom Talavera had made baron and viscount, Ciudad Rodrigo an earl, Salamanca a marquis, and Vittoria a duke; who was a field-marshal in the British, Austrian, Russian, and Prussian armies; who had been generalissimo of the allied forces in 1815; on whom a host of rewards and honours had been conferred by foreign potentates as well as by the four British sovereigns whom he had served so well; for whom a great estate had been purchased as a gift from the nation; and who could not be justly accused of coveting either honours or wealth, nor of abusing either, but who grew gentler and simpler the longer he lived, till the mild steady light of his later years eclipsed, if we may so express it, the lustre of his earlier fame.

There were numberless characteristic and pleasant stories afloat about "the Duke," and it was pretty well known that he gave away a great deal of money in charity, frequently sending off numbers of letters in which he had placed bank-notes to persons in distress. Perhaps nobody except Mr. Gladstone ever had so numerous a circle of correspondents who wrote idly or for the purpose of obtaining a signature, nor is it likely that many distinguished personages have been so scrupulous in replying as the great general and the great commoner. At last the subject of these impertinent demands, and the constant stereotyped reply beginning, "F.-M. the Duke of Wellington begs to acknowledge," became a public joke, and the duke had to announce that he could not undertake to answer frivolous communications. Of course there were many stories which had very little truth in them, but there were others which had been well authenticated, and with these the people were pretty familiar, especially such as related to the simple personal habits of the grand old soldier. The small, bare, poorly furnished room at Apsley House in which he slept on a small bedstead provided only with mattress and bolster, and scantily curtained with green silk, was, so to speak, public property, and a good many among "the masses" sympathized with his actual objection to be waited on. "Perhaps you are

not aware that I shave myself and brush my own clothes," he said once to Lord Strangford, who was staying with him at Walmer Castle. "I regret that I cannot clean my own boots; for servants bore me, and the presence of a crowd of idle fellows annoys me more than I can tell you." This was not intended for the purpose of denying proper attendance to others, but to explain an announcement made by the duke one day at breakfast that he was obliged to go up to London immediately because all his razors required setting, but that he would be back to dinner. The man who had sharpened the razors for many years, lived in Jermyn Street, and they could be intrusted to no one else though Lord Strangford offered to take them to Dover. "So you see, Strangford," said the duke, "every man has his weak point, and my weak point is the sharpening of my razors."

People were constantly, as it were, lying in wait to obtain some notice from the "hero of a hundred fights," as he was sometimes rather vulgarly called. Numbers of presents were sent him, even to patties, cakes, and other delicacies such as he seldom touched, and, as we have said, questions innumerable—nor was he difficult to approach. With anyone who was modest and who treated him with reasonable respect he was himself simple and even familiar, after an abrupt fashion, but he would not permit any want of proper courtesy. "The reason why I have a right never to have a liberty taken with me," he said, "is because I never take a liberty with any man." This was *apropos* of some weak attempt by two of the royal dukes either to "chaff" him a little, or to criticise his appearance when he went to court after the death of William the Fourth. But he was able to hold his own. "Were you ever surprised?" some acquaintance asked him in a somewhat coarse and familiar tone. "No," he retorted; "but I am now." This was quite in his blunt manner, which had something boyish about it; but he was simple enough to enjoy a joke, even at his own expense, when he pleased to tell it himself, as when he related how, in 1814, Madame de Staël gave a grand party in his honour while he was in Paris. The Abbé du Pradt was there, and in the course of conversation said, "Europe owes her salvation to one man." "But before he gave me time to look foolish," continued the duke, "Du Pradt put his hand on his own breast, and said, 'C'est moi.'" He was remarkably fond of children, and was proud of the reputation of being liked by them in return. He would romp with them, play with them, and let them do much as they liked while they were in his company, as might be shown by more than one extract from the many reminiscences that were published by others after his death. We cannot dwell on these, or we might fill several pages. There was a Wellington literature — a "Wellingtoniana," which recorded much that he had said and done and a good deal that had been falsely attributed to him and reappeared after it had been contradicted; but the respect and even the affection of queen, colleagues, and people for his memory was true and real enough.

Her majesty was at Balmoral, where she had heard only a few days before of the death of a Mr. Neild, a gentleman who had left her the whole of his fortune, of which the personal estate was sworn under a quarter of a million and the landed property was estimated at about an equal sum. Mr. Neild was a barrister, a man of considerable learning and of very penurious habits, and a large fortune which he had inherited from his father accumulated while he denied himself all but the common necessaries of life. He had no near relations, nor was it believed that there were any of whom he had any knowledge, and he left £100 each to his executors, the residue of his large property going to her majesty. He had not even made a bequest to a housekeeper who had grown old in his service, nor to one or two other dependants; but these the queen provided for before accepting the fortune which had been duly assigned to her "for her own use and benefit."

It was in the midst of their correspondence about this peculiar event with King Leopold and Baron Stockmar that the intelligence of the death of the Duke of Wellington reached the Queen and Prince Albert. On the 16th of September the queen, writing at their little

shiel of Alt-na-Giuthasach, says, "We were startled this morning at seven o'clock by a letter from Colonel Phipps inclosing a telegraphic despatch with the report from the sixth edition of the *Sun* of the Duke of Wellington's death the day before yesterday, which report, however, we did not at all believe.[1] . . . We got off our ponies (at the Dhu Loch), and I had just sat down to sketch when Mackenzie returned saying my watch was safe at home, and bringing letters; amongst them there was one from Lord Derby, which I tore open, and alas! it contained the confirmation of the fatal news—that England's, or rather Britain's pride, her glory, her hero, the greatest man she ever produced, was no more! Sad day! Great and irreparable national loss! Lord Derby inclosed a few lines from Lord Charles Wellesley saying that his dear, great father had died on Tuesday at three o'clock, after a few hours' illness and no suffering. God's will be done! The day must have come. The duke was eighty-three. It is well for him that he has been taken when still in the possession of his great mind, and without a long illness; but what a loss! One cannot think of this country without 'the Duke'—an immortal hero! In him centred almost every earthly honour a subject could possess. His position was the highest a subject ever had. Above party, looked up to by all, revered by the whole nation, the friend of the sovereign; and how simply he carried these honours! With what singleness of purpose, what straightforwardness, what courage were all his actions guided! The crown never found, and I fear never will, so devoted, loyal, and faithful a subject or staunch a supporter."

Writing afterwards to the King of the Belgians the queen says: "He was to us a true friend and most valuable adviser. . . . We shall soon stand sadly alone. Aberdeen is almost the only personal friend of that kind left to us—Melbourne, Peel, Liverpool, now the Duke, all gone!"

Prince Albert, in his letter to Colonel Phipps, had already said, "That the old duke should be no more is one of those truths which it will require a long time before one can believe. What the country has lost in him, what we personally have lost, it is almost impossible to estimate. It is as if in a tissue a particular thread which is worked into every pattern was suddenly withdrawn. The duke was the link which kept us in connection with a century which has passed before us."

Lord Derby was at Balmoral, and therefore there was no delay in intimating her majesty's desire that there should be a public state funeral, and that the body of the great general should be laid in St. Paul's Cathedral beside that of the great admiral, the renowned Nelson. For some days there were all kinds of speculations as to the probability of Prince Albert succeeding Wellington as commander-in-chief, but in fact the matter was settled on the 17th of September, the day after the queen heard of the duke's death, and her majesty agreed with Lord Derby that the command should be intrusted to Lord Hardinge, who was raised to the peerage; and whom Lord Fitzroy Somerset (afterwards Lord Raglan) succeeded as master-general of the ordnance.

There is no need fully to describe the funeral ceremonies which at the time occupied public attention almost to the exclusion of all other business, or to recount the details of the solemn but magnificent procession, to witness which the streets were filled with a vast multitude, amidst whom, unhappily, several serious accidents occurred during the passage of the cortège and afterwards as the enormous throng surged back. A still larger number of injuries had been sustained by persons in the crowd assembled to witness the lying in state at Chelsea Hospital, whither the remains of the Duke of Wellington had been brought from Walmer Castle on the 10th of November. The bier occupied a raised dais at the top of the great hall, which was hung with black, the walls bearing the family escutcheons. The carpet of the dais was of cloth of gold, the

[1] Prince Albert, writing to Colonel Phipps, said, "Although you said the intelligence it transmitted had every appearance of being true, I confess we did not believe it, as the *Sun* is not a very creditable authority, and a *sixth edition* looked more like a last attempt to sell the stock on hand of an old paper in the streets."

coffin of crimson velvet richly ornamented, and on the end of the bier were hung the numerous stars and orders which had belonged to the duke. The whole bier was surrounded with a silver balustrade adorned with heraldic devices and ten projecting pedestals, on eight of which were black velvet cushions bearing the marshal's batons and orders of Great Britain, Hanover, Austria, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Spain. The ninth and tenth pedestals bore the duke's standard and guidon, and attached to all were lion supporters in gold, more than two feet high, bearing the shields and banners of the nations mentioned. At the back of the bier was the royal escutcheon. The visitors entered through a darkened corridor into the vestibule, which with the chapel was lighted only by a few tapers. The hall was lighted by four long rows of silver candelabra. A long low platform ran along the side-walls, and upon this, soldiers of the Grenadier Guards stood like statues resting on their arms reversed. The yeomen of the guard were stationed round the catafalque, and nine mourners were seated. The Queen and Prince Albert with some of the royal children visited the hall in the afternoon, and then the pensioners from the Hospital were admitted, many of them veterans who had fought under the great general; they were succeeded by parties of the Life-guards and the Grenadiers, a few private persons, a girls' school, and the Duke of York's boys' school. On the 12th admission was by ticket; and on Saturday, the 13th, the public were admitted, and a terrible crush took place, to guard against which sufficient arrangements had not been made. The *Times* report said:—"The tide of people set in like an inundation, and before the small force of men at the Hospital knew what they were about, the entire approaches were blocked up. Then ensued scenes of confusion and struggles for bare life, frightful shrieks and exclamations of agony, such as will not readily be forgotten by those who were present. Women were knocked down or fainted away; children were held aloft to escape suffocation; strong men were seen with the perspiration, notwithstanding the coldness of the weather, falling in great drops from their faces; and fathers and brothers strove in vain to recover their relatives torn from them in the crowd. The multitude actually smoked like a heated haystack, from the pressure and strain upon individuals. It was necessary (the precautions to secure order having been neglected at the outset) that steps should be taken to restore it, that the carriage-way in front of the Hospital should be cleared, the people confined to the causeway, and a sufficient force obtained to form barriers. Most fortunately, Superintendent Pearce, who had the charge of the police arrangements at the Exhibition, came on duty in the morning, and by his exertions a far greater sacrifice of life than what actually took place was, in all probability, prevented. He sent at once for more men, and with the aid of the military had barriers constructed at the points where they were required. So urgent, however, was the need of them, that cabs had to be used for the purpose. It was nearly three o'clock in the afternoon before order was re-established and the safety of the public adequately provided for. After that time the circulation of the streets was restored, and matters went smoothly enough." Nearly 47,000 passed through between nine and five o'clock. On Monday, the 15th, 80,000 visited the hall, and on Tuesday and Wednesday the numbers amounted to 100,000 persons. The public funeral was on the 18th, and before daybreak the troops, cavalry and infantry, who were to take part in the procession mustered in the Mall and the parade-ground beside the Horse Guards. The coffin had been removed to the Horse Guards the night before, and at about seven o'clock was lifted by machinery to the top of a lofty funeral car. At eight o'clock the hangings of the tent which concealed it from view were suddenly furled, the first minute-gun was fired, the troops presented arms, the muffled drums rolled, and the first notes of the "Dead March in Saul" sounded as the vast procession started to arrive at the entrance of the cathedral by twelve o'clock. It was a magnificent spectacle of civic and state dignitaries, military officers, foreign diplomatists and representatives, troops, pensioners,

and the bearers of superb insignia and banners, now clouded with the signs of mourning. Prince Albert was there in a state carriage drawn by six horses, and the carriages of the queen and the great nobility followed; but the most touching sight of all to many a spectator present was the duke's charger led by a groom, the saddle empty. It was half an hour after the first part of the procession had started that the last part of it began to move, so numerous were the attendants in this solemn show, which was witnessed by a million and a half of people, thousands of whom had come up from the country, and who stood in the gloom and mist of a November day in a space not more than three miles in length, consisting of streets not at any point more than 200 yards wide, occupied in the centre by a broad procession, and narrowing to a mere slip of footway on each side, as the cortège approached Saint Paul's. It is worth recording that this enormous multitude took up the ground with comparatively little disorder; and though, as we have said, there were several serious accidents, there was scarcely any disturbance. The whole assembly peacefully dispersed within fifteen hours—only two thousand policemen having been employed to preserve order in a mighty crowd which stood in solemn silence as the funeral car, bearing the body of the duke, went slowly by.

At Madrid, at Berlin, at Vienna, the death of the duke was followed by military funeral services befitting the high nominal rank he held in the armies of these and other countries who had conferred honours upon him. Representatives from every first-class state in Europe were present at the funeral in London except one. No one appeared for Austria, and this was regarded as an intentional slight in consequence of the treatment given to General Haynau, and to mark the Austrian sense of the freedom with which that government had been spoken of officially and unofficially in England. Prince Louis Napoleon, on the contrary, was among the first to announce his intention to have France represented. When Count Walewski asked him whether he was to attend the duke's funeral, he replied, "Certainly; that he wished to forget the past; that he had every reason to be grateful for the friendly terms in which the late duke had spoken of him, and that he wished to continue on the best terms with England." Doubtless he meant this at the time, and he had good reason for meaning it. We shall see that as events occurred the declaration continued to be true; but if, while he was pondering what policy would be best adapted for securing France, another series of events had occurred, it may be doubtful whether he would have been ready to encourage manifestations on behalf of an English alliance. In this he was neither worse nor better than other rulers, and as it turned out an English alliance was the one thing which gave him true stability at the commencement of his imperial career; but the nations themselves very soon became allies, and the good understanding was independent of the government, and survived it even after the empire perished at Sedan.

"Honour, my lords, to the people who so well knew how to reverence the illustrious dead!" said Lord Derby in a fine oration pronounced in the house of peers on the night after the funeral. "Honour to the friendly visitors, especially to France, the great and friendly nation that testified by the presence of their representative their respect and veneration for his memory. They regarded him as a foe worthy of their steel. His object was not fame nor glory, but a lasting peace. We have buried in our greatest hero the man among us who had the greatest horror of war." It would have been well if the utterances of the premier had found an echo in those of the leader of the House of Commons; but for some inexplicable reason Mr. Disraeli fell into a serious error, and one which would have been calamitous to a less distinguished man. He delivered a speech in which there appeared to be a good deal of empty rhetoric, though some of it was eloquent and to the point. Many of the statements were, however, injudicious as coming from a minister on an occasion when foreign nations had come hither to show honour to us and to the hero whom we had lost. "He had," said Disraeli, "to encounter at the same time a feeble government, a factious

opposition, and a distrustful people, *scandalous allies*, and the most powerful enemy in the world." There were other ill-judged expressions; but worst of all, the most rhetorical, and apparently the neatest and most eloquent part of the speech had been borrowed, not to say stolen altogether, in sense and expression, and mostly word for word, from an eulogy pronounced by M. Thiers on Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr. in 1829. In the *Globe* this was pointed out with the following remarks:—"The Duke of Wellington has experienced the vicissitudes of either fortune, and his calamities were occasionally scarcely less conspicuous than the homage which he ultimately secured. He was pelted by a mob. He braved the dagger of Cantillon. The wretched Capefigue even accused him of peculation. But surely it was the last refinement of insult that his funeral oration, pronounced by the official chief of the English parliament, should be stolen word for word from a trashy panegyric on a second-rate French marshal." It may be added that the oration which Mr. Disraeli had adopted had been quoted in an article in the *Morning Chronicle* on the 1st of July, 1848, and it is not a little remarkable that the author of the article in the *Chronicle* afterwards sent a letter to the *Times*, saying that his attention was first called to Thiers' striking eulogy on the military character by Mr. Disraeli himself. It may have been possible that Disraeli had been so much impressed with it that it became fixed on his memory, and that in a weak moment he yielded to the temptation of using it for his speech; but whatever may have been the reason, the marvel remains that a man who next to Mr. Gladstone needed such adventitious aid perhaps less than any member of the house, should have laid himself open to the probability of discovery and consequent disgrace.

There were, of course, other speeches on the subject of the character and achievements of the great duke, and the loss the country had sustained. Mr. Gladstone added a few weighty words to the general tribute of reverence and regret; but his language gained emphasis from having been pitched in a lower key. We cannot forbear quoting a portion of it, remarkable in its contrast to much of the florid and not always sincere eulogy which had adorned some other orations. "It may never be given to another subject of the British crown to perform services so brilliant as he performed; it may never be given to another man to hold the sword which was to gain the independence of Europe, to rally the nations around it, and while England saved herself by her constancy, to save Europe by her example; it may never be given to another man, after having attained such eminence, after such an unexampled series of victories, to show equal moderation in peace as he has shown greatness in war, and to devote the remainder of his life to the cause of internal and external peace for that country which he has so served; it may never be given to another man to have equal authority both with the sovereign he served and with the senate of which he was to the end a venerated member; it may never be given to another man after such a career to preserve even to the last the full possession of those great faculties with which he was endowed, and to carry on the services of one of the most important departments of the state with unexampled regularity and success even to the latest day of his life. These are circumstances, these are qualities, which may never occur again in the history of this country. But there are qualities which the Duke of Wellington displayed of which we may all act in humble imitation: that sincere and unceasing devotion to our country; that honest and upright determination to act for the benefit of the country on every occasion; that devoted loyalty, which, while it made him ever anxious to serve the crown, never induced him to conceal from the sovereign that which he believed to be the truth; that devotedness in the constant performance of duty; that temperance of his life, which enabled him at all times to give his mind and his faculties to the services which he was called on to perform; that regular, consistent, and unceasing piety by which he was distinguished at all times in his life; these are qualities that are attainable by others, and these are qualities which should not be lost as an example."

The "progress" of Louis Napoleon through the southern departments of France during September and October (1852) had been more imperial than presidential, and indeed there was no concealment of the fact that he awaited the "voice of the nation" to call him to the throne. Nor can it be denied that the national voice was in his favour, so far as the great majority was concerned. Even after the largest deductions were made for officially-promoted demonstrations in the provincial towns, and well-acted enthusiasm by which his adherents excited the populace to join in welcoming him by the name of emperor; people in England were obliged to come to the conclusion that he had been called to rule by the voice of the country. Of course those who were opposed to him here—and they were to be found not only in the ranks of democracy and of constitutional Liberalism, but in the party which boasted of being truly Conservative—jealously watched the accounts of these manifestations, and exposed them when they appeared to be fictitious. The discovery of a plot to assassinate the president by means of an infernal machine while he was on his way to Avignon had, it was said, been carefully allowed to develop by the ministry of police until the moment when the conspirators took a house on the route that their intended victim was to travel, and then the assassins and their deadly invention were seized. The story was scornfully denounced as a device intended to arouse popular enthusiasm. "An eye-witness," writing to the *Times*, denied the truth of the official account of the "magnificent" reception of the president at Marseilles, and declared that there was no real expression of feeling in his favour; and that with the exception of a few, very few and feeble, cries of "Vive Napoleon!" a sullen and significant silence sat upon the multitude. The troops did not utter a single cry. The president looked most wretched, haggard, and careworn.

From Marseilles the president went to Toulon, accompanied by a strong fleet of war steamers and men-of-war. The crews shouted Vive l'Empereur, and the whole town responded, the squadron saluting with its thousand cannon. Then Aix was visited, and the account in one of the London journals of his reception there tells us "He arrived at Aix about four o'clock in the afternoon, escorted by soldiers, generals, prefects, and an army of official persons. Aix was formerly the capital of King René, father of Margaret of Anjou, and the head-quarters of the troubadours. King René, whose mind ran on such things, invented and established a fête called "la Fête Dieu," representing the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. This famous celebration was suppressed by the convention; revived in 1803 and in 1807. Associated with the history of the empire, the authorities of Provence thought fit to revive it on the occasion of the visit of the inchoate emperor. Accordingly the old mummeries were got up afresh; and when M. Bonaparte entered Aix an histrionic procession, comprising King Herod and Jupiter, the Queen of Sheba and Venus, the three Magi and the three Zephyrs, besides hosts of forgotten personages, angels, demons, bishops, and others, danced round the imperial carriage to the music of flutes and tambourines. This strange performance was followed by an address from the mayor, and a gracious but insignificant reply from M. Bonaparte."

That some of the demonstrations were feeble and fictitious there can be little doubt, and it is certain that some of the addresses were not only fulsome but impious. One of these, from a commune of the Herault, was a shocking parody of the Lord's Prayer, and far worse even than the address published by the Mayor of Sevres, inviting the people to sign a proclamation of the empire, and beginning, "Paris, the heart of France, acclaimed on the 10th of May for its emperor him whose divine mission is every day revealed in such a striking and dazzling manner. At this moment it is the whole of France electrified which salutes her saviour, the elect of God, by this new title, which clothes him with sovereign power. 'God wills it,' is repeated with one voice—*vox populi vox Dei*. It is the marriage of France with the envoy of God which is contracted in the face of the universe, under the auspices of all the constituted

bodies and of all the people. That union is sanctified by all the ministers of religion and by all the princes of the Church. These addresses, these petitions, and these speeches, which are at this moment being exchanged between the chief of the state and France, are the documents connected with that holy union; every one wishes to sign them, as at the church he would sign the marriage-deed at which he is present." These and many more monstrous examples were necessarily made the subject of indignant comment; but it may be said that even a ruler seeking absolute power cannot be held personally responsible for everything that may be said or done by his adherents, and Louis Napoleon did not seek absolute power. The remarks already made in these pages cannot be held to be favourable to him, nor were thoughtful people desirous of true political and social progress through a pure and free constitutional government, ever likely to endorse his acts; but it must be conceded that when he himself spoke fully, everybody listened, and most people were reassured. This was when he had reached Bordeaux, and was invited to a banquet by the Chamber of Commerce. "I accept," he said, "with eagerness the opportunity afforded me by the Bordeaux Chamber of Commerce for thanking your great city for its cordial reception and its magnificent hospitality; and I am happy at the end of my journey to communicate the impressions I have received. The object of my tour, as you are well aware, was to make myself acquainted, by personal observation, with the beautiful provinces of the south, and to ascertain their real wants. It has, however, led to a far more important result. I may say, indeed, with a candour as far removed from pride as from false modesty, that never did a people more directly, more spontaneously, more unanimously testify a determination to free itself from all uneasiness respecting the future, by placing in the same hands as heretofore a power which sympathizes with its feelings. The people has now at last learned to value at their price the false hopes with which it has been cajoled, and the dangers with which it was threatened. It seems, then, that in 1852 society approached its dissolution because each party consoled itself with the belief that amid the general wreck it might still plant its standard on the floating fragments.

"Now that its eyes are opened to absurd theories, the people has acquired the conviction that those pretended reformers were mere visionaries, inasmuch as there has always been a disproportion and a want of consequence between their expedients and the promised result. At present the nation surrounds me with its sympathies because I do not belong to the family of the ideologists. To promote the welfare of the country it is not necessary to apply new systems, but the chief point, above all, is to produce confidence in the present and security for the future. For these reasons it seems France desires a return to the empire. There is one objection to which I must reply. Certain minds seem to entertain a dread of war; certain persons say the empire is only war. But I say, the empire is peace, for France desires it, and when France is satisfied the world is tranquil. ["These words," according to the published report, "uttered in a firm voice and with strong emphasis," produced a magical effect; enthusiastic bravos were heard from all sides.] Glory descends by inheritance, but not war. Did the princes who justly felt pride that they were the grandchildren of Louis XIV. recommence his wars? War is not made for pleasure, but through necessity; and at this epoch of transition, where by the side of so many elements of prosperity spring so many causes of death, we may truly say, Woe be to him who gives the first signal to a collision, the consequences of which would be incalculable. I confess, however, that, like the emperor, I have many conquests to make. I wish, like him, to conquer by conciliation all hostile parties, and to bring into the grand popular current those hostile streams which now lose themselves without profit to any one. I wish to restore to religion, morality, and opulence, that still numerous part of the population which, though in the bosom of the most fertile country in the world, can scarcely obtain the common necessaries of life. We have immense waste territories to cultivate,

roads to open, ports to dig, rivers to render navigable, a system of railroads to complete; we have opposite to Marseilles a vast kingdom which we must assimilate to France; we have to bring all our great western ports into connection with the American continent by a rapidity of communication which we still want; lastly, we have ruins to restore, false gods to overthrow, and truths to be made triumphant. This is the sense which I attach to the empire, if the empire is to be restored. Such are the conquests which I contemplate; and all you who surround me, and who, like me, desire your country's welfare—you are my soldiers."

This speech was printed and extensively circulated by the government. Fifty thousand copies were ordered to be distributed among the miners of the basin of the Loire.

The president's return to Paris was a triumphal entry. Preparations had been made for an imperial reception. Great triumphal arches with imperial devices were raised on the route to the Tuileries. Some were covered with laurels, others draped with crimson cloth studded with gold bees. Ornamental canopies were decked with eagles, escutcheons, and shields. Inscriptions to "Louis Napoleon Empereur," "Napoleon III.," and "A son altesse Impériale Napoléon III., Empereur des Français," were explicit enough; and, "L'Empire c'est la paix," figured as the new watchword. At the entrance of the garden of the Tuileries a magnificent arch bore this inscription:—"A Napoléon III., Empereur.—Sauveur de la civilisation moderne. Protecteur des sciences, des arts, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, et du commerce.—Les ouvriers reconnaissans. Constitution de l'an 8. Constitution de 1853. Conversion des Rentes. Credit foncier. Travaux d'utilité publique. Chemins de fer. Continuation du Louvre. Rue de Rivoli." All Paris was *en fête* awaiting his arrival, the balconies and windows filled with spectators, soldiers—cavalry, infantry, and the national guard—lining the streets, companies of market women, trades' deputations carrying banners decorated with golden bees and other devices, and a vast assembly of all kinds of people, many of them in bright and picturesque costumes, moved along the principal thoroughfares towards the Place de la Concorde. It might have seemed that the *coup-d'état* and all the horrors of the month of December in the previous year had been forgotten. At two o'clock a gun from the Barrière du Trône announced that the president had arrived at the railway terminus. The bands of the national guards struck up the old imperial tunes, the battery at the Barrière fired a continuous salute, the veterans of the army marched towards the Place de la Concorde. At the terminus the president was received by a brilliant assembly of the grand dignitaries of state, the judges, the Archbishop of Paris and his clergy, and a host of functionaries in uniform. The president of the municipal council of Paris addressed him. The prefect of the Seine entreated him to "yield to the wishes of an entire people, and to conclude the mission intrusted to him by providence by resuming the crown of the immortal founder of his dynasty, as it was only under the title of emperor that he could accomplish the promises of the magnificent programme he had addressed to attentive Europe at Bordeaux." The president then mounted his horse and proceeded to the Tuileries amidst his attendants. Three or four evenings afterwards he attended the Théâtre Français in state, and was greeted with general acclamation as he appeared. The play, which was one of Corneille's, contained more than one allusion to the emperor (Augustus), and these were hailed with suggestive acclamation. At the end of the performance, Rachel, the great actress, appeared draped in white and laurel-crowned as the muse of history; behind her stood all the dramatic company. At the end of the stage was a flag on which was an imperial crown and "Napoleon III." The actress bowed low before the president's box and recited some not very remarkable stanzas written by Arsené Houssaye for the occasion, and entitled, "L'Empire c'est la Paix." That phrase was a happy one and had caught the ear of the world.

On the 1st of December the corps legislatif announced the result of the plebiscite: ayes, 7,864,189; noes, 263,145; null, 63,326. On Sunday the 5th, the anniversary of the *coup*

d'état, the empire was proclaimed throughout France. In all the churches of the diocese of Paris the "Domine salvum fac Imperatorem nostrum Napoleonem" was chanted, according to the form prescribed by the papal see in 1804. The new emperor attended mass in the chapel of the Tuileries. The senate met on the 6th to receive two projects of a Senatûs-consultum; one modifying the constitution, the other relating to the civil list. In his address to the senate and the legislative body the emperor said:

"The new *régime* which you this day inaugurate has not its origin, like so many others which history records, in violence, conquest, or intrigue. It is, as you have just declared, the legal result of the will of an entire people, consolidating, while in a state of repose, what it had founded in the midst of agitation. I am deeply grateful to the nation, which, three times in four years, has supported me by its suffrages, and which each time has only augmented its majority in order to increase my power. But the more this power gains in extent and in vital force the more need it has of enlightened men, like those who surround me, of independent men, like those whom I address, to guide me by their counsels, and to reduce my authority within just limits, if ever it should transgress them. From this day I take, with the oath, the name of Napoleon III., because the opinion of the people has already bestowed it upon me in their acclamations, because the senate has legally proposed it, and because the whole nation has ratified it. Does this, however, signify that in taking this title I fall into the error imputed to the prince who, returning from exile, declared all that had been done in his absence null and void? So erroneous a notion is far from me. Not only do I recognize the governments which have preceded me, but I inherit in some sort what they have accomplished of good and evil—for successive governments, notwithstanding their different origins, are severally bound by the acts of their predecessors. But the more I accept that which for the last fifty years history hands down to us with its inflexible authority, the less is it allowed me to pass over in silence the glorious reign of the chief of my family, and the title—regular though ephemeral—of his son, which the chambers proclaimed with the last burst of conquered patriotism. Thus, then, the title of Napoleon III. is not one of those dynastic and obsolete pretences which seem an insult alike to truth and common sense; it is the homage paid to a government which was legitimate, and to which we are indebted for the noblest pages of our modern history. My reign does not date from 1815, it dates from the instant when you communicated to me the suffrages of the nation. . . . Assist me, all of you, to establish in this land, harassed by so many revolutions, a stable government, based on religion, justice, probity, and the love of the humble classes. And here receive the oath that I will use every exertion to assure the prosperity of the country, and that, whilst maintaining peace, I will yield nothing which affects the honour and the dignity of France."

Whatever may have been the differences of opinion as to the justification of the *coup d'état* and the means by which Louis Napoleon Bonaparte rose to power, the general loosely expressed verdict in England was that he understood the French people and was just the sort of ruler they wanted. It could not be denied that he at once applied himself successfully to promote the material advantages of the country by the encouragement of various industries, the construction of railways and large public works, and some improvement and extension of the scheme of public education. Under the new régime France began to settle down in a course of prosperity, and another era seemed to be opened for the country. There appeared to be a calm and deliberate determination in the manner in which the president had placed his hands upon the guiding-rods of the national machinery. Increased confidence gave to the character and the efforts of public life the precision which they had long needed. There soon grew up a feeling that it would be well if this deliberate and judicious action could be made permanent. Commercial and industrial prosperity could, it was believed, only continue if the dangers that had always attended a change

of personal rule in France were averted. There was but one plan, it seemed, for averting them and of escaping the effects of another revolution which would arrest the national progress and keep France from resuming its forward place in the counsels of Europe. It came to be believed that the restoration of the empire under modern and "constitutional" conditions was the best, if not the only, way to avoid the constant recurrence of internal strife and to develop the resources of the country. That this object was achieved and that the rule of Napoleon III. continued for some time to realize the expected results was attested in France and was admitted in the other countries of Europe. It was many years before he showed to the world that he belonged to the dynasty of disaster.

The year closes upon measures of preparation for war, or at least for strengthening our defences both by sea and land, including the addition of small screw-steamers to our fleet. Mr. Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington" gives, in small compass, the state of national feeling at the time. A government, holding office by sufferance, could do but little in so short a term. The real political life of the year lay in the fermentations of the popular mind upon the question of free-trade, and peace or war? The whole Manchester party were fallen into manifest discredit, and those germs of thought and feeling were sown which sprang up into prompt and open life at the first hint of the quarrel which led to the Crimean war.

Meanwhile two public men were, by the force of circumstances, brought more and more to the front of affairs — Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. The latter was, it was reported, "cut" in the rudest manner by certain members of the Carlton Club, one of whom went so far as to suggest that he ought to be pitched out of the window in the direction of the Reform Club! Lord John Russell's unlucky dismission of Palmerston had given the latter, in the eyes of the public, a standing grievance, besides bringing his policy and his "principles" out into the very broadest daylight. He was just the man to carry any point on which he could appeal to popular pride and love of domination.

The whole commercial aspect of the country was encouraging. New chartered banks and other enterprises were being set on foot to provide for the demand for increased facilities in financial transactions, and speculations of various kinds were of course promoted Meantime the social and sanitary condition of the lower classes of the population was receiving earnest attention, and some public revelations of the degraded and revolting state in which people herded together in some of the London slums, aroused public feeling, and called for the intervention of the law. Nothing was effectually done at the time, but Lord Ashley (the Earl of Shaftesbury) was still actively engaged in this as well as other directions to effect improvements by beneficent effort until legislation could be more fully directed to the subject. It must be remembered that London was still disgraced by "fever dens" and "rookeries" of old houses, teeming with a debased population. The corporation of London—after obstinately endeavouring to hold out against the demand for removing the cattle-market from Smithfield, and foul slaughter-houses from the crowded centre of the city—had but just consented to undertake the management of a new market at Islington, though they had been allowed six months to make up their minds whether they or the metropolitan commission should do the work. The continued use of a great space in the city, devoted to cattle-pens and pig-sties, the dangers incurred, and the horrors that were perpetrated in driving sheep and oxen through the streets to a market difficult of approach -- and the indescribable scenes of filth, brutality, and cruelty exhibited both at the market and the shambles, amidst the enormous and growing traffic of the streets, cannot be easily imagined except by those who are old enough to remember having witnessed them. The market question is not yet settled, and never will be settled until the corporation itself is dealt with in accordance with the reasonable demands of social progress; nor have the people of London yet to depend alone on the printed records of the

past for their ideas of the meaning of a London slum, and a foul and overcrowded neighbourhood. Still the value of the improvements which were inaugurated in the period at which this narrative has now arrived, the work of the sanitary commission, the acts for regulating water supply, for the provision of a system of metropolitan drainage, for the police regulation of common lodging-houses, and afterwards for the formation of the Thames Embankment and other public structural improvements, can scarcely be overestimated, even though the sewage question and other topics may again need to be gravely considered after thirty more years of experience.

Of course when the new parliament met on the 10th of February, 1853, the financial statement was looked forward to with keen interest, and it is but a poor record of the fact to say that all the anticipations which had been formed of the ability of the chancellor of the exchequer were fully realized when he rose to speak on the 18th of April. For more than five hours the house sat listening, not only in silence, but with profound attention and unmistakable pleasure, to Mr. Gladstone's lucid expositions, happy illustrations, and convincing arguments, as he laid before it the first of the series of those financial measures which have never failed to arouse admiration and to elicit applause. He was an acknowledged master of finance, and everybody expected from him a scheme remarkable for its far-reaching computation of the resources of the country, and a minute application of details for the purpose of adapting it to the wants of the community. But to these characteristics of the plan which he proposed were added a marvellous power of interesting his audience in statements which, in most instances, would be difficult of immediate apprehension and excessively fatiguing. By the aid of a voice of which the clear and unstrained tone is susceptible of almost every degree of inflection, he gave a nearly romantic interest to what from other speakers would have been a bare dry recapitulation of facts and calculations. This was the surprising peculiarity of Mr. Gladstone's first budget, and he has never lost the charm, nor can his frequent hearers lose the surprise though it has so often been repeated. He possesses the extraordinary ability to invest a statistical report with the graces of poetic narration and appeal; his lucid and vigorous descriptions of the pecuniary condition of the country become examples of vivid and veracious "word painting" which translate them, if we may use the expression, into "landscapes with figures."

This—his first budget was a scheme sufficient to make the life-long reputation of a statesman. As a writer well said at a later date, "The secret of the financier's magic lay in that sound principle which he may be said to have inaugurated in British finance, and under the extended application of which trade and commerce have advanced with leaps and bounds. He reckoned upon that property in national finance which is now known as the 'elasticity of revenue,' and which is now safely, and as a matter of calculation, counted upon presently to make good deficiencies immediately accruing upon reduction of taxation. There is nothing remarkable in the adoption of this principle now, any more than there is in the application of a lighted match to a gas-burner when we want light in a darkened room. But in 1853 the experiment was as novel, and its results as surprising, as would have been the introduction of a blazing gas chandelier in the House of Commons when William Pitt was explaining his budget of 1783."

It should be mentioned that on the 8th of April, ten days before the night for the financial statement, Mr. Gladstone had brought forward his plan for the reduction of the national debt. This plan he submitted to the house in the form of fifteen resolutions. It consisted of three portions, which he fully and clearly explained. By the first he proposed to liquidate certain minor stocks—the South Sea stock, the old and new South Sea annuities, bank annuities of 1726, and three per cent annuities of 1751—the total amount of which stocks was about £9,500,000, made up of stocks which differed only in denomination, and thus perpetuated a needless complication in the debt. He proposed that these

stocks should either be converted into new securities or paid off at the option of the holders; and he calculated that if by this operation the interest on these sums was reduced by a quarter per cent, the permanent annual saving to the country would be £25,000 per annum, and that if the stocks were paid off the saving would be still greater. His next proposal was to operate on exchequer bonds in such a way as would secure, if his anticipations should be fulfilled, a saving of one per cent. The third part of his plan was to effect the voluntary commutation of the three per cent consols, and the three per cent reduced, amounting altogether to £500,000,000, into one or other of two new stocks which he proposed to create, and which would be as like each other as possible in their conditions, so that the fund-holders would probably be induced to take portions of both. The intention was ultimately to create an irredeemable permanent 2½ per cent stock. But of more immediate importance were the particulars of the budget dealing with the current national revenue.

The revenue of the financial year, which Mr. Disraeli had estimated at £51,625,000, really amounted to £53,089,000; the expenditure, estimated at £51,163,000, had, in fact, only reached the sum of £50,782,000, thus leaving a surplus of £2,460,000. But before considering how much of this amount would be available for the remission of taxation, it was necessary to announce the calculated expenditure for the year just commenced, which amounted to £52,183,000; so that three-fifths of the surplus was already disposed of. Mr. Gladstone estimated the amount of the revenue for the year 1853–4 at £52,990,000, giving an apparent surplus of £807,000; but he urged that, on account of the uncertainty of some of the items, it would be better to take it at £700,000, and of this sum about £220,000 consisted of money which did not proceed from permanent or recurring sources. Mr. Gladstone next considered the question of the retention of the income-tax. He pointed out what great things it had enabled the government and the legislature to effect, and how much loss and how heavy an accumulation of debt would have been avoided if it had been resorted to at an earlier period. Speaking, with a suggestive reference to possible events which was soon to be verified, he said, "It affords you the means, should unhappily hostilities again break out, of at once raising your army to 300,000 and your fleet to 100,000, with all your establishments in proportion; and much as may be said of the importance—in which I concur—of an army reserve and a navy reserve, I say this fiscal reserve is no less important; for if it be used aright it is an engine to which you may resort, and with which, judiciously employed, you may again, if need be, defy the world."

This declaration elicited a burst of applause. After thus dealing generally with the question, Mr. Gladstone entered upon a very full and detailed examination of the proposal so often urged, to draw a distinction between precarious and realized incomes, and between incomes derived from trades and professions; and he dwelt explicitly on the almost absolute impossibility of drawing in practice the distinction which was contended for, between these two classes of incomes. The government proposed to renew the tax for two years, from April, 1853, at the present rate of 7*d.* in the pound, and for two years more, from April, 1855, at 6*d.* in the pound, and from April, 1857, for three years more at 5*d.* in the pound; so that it would expire altogether on the 5th of April, 1860. But in order to enable ministers to accompany the present renewal of the tax with a farther relief from taxation, it was proposed to make it more productive by extending it down to a class of persons who were exempt from it. Hitherto the taxes had only been paid by persons whose incomes amounted to £150; henceforth an income-tax of 5*d.* in the pound was to be imposed on persons whose incomes were between £100 and £150, for the whole time that the tax was to be continued. Ireland had profited largely by the remission of taxation, which the income-tax had enabled the government to take; it was therefore very distinctly proposed that Ireland should at length be made subject to the tax, and it was expected that this would yield an additional

annual sum of £460,000. By alterations he proposed to make in the legacy-duties Mr. Gladstone expected to realize £500,000 for the year 1853–54, and no less then two millions for the year 1856–57, and this would probably become a part of the permanent revenue of the kingdom. He brought forward certain specified changes in the duties on Scotch and Irish spirits, and proposed to relieve Ireland from the consolidated annuities, amounting to £4,500,000. After this enumeration of the taxes he intended to impose, Mr. Gladstone entered on the more agreeable task of announcing those he hoped to remit. In the first place, he stated that he contemplated the entire remission of the duties on soap, which would involve a net loss of revenue amounting to £1,111,000, and for the current year of £771,000. He would reduce the tax on life assurances from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 6*d.* He intended to substitute a uniform penny receipt stamp in the place of the stamps, varying according to the sum received, which had hitherto been used. The duty on apprenticeship was lowered from 20*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* Reductions were also made in the taxes on solicitors' certificates, and the articles of apprenticeship of solicitors, on hackney and other carriages, horses, dogs, post-horses, tea; in a word, 133 different taxes were to be reduced, and the total amount of the remissions of taxation which it was proposed to make was estimated at £5,384,000. Four days before Mr. Gladstone made his statement a motion made by Mr. Milner Gibson, one of the representatives of Manchester, for the abolition of the advertisement duty, had been carried against the government by a majority of 31. Mr. Gladstone announced that before Mr. Gibson's motion was brought forward the government had determined to reduce the advertisement duty from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 6*d.*, and to repeal altogether the duty on newspaper supplements; and to this determination they adhered, in spite of the majority on Mr. Gibson's resolution. Mr. Gladstone entered into an elaborate statement of calculations, leading to the conclusion that there was a reasonable prospect of really getting rid of the income-tax in 1860, for the income-tax was the topic over which the greatest discussion was to range, and to this he had devoted his powers of explanation and defence. The attempt to strike averages for the purpose of obtaining unequal incidence of the tax he contended would be futile and even mischievous. In times of national emergency and peril the tax on incomes had done great things for the country, and he asked the house to consider what it might do again if those perils should return. "It was in the crisis of revolutionary war that when Mr. Pitt found the resources of taxation were failing under him, his mind fell back upon the conception of the income-tax, and when he proposed it to parliament, that great man, possessed with his great idea, raised his eloquence to an unusual height and power." From 1806 to 1815 the average annual expenses of war and government, together with the charge upon the debt contracted before 1793, was £65,794,000; and the income-tax had raised the revenue of the country, which in 1798 was only £20,626,000, to £63,790,000, thus reducing the deficiency from about fifteen millions to two millions.

When Mr. Gladstone dealt with the subject of the composition of the tax and its alleged gross inequality, he regarded it as only a temporary burden which was, according to his calculations, to terminate in seven years, and without dwelling on the inquiry whether there ought to be any difference in its incidence on the owners of land and houses and persons engaged in trade, he showed by a careful estimate that land paid at that moment ninepence and trade sevenpence in the pound; and he asked whether any moderate man, if he was about to establish a different rate of payment between the two classes, would make the difference greater than that which then existed. He protested against the averaging of classes when some trades were worth twenty-five, and others were only worth five, four, or three years' purchase; and as regarded the difference between land and trade, there was no sufficient reason for attempting the reconstruction of the income-tax. The government was opposed to the breaking up of the tax; such a policy would inevitably lead them into a quagmire.

To relinquish it was altogether safe, because it was altogether honourable; but to break it up was to encourage the House of Commons to venture upon schemes which might look well on paper, and were calculated to serve the purpose of the moment, but which would end in the destruction of the tax by the absurdities and iniquities which they involved. The government, while recognizing the fact that the income-tax was an engine of gigantic power for great national purposes, were of opinion, from the circumstances attending its operation, that it was, perhaps, impossible, and certainly not desirable, to maintain it as a portion of the permanent and ordinary finances of the country. Its inequality was a fact important in itself; the inquisition it entailed was a most serious disadvantage; and the frauds to which it led were evils which it was not possible to characterize in terms too strong. "Depend upon it," continued the right honourable gentleman, "when you come to close quarters with this subject, when you come to measure and see the respective relations of intelligence and labour and property, and when you come to represent these relations in arithmetical results, you are undertaking an operation which I should say it was beyond the power of man to conduct with satisfaction, but which, at any rate, is an operation to which you ought not constantly to recur; for if, as my honourable friend once said very properly, this country could not bear a revolution once a year, I will venture to say that it could not bear a reconstruction of the income-tax once a year. Whatever you do in regard to the income-tax you must be bold, you must be intelligible, you must be decisive. You must not palter with it. If you do, I have striven at least to point out as well as my feeble powers will permit, the almost desecration, I would say, certainly the gross breach of duty to your country, of which you will be found guilty, in thus jeopardizing one of the most valuable among all its material resources. I believe it to be of vital importance, whether you keep this tax or whether you part with it, that you should either keep it or leave it in a state in which it would be fit for service in an emergency, and that it will be impossible to do if you break up the basis of your income-tax."

It was the desire of the government not only to put an end to the uncertainty which prevailed respecting the income-tax, but to provide for the termination of the tax itself, and to treat it only as a temporary one. Alas! their good intentions were frustrated as the country knows too well, and its necessarily unequal application to different classes of income is still one of its most exasperating characteristics. It only needs to read the conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's magnificent exposition to discover that his opinions on the subject of the tax itself were almost precisely those which he afterwards maintained.

"If the committee have followed me, they will understand that we stand on the principle that the income-tax ought to be marked as a temporary measure; that the public feeling that relief should be given to intelligence and skill as compared with property ought to be met, and may be met; that the income-tax in its operation ought to be mitigated by every rational means compatible with its integrity, and, above all, that it should be associated in the last term of its existence, as it was in the first, with those remissions of indirect taxation which have so greatly redounded to the profit of this country, and have set so admirable an example—an example that has already in some quarters proved contagious to other nations of the earth."

"These," continued the speaker in conclusion, "are the principles on which we stand, and the figures. I have shown you that if you grant us the taxes which we ask, the moderate amount of £2,500,000 in the whole, and much less than that sum for the present year, you, or the parliament which may be in existence in 1860, will be in the condition, if you so think fit, to part with the income-tax.

"These are the proposals of the government. They may be approved or they may be condemned, but I have this full confidence, that it will be admitted that we have not sought to evade the difficulties of the position; that we have not concealed those difficulties either from ourselves or from others; that we have

not attempted to counteract them by narrow or flimsy expedients; that we have prepared plans which, if you will adopt them, will go some way to close up many vexed financial questions, which, if not now settled, may be attended with public inconvenience, and even with public danger, in future years and under less favourable circumstances; that we have endeavoured, in the plans we have now submitted to you, to make the path of our successors in future years, not more arduous but more easy; and I may be permitted to add that, while we have sought to do justice to the great labour community of England by furthering their relief from indirect taxation, we have not been guided by any desire to put one class against another. We have felt we should best maintain our own honour, that we should best meet the views of parliament, and best promote the interests of the country, by declining to draw any invidious distinction between class and class, by adopting it to ourselves as a sacred aim to diffuse and distribute the burdens with equal and impartial hand; and we have the consolation of believing that by proposals such as these we contribute, as far as in us lies, not only to develop the material resources of the country, but to knit the various parts of this great nation yet more closely than ever to that throne and to those institutions under which it is our happiness to live."

That was, and has ever been, the secret of Mr. Gladstone's great financial success—the unequalled art with which he distributes the burden so that it shall nowhere press beyond endurance; and though the debates on this, his first budget, were various and continued, the provisions which effected this object could not be denied. Cobden, Hume, and many who thought with them, advocated the reduction of estimates by greater economy in the public service, which would render the income-tax unnecessary—but it was obvious that this expedient could only be adopted at a time when no increased national expenditure was looming in the future.

Mr. Disraeli expressed approbation of the general principles of the budget, which he said were the same as those which he had himself twice endeavoured to impress upon the house. But he opposed the provisions of the financial scheme in detail, especially with regard to what he alleged was injustice to land.

Introducing an illustration, with calculations, to show the injustice of the system the committee was now asked to support, he said he had made the difference of assessment in his schedules not as a complete arrangement, but as a principle of conciliation. He did not think the incidence of the tax would terminate with the seven years, because the spirit of the times, which demanded remissions of duties, was hostile to its abolition, and because the character of Mr. Gladstone induced him to believe that, though so conscientious that he would certainly resign office if he held it in 1860, sooner than propose a renewal of the tax, however necessary; yet that then, as in other cases, he would rise below the gangway, and recommend its renewal, sacrificing himself to save his country. His own opinion was, that the tax should be renewed for a very limited time, with such a mitigatory character as could be contrived; and that we should apply our surplus and accruing income as it was received to the reduction of an impost no minister could manage, and no people could long endure. Denying that any "compact" existed between himself and any Irish members, he said that the late government had come to the conclusion that the tax should not be extended to the land of Ireland, and that he had been prepared with a measure on the annuities—not that of the chancellor of the exchequer—but one which would have given satisfaction. He then remarked that the whole financial policy of the chancellor of the exchequer was conceived in a spirit of injustice to the land. He argued that a quarter of the revenue of the kingdom was derived from a single crop of the British farmer, but now more than 100 per cent was to be taken off tea, which was to be brought into increased competition with articles of his production which paid 230 per cent. Jokes might be made about the reduction in the price of beer going into the brewer's pocket, and maudlin philanthropists might denounce dram-drinking; but jokes and philanthropists would be baffled by

the principles of political economy. Twelve millions could not be raised from a producer without restricting his trade and commerce. His competition ought to be really unrestricted. But the government proposed to lay another half million upon him. The same policy was pursued as regarded direct taxation. He believed the whole principle of succession taxes unsound, especially as to land, because they led to a partition. At all events, here was a new burden on land, and another proof of the spirit of injustice thereto in which this budget was conceived. Yet the minister who had devised it had been the first minister who had spoken of the load of taxation under which real property lay. This was to be acknowledged but not relieved, nay, the very tax was to be added, the absence of which used to be cited as the compensation to the landowner for his burdens. He reminded Lord J. Russell of his having denounced Sir R. Peel's income-tax, and having advised him to raise his revenue by a legacy duty on land. Now he had given them that duty and an income-tax too. After a similar allusion to Ireland and the spirit duties, he exclaimed, "Strange that from a ministry of all the talents, the two countries should receive such accumulated blessings!"

The debates both on the income-tax and on the proposed change in the succession duty were prolonged, and many leading members took a prominent part in them, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton being among those who advocated a reconsideration of the effects of the incidence of the income-tax on the farmer; but the applause which had greeted the termination of Mr. Gladstone's masterly scheme was vindicated by the result, and on the 27th of June the budget passed in its integrity.

That Napoleon III. should desire to form a close alliance with England was not to be wondered at. He was, as he himself expressed it, a *parvenu* — a new-comer among European sovereigns. All the rulers had fully recognized him except the Emperor of Russia, who would give him no nearer title than "cousin" instead of calling him "brother." Perhaps this rankled, but Napoleon III. was not the kind of man to resent madly or even to dwell upon unduly, a merely personal affront. In this as well as in some other respects there was a considerable resemblance between him and Disraeli. His efforts to bring about thoroughly amicable relations with England were natural, apart from any events which were about to happen. For many years he had resided in this country, and had gained an intimate knowledge of its mode of government and of the habits and character of its people. It was also of the utmost importance to him to maintain a good understanding with a strong and independent state which would acknowledge him and give him moral support. The influence of England was perhaps of more importance to him than to any other ruler in Europe.

The opportunity of cementing such an alliance was not far off. "The Eastern question" was agitating the minds of statesmen. The dispute as to the predominance of the Latin or the Greek churches in their claim to hold possession of the "holy places" had long been a subject of contention, and the Emperor of Russia, as head of the Greek Church, had been involved in an attempt to force from the sultan concessions professedly based on former treaties giving that church the principal authority, and so interpreted by Russia that they would practically reduce Turkey to a subordinate state in respect to the ten millions of Greek subjects of the Porte. Napoleon III., on the other hand, had no sooner mounted the imperial throne of France than he regarded *himself* as the representative of the Latin Church, which, though in the East only numerically small, amounting but to a few hundred thousand, insisted on equal privileges to those enjoyed by the Greeks. Mr. Kinglake, who was utterly inimical to the French emperor, said, that stated in bare terms, the question was whether for the purpose of passing through the building into their grotto the Latin monks should have the key of the chief door of the church of Bethlehem, and also one of the keys of each of the two doors of the sacred manger; and whether they should be at liberty to place

in the sanctuary of the nativity a silver star adorned with the arms of France. In pursuance of urgent instructions from the French emperor, M. de Lavalette pressed his case with such success at Constantinople that on the 22d of December, 1852, the Latin patriarch, amid great ceremony, was permitted to replace the glittering star in the Sanctuary of Bethlehem, and had handed over to him at the same time the key of the great door of the church and the keys of the sacred manger. Indignant at this outrage on the "Orthodox" Church, Count Nesselrode wrote to Baron Brunnow, "It may happen that France, perceiving any hesitation on the part of the Porte, may again have recourse to menace, and press upon it so as to prevent it from listening to our just demands. The emperor, therefore, has considered it necessary to adopt at the outset some precautionary measures in order to support our negotiations, to neutralize the efforts of M. Lavalette's threats, and to guard himself in any contingency which may occur against a government accustomed to act by surprises." This was the Russian way of putting it, but the "just demands" of Nicholas, the Russian emperor, were obviously such as would give him authority over the territory of the sultan, and English statesmen well knew that he contemplated little less than the subjection of Turkey—which he described as "the sick man" or "the dying man"—and its ultimate absorption or partition. It seemed probable, therefore, that the sultan, while for some time taking care to act with impartiality between these Christian churches, whose claims were to be made the excuse for a devastating war, was somewhat reassured by the probability of obtaining the support of France.

One of the "precautionary measures" taken by the Emperor of Russia was to send a corps-d'armée to the frontiers of the Danubian provinces. He had always desired a pretext for extending his territorial interests in Turkey, and he began by enforcing the claims of his church. He then made use of the demand of Austria for the removal of the sultan's troops from Montenegro as an opportunity for threatening hostilities for which he began seriously to prepare. The admission of the claims of Austria by the Turkish government, removed his excuse for proceeding to extremities, but he still endeavoured to provide for what he chose to consider would be the inevitable collapse of the sultan's authority, and insinuated to England an alliance by which, in that event, a partition of territory in the East might be effected.

These overtures were not listened to by our government, which afterwards expressed its intention to use every effort to preserve the integrity of Turkey. Sir Stratford Canning was sent to support the sultan by his presence against the threats and undisguised attempts of Prince Menschikoff, the Russian envoy, who had already made preparations in Bessarabia for the passage of 120,000 men, in addition to previous operations at Sebastopol, and orders were given for the march of Russian battalions from all directions towards the south.

During the stages of the demands made by Russia on the Porte the government of England had observed strict neutrality, forbidding the removal of the British fleet from Malta to Vourla at the request of the sultan, and distinctly discouraging the advance of the French fleet, which had been sent into the Levant and was ordered to Salamis.

The Prussian and Austrian envoys were as decided as those of France and England against the designs of the Emperor Nicholas, and a conference was opened at Vienna, concluding with an offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and Austria, who, without taking part in the war, declared against the position that Russia had assumed, and especially against the seizure of Moldavia and Wallachia, in order to add a threatening strength to the demands made on Turkey. Throughout all these discussions the ministry of the sultan was sustained by the support and advice of the British ambassador, whose influence with the Turkish government had long been as displeasing to the czar as it was potent in checking his ambitious designs. Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, may be said to have restrained the

sultan from premature action, and to have removed from the dispute such misunderstandings or misrepresentations as might have given to the Emperor of Russia colourable ground for the violence to which he afterwards reverted.

During the latter period of the conference held at Vienna the agreement between France and England had taken the form of a definite alliance in arms. The sultan refused to grant, because of the threatening occupation of the Danubian provinces, that which he had refused to the negotiations of the Russian envoy and Omar Pacha. On the contrary, the Turkish general at once proceeded to action, and gained victories over the invaders which caused them to relinquish the territory upon which they had seized. France and England now prepared for hostilities. On the 22d of March, 1854, war was declared, and the combined fleets under the French Admiral Hamelin and the English Admiral Dundas bombarded the port of Odessa, the fortifications of which were destroyed; thirteen ships laden with munitions of war were captured and two magazines of powder exploded. This, however, was only the beginning of the tremendous war which neither remonstrances addressed to Russia by other nations, nor a conference of the great powers at Vienna in 1855, to agree upon a new basis of negotiations, were successful in preventing. Hostilities were carried out to the bitter end until after the death of the Emperor Nicholas. These few sentences contain a mere indication of the current of events which we shall now have to follow, without entering into any detailed account of the various stages of the Crimean war so far as military operations are concerned. A few salient points of the campaign must briefly engage our attention, but the stories of Balaklava, of Inkerman, and of Sebastopol are twice-told tales, and the military records of this great and portentous struggle form no part of a history of social and political progress.

END OF VOL. II.

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reference to the manner in which the Lord Chancellor read the Queen's Speech when opening Parliament (Feb. 5, 1880)—"The speech was pronounced with dignified ease, but purists may wonder that his Lordship has not learned the correct pronunciation of 'Afghanistan,' 'Cabul,' and 'Gundamuk.'"

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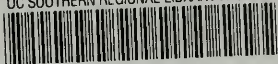
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