

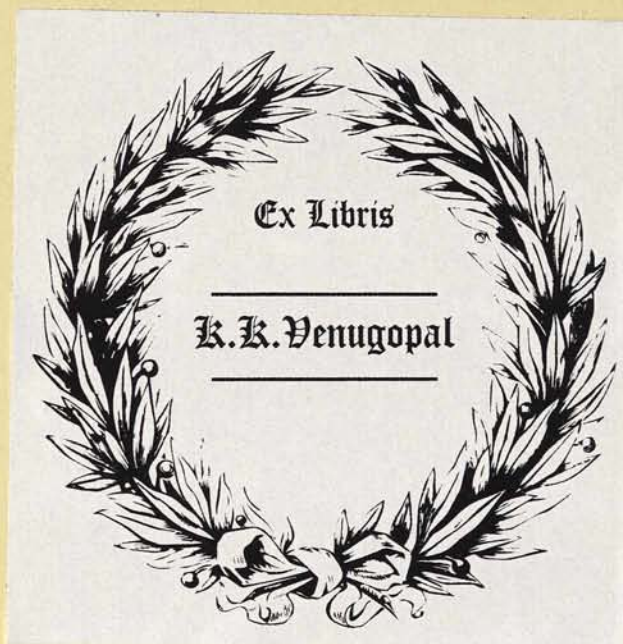
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A HISTORY OF  
THE XIX  
CENTURY



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THE  
AGE WE LIVE IN:

A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

JAMES TAYLOR, A.M., D.D., F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF "THE FAMILY HISTORY OF ENGLAND," "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND," ETC.

VOL. II.

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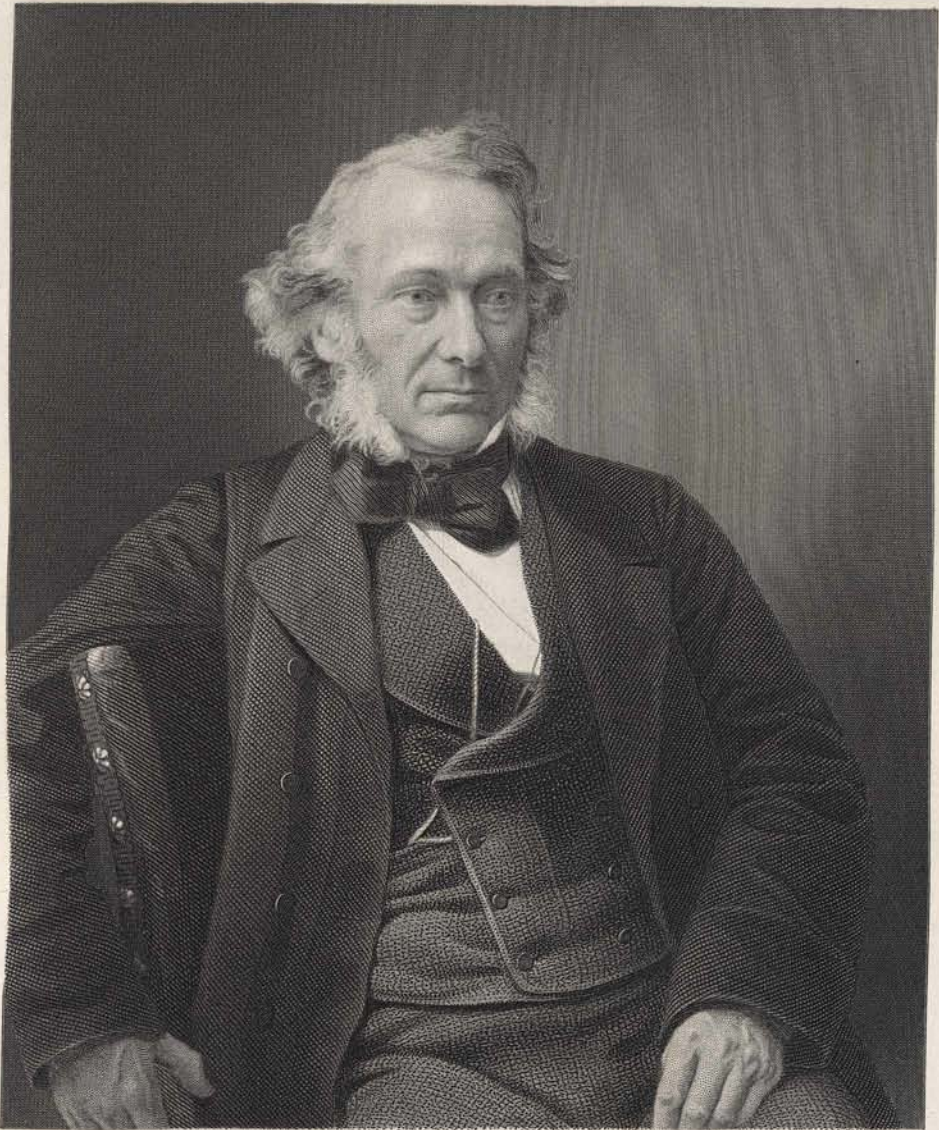




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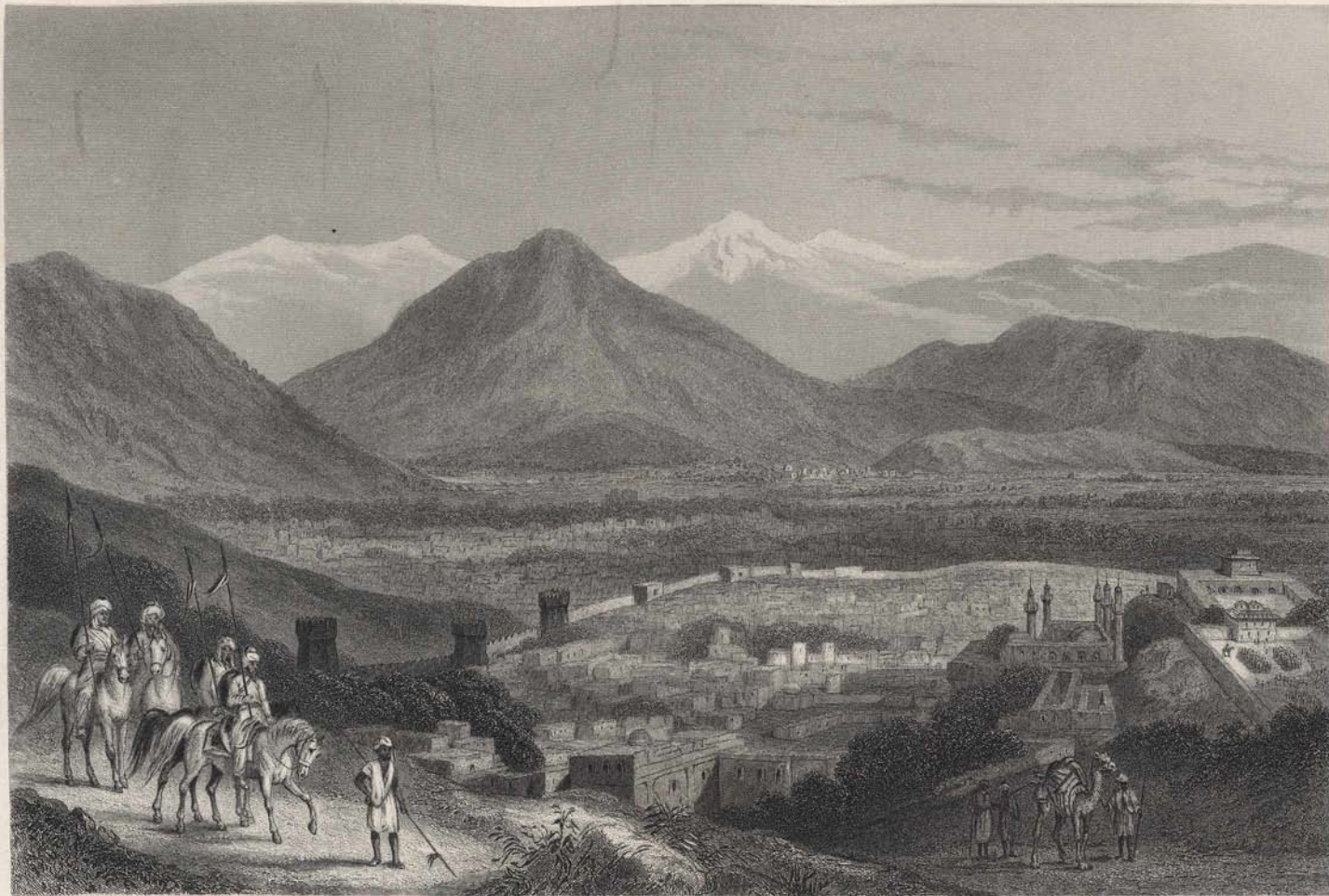




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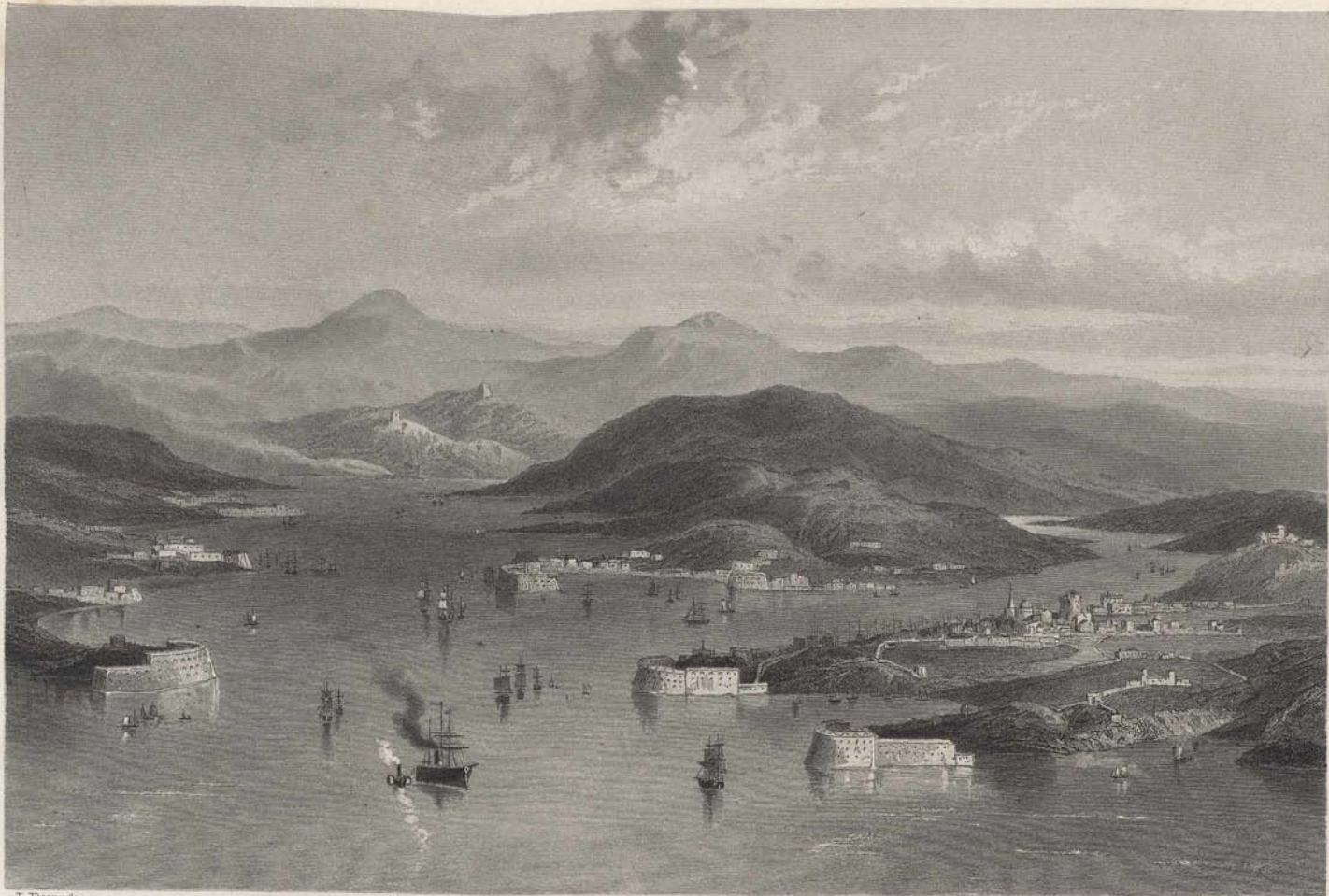




J. Ramage

J. Stephenson.

C A B U L .  
FROM THE BALA HISSAR.



J. Ramsay.

J. Stephenson.

# SEBASTOPOL.

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW.



# THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

## CHAPTER I.

Opening of Parliament—Introduction of the third Reform Bill by Lord John Russell—The Debate and Division—Progress of the measure in the Upper House—Agitation throughout the Country to induce the Lords to pass the Bill—Proposal to create a sufficient number of Peers to carry it—The King refuses his consent—Resignation of the Ministry—The Commons pass a vote of confidence in Earl Grey and his Colleagues—Great Excitement among the People—Resolutions passed in the large towns not to pay taxes unless the Bill be passed—Refusal of Sir Robert Peel and other influential Tories to join them—Debate in the House of Commons on the situation of affairs—The Duke resigns his Commission—Earl Grey recalled, and resumes office on receiving power to create Peers—Lord Lyndhurst and the Duke of Wellington empowered to form a New Ministry—The Reform Bill passed—The changes which it made in the representation of the Country—Its ultimate effects—The Russian Dutch Loan—Prorogation of Parliament.

THE meeting of Parliament, so earnestly desired by the Reformers of all ranks and classes throughout the country, took place on the 6th of December, amidst general anxiety and gloom, which the topics of the king's speech—the keenly contested bill, the pestilence, the distress, and the riots—were not calculated to dispel. It was generally observed that the king himself did not look well.

‘I feel it to be my duty,’ said His Majesty, ‘in the first place, to recommend to your most careful consideration the measure that will be proposed to you for the reform of the Commons’ House of Parliament. A speedy and satisfactory settlement of this question becomes daily of more pressing importance to the security of the state, and the contentment and welfare of my people.

‘The scenes of violence and outrage which have occurred in the city of Bristol and in some other places, have caused me the deepest affliction. The authority of the laws must be vindicated by the punishment of offences which have produced so exten-

sive a destruction of property, and so melancholy a loss of life; but I think it right to direct your attention to the best means of improving the municipal police of the kingdom, for the more effectual protection of the public peace against similar commotions. Sincerely attached to our free constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my people the privilege of discussing and making known their grievances; but in respecting these rights it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretext, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and the provisions of the law; and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects to second my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings, by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered.’

It was alleged that the passage condemnatory of the Unions was suggested



by the king; but it was quite as much prompted by the feelings of Earl Grey, who strongly disapproved of the violent proceedings of these associations, and resented their imperious attempts to dictate to the Government the steps they ought to take in order to carry the Reform Bill through the House of Lords.

Notice was given by Lord John Russell that the Bill would be brought in on the 12th of December. The measure had undergone careful revision during the recess. Several persons of great influence, among others the Bishop of London and Mr. Horsley Palmer, Governor of the Bank of England, had intimated to the ministers their belief that, if some moderate concessions were made to the fears and the prejudices of the peers, the Bill would be allowed to pass. Under this impression, Lord Grey and Lord Althorp made various alterations in the measure, in order to meet the views of these moderate Anti-reformers by modifying the clauses for the disfranchisement of the free-men, and taking the amount of taxes instead of the population in every borough as the chief element in the basis of its representation. These changes involved a re-examination of the schedules, and additional inquiries into the population and property in the boroughs, all which it was proposed to submit to the decision of Parliament, instead of, as before, leaving it to the Privy Council. There was considerable danger that amendments made in this spirit might offend the Radicals without conciliating the Tories, which proved to be the case.

On the 12th of December a very full House was in attendance to hear the ministerial statement respecting the new Bill. 'At five o'clock,' says Sir Denis le Marchant, 'the Speaker looked at the Cabinet bench for Lord John Russell to begin the debate; but he was absent, and half an hour passed away before he made his appearance, looking very pale, and, as I was informed, feeling very ill. All business had necessarily been suspended in the interval, and

the members, having become rather impatient, gave him a cold reception. This, however, in no way disconcerted him, and he began his speech at once, with his usual coolness and self-possession, as if nothing had happened. He was, of course, listened to with far less interest than when he had brought forward either the first or the second Reform Bill. There could be little novelty in his speech, beyond the alterations he had to propose in the bill, and these were of a character to call forth approval rather than enthusiasm. He stated them with clearness and in a conciliatory tone, that showed the disposition of the ministers to meet all objections raised to their measure, when these did not involve its principles. He spoke for an hour and ten minutes, and sat down amidst general but not loud cheers.'

With regard to the changes introduced into the Bill, Lord John said, 'We formerly took the census of 1821 and a certain line of population; but since that time the census of 1831 has been nearly completed. It is, however, liable to the objection of being made at a time when disfranchisement was connected with a small population, and persons might have been gathered together in certain of these small boroughs, in order to make up the required number. And as we do not wish to place towns with several mean houses in a situation of greater advantage than towns with a smaller number of better houses, we have not taken the number of £10 houses only, but the number of all houses rated to the assessed taxes up to April last. Ministers have obtained much information from gentlemen whom we sent down to draw the limits of boroughs; and from this mass of information Lieutenant Drummond, who is at the head of the commission, has been instructed to make out a series of 100 boroughs, beginning with the lowest, and taking the number of the houses and the amount of their assessed taxes together. From this return Schedule A has been framed.



‘It was necessary then to draw an arbitrary line somewhere, as to the number of houses and amount of taxes, below which a borough should be deemed too inconsiderable to enjoy the right of electing members. We have hence taken the number of fifty-six, which was found in the bill of last session, and the result is, that some boroughs which formerly escaped disfranchisement will now be placed in Schedule A, while others will be raised out of it and placed in Schedule B. The boroughs, which will be placed in Schedule A in consequence of this change, are—Aldborough (Yorkshire), Amersham, Ashburton, East Grinstead, Okehampton, and Saltash. There is another borough, regarding which there are some doubts as to its limits. Supposing Ashburton to be one of the fifty-six, then the boroughs that are to be raised out of Schedule A into Schedule B are Midhurst, Petersfield, Eye, Wareham, Woodstock, and Lostwithiel. Schedule B, which in the last Bill contained forty-one boroughs, will be reduced to thirty. It was formerly proposed to diminish the House by twenty-three members; but it has now been thought desirable to conciliate those who objected to the diminution by leaving the present number of its members undiminished, more especially as this can be done without sacrificing any of the principles of the bill. It is proposed that of these twenty-three members ten should be given to the most considerable towns in Schedule B; and that one should be given to Chatham, so as to render that town independent of Rochester, and one to the county of Monmouth. Tavistock will be one of the towns removed from Schedule B. I have desired every information respecting that borough to be collected, and it will be laid before the House; and if any gentleman should still say that there has been unfair dealing with regard to it, I can only say that such an assertion will be false and unfounded. The remaining members will be given to the following large towns, to which the late bill gave one member each—Bolton,

Brighton, Bradford, Blackburn, Macclesfield, Stockport, Stoke-on-Trent, Halifax, Stroud, and Huddersfield.

With regard to the £10 qualification, ministers have never had the slightest intention to change it, either in amount or value. The right was formerly limited to those who had not compounded with their landlords for the rates, and who had resided in the house for twelve months. ‘Under the new Bill all persons of full age and not legally disqualified, occupying a house, warehouse, or shop, separately or jointly, with land of the yearly value of £10, would be entitled to vote. The former Bill continued the franchise to all existent resident freemen and apprentices, and others, with incorporate rights. The present Bill will continue the franchise to all freemen possessing it by birth or servitude forever, provided they reside within the city or borough within seven miles of the place of voting.’

‘It was believed at the time,’ said Lord Althorp’s biographer, ‘that if the Tories had at once accepted with a good grace the concessions thus proposed by the Government they would have obtained still better terms in the further stages of the Bill.’ The Radicals, according to Mr. Roebuck, were in great alarm lest this should happen, and Sir Robert Peel was evidently afraid that some members of the Opposition might, on the impulse of the moment, commit themselves in favour of the amended measure. He therefore rose immediately after Lord John had concluded his statement, and declared, in a very bitter party speech, his unabated hostility to the new Bill. He taunted the Ministers with having now made improvements in the Bill at the instance of the Opposition, which they had formerly resisted, and declared that the whole country must be grateful for the escape which they had made from the Bill of last session. They had now unquestionable proofs of the great good which had been effected by the efforts of the Opposition, presenting the strongest en-



couragement to their insisting on additional and larger concessions. He even accused the Ministers with having brought forward their Reform Bill, not because they considered it necessary, but in order to excite the country in their favour. These charges were indignantly repudiated by Lord Althorp, who affirmed, amid enthusiastic applause, that the Bill had been the result, not the cause of agitation; and that although some of its details had been modified, the measure remained the same in all parts of material importance. Lord Clive, and several other influential Tory members, expressed their gratification, both with the alterations made in the Bill and the conciliatory tone adopted by the Ministers, while a number of the Reformers loudly complained of these changes. Cobbett, however, declared that, in his opinion, it was even a better measure than the Bill which the House of Lords had rejected, and Mr. George Dawson, Peel's brother-in-law, anathematized it 'as the worst of them all.'

The debate on the second reading of the Bill began on Friday, the 16th, and was continued the next evening, concluding on the morning of the 18th. Lord Jeffrey wrote next day to the Solicitor-General for Scotland:—'The debate on the whole was not interesting. Croker made a most impertinent, unfair, and petulant speech.' Sir Denis le Marchant says, 'On the first night was the brilliant speech of Mr. Macaulay, up to that time certainly his greatest, in which his noble vindication of the policy of the Whigs during their exclusion from office, and his crushing attack on Sir Robert Peel, were received with the most tremendous cheers.' Jeffrey corroborates this opinion. 'Macaulay,' he says, 'made, I think, the best speech he has yet delivered; the most condensed, at least, and with the greatest weight of matter. It contained the only argument, indeed, to which any of the speakers who followed him applied themselves. There was a very running fire of small calibres all the early part of

yesterday. But there were in the end three remarkable speeches—first, a mild, clear, authoritative vindication of the *measure* upon broad grounds, and in answer to general imputations, by Lord John Russell; delivered with a louder voice and more decided manner than usual with him. Next a magnificent, spirited, and most eloquent speech by Stanley—chiefly in castigation of Croker, whom he trampled in the dirt; but containing also a beautiful and spirited vindication of the whole principle and object of Reform. This was by far the best speech I have heard from Stanley, and I fancy much the best he has ever made. It was the best, too, I must own, in the debate; for though Macaulay's was more logical and full of thought, this was more easy, spirited, and graceful. The last was Peel's, which, though remarkable, was not good.' Sir Denis, who was present, says, 'The attempt at a reply by Croker in a speech of two hours and a half utterly failed, and only added disgrace to defeat; for, on the following night, Mr. Stanley convicted him of gross misrepresentation of facts in the version he gave of the differences between Charles I. and the Parliament, the House all the time evidently enjoying the exposure. . . . Mr. Croker, whose assurance was proverbial, at first listened to him with apparent indifference; but as he proceeded in his attack, supported by immense cheering from a very large majority of the House, Mr. Croker's courage gave way, he became very pale, and pulled his hat over his brows. Lord Althorp thought that he was going to faint, and he did not recover himself the whole night.' Mr. Greville, whose sympathies were all with the Opposition, says, 'Croker made a very clever speech on Friday, with quotations from Hume, and much reasoning upon them. Hobhouse detected several inaccuracies and gave his discovery to Stanley, who worked it up in a crushing attack upon Croker. It is by far the best speech Stanley ever made, and so good as to raise him immeasurably in the House. Lord



Grey said it placed him at the very top of the House of Commons without a rival, which perhaps is jumping to rather too hasty a conclusion. He shone the more from Peel's making a very poor exhibition. He had been so nettled by Macaulay's sarcasms the night before on his tergiversation, that he went into the whole history of the Catholic question, and his conduct on that occasion, which, besides savouring of that egotism with which he is so much and justly reproached, was uncalled for and out of place. The rest of his speech was not so good as usual, and he did not attempt to answer Stanley.' Peel's speech, in short, was rather a defence of himself than his party.

The Tories were so disheartened as to be unwilling to hazard a division, but Peel insisted that it should take place. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Lord Porchester, who stigmatized this measure as more objectionable than its predecessors; and Sir Edward Sugden, who seconded the amendment, concurred with him in characterizing the Bill as being still more democratic than the other two. The House divided early on Sunday morning, when 324 voted for the second reading and 162 for the amendment, giving a majority of exactly two to one—an increase of fifty votes above the number which passed the preceding Bill, and of twenty-six above the majority by which its second reading was carried. This unsatisfactory result led to a good deal of angry recrimination among the Opposition. Mr. Sturges Bourne, an influential Tory of great parliamentary experience, observed to one of the leaders of his party, 'I suppose you divided merely to satisfy the country that the Lords had no alternative except to pass the Bill.'

Parliament re-assembled on the 17th of January, and on the 20th it was moved that the House should go into committee on the Reform Bill; and though Mr. Croker, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Goulbourn, and Sir Charles Wetherell, strenuously insisted on delay, and raised a discussion which lasted

several hours, they were left in a minority of fifty-three. A similar course was followed in regard to almost every clause in the Bill, which was pertinaciously canvassed at every step, sometimes even by its own supporters; but the Ministry succeeded in triumphing over all opposition. The Bill passed through committee, after twenty-two sittings, on the 14th of March. When the third reading was moved on the 19th, Lord Mahon, seconded by Sir John Malcolm, moved that the Bill be read that day six months. After a debate of three nights, in which the leading statesmen of both sides delivered powerful speeches, the House divided, and the motion was carried by a majority of 116—the votes being 355 against 239. The Bill finally passed the House without a division on Friday, March 23rd, and on the following Monday was once more carried up to the House of Lords.

While the Ministers were engaged in the struggle to carry the Bill through committee, they very narrowly escaped defeat on a motion of censure proposed by Mr. Herries (January 27) on the payment of the Russian Dutch loan, contrary, as he asserted, to the provision of the treaty of 1814, and without the authority of law. This treaty, to which Great Britain, Holland, France, and Russia, were parties, was made for the maintenance of the new kingdom of the Netherlands, and it contained a guarantee by Holland and Britain of a loan of £5,000,000 to Russia, with a promise that in the event of the separation of Holland and Belgium the guarantee should cease. Ministers contended that the separation contemplated by the framers of the treaty was one made by external force, such as France was believed to threaten, and not a voluntary severance proceeding from causes wholly internal; and that in equity if not in law they were bound to pay the money. But their case was very imperfectly stated and feebly supported, and they escaped the vote of censure by a majority of only twenty-four. Lord Althorp was of opinion that they would have been defeated, but for the



knowledge of the fact that an adverse vote would have had the effect of changing the administration. Lord Grey was deeply mortified at this narrow escape, which he regarded as a proof that the members cared only for reform, and not for the Ministry.

The increased majority with which the Reform Bill had been carried in the Commons led a good many persons to believe that the measure would certainly be carried in the Lords, and Lord Althorp received the most cordial congratulations as if the Bill were absolutely safe. The Ministers, however, were quite well aware that these notions were entirely mistaken. Though some members of the Opposition had declined to vote against the second reading, none had voted for it; and the majority of the Lords continued as hostile as before. The question, therefore, of a large creation of peers, which had been previously under discussion, again forced itself upon the Government. The Prime Minister and Lord Althorp held that this step was one of immediate necessity; but the majority of the Cabinet were of a different opinion, and it was only after a very keen controversy, which had nearly broken up the Government, that Lord Grey succeeded in obtaining the authority of the Cabinet to propose to the king that at least ten peers be created. His Majesty gave his consent apparently without hesitation or reluctance, but he was in reality hostile to the proposal. Some of the more moderate of the Tory peers, who had probably received some inkling of the course which the Ministry were about to adopt—notably Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, who had voted against the second reading of the former Bill—anxious to avert what they regarded as a serious blow to the constitution, intimated their wish to confer with Lord Grey on the possibility of a compromise; and a meeting took place between them and some of the leading members of the Government. The general terms proposed were, that on the one hand Schedule A should remain unaltered, that representatives should be given to the large towns,

and that the county representation should be largely extended. On the other hand, that Schedule B should be largely modified, and the £10 qualification secured against abuse, and with an understanding that the manufacturing interest was not to have a preponderating influence in the county representation. The Duke of Wellington, on being consulted by the 'Waverers,' as they were termed, positively refused to have anything to do with negotiations for modifying a measure which he believed to be fraught with the most dangerous consequences to the best interests of the country; and it speedily appeared that the Ministers, having pledged themselves to adhere to all the essential provisions of the Bill, could not agree to any modifications which were at all likely to satisfy the great body of the Opposition. The result of the negotiations between the parties was, therefore, simply an indication on the part of Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby that they would support the second reading of the Bill on the understanding that they were left at liberty to propose their own amendments in committee, without the promise of any concession on the part of the Ministry. Though a few alterations were made on the measure, in order to afford an excuse to the 'Waverers' for the course they had resolved to pursue, the proposal to create new peers was in the meantime left in abeyance.\*

The Bill was duly taken up to the Lords on the 26th of March by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell. When the motion for the first reading was put, there was at first a dead silence. Lord Harrowby then rose and announced his intention of voting for the second reading, and was followed by Lord Wharncliffe to the same effect. Neither received any encouragement from the other peers, except from Lord Haddington. The Duke of Wellington and Lord

\* This negotiation originated very much with Mr. Greville, and a minute account of the proceedings is given in the second volume of his Journals. A good deal of information on the subject will be found also in the eighth volume of the 'Duke of Wellington's Despatches,' Second Series.



Carnarvon stated that their opinions were unchanged, and their hostility to the Bill undiminished. It was not reform, but revolution. Lord Grey made a dignified and judicious reply.

The second reading was fixed for the 9th of April. In this interval the utmost exertions were made on both sides to retain former supporters, or to gain new ones. Various members of the Ministry, says Lord John Russell, wrote to their friends in the House of Lords, pointing out to them the danger of a large creation of peers, and exhorting them to ward off this danger by supporting the Reform Bill. Of three peers, he adds, to whom he wrote with this object, one supported the second reading, one abstained from voting, and the third repeated his vote against the Bill. The canvassing for votes on both sides, indeed, was unprecedented. Lord Coventry, a nobleman, who from various causes had mixed but little in society, gave an amusing account of the solicitations that had been made to him. 'I never before,' he said, 'was fully aware of the usefulness of indecision. It has raised me quite in importance. I have received more invitations to dinner this week than I have had for years, and my hand has been squeezed by men who had long scarcely condescended to notice me.'

On Monday the 9th of April, the second reading was moved by Earl Grey in what Sir Denis le Marchant justly terms 'a very fine speech, admirably adapted to the occasion, clear, dignified, and eminently prudent and persuasive.' The debate lasted four nights, and was conducted on both sides with distinguished ability. Lord Ellenborough, who led the Opposition, like all the peers who followed him on the same side, admitted that some measure of reform was necessary, but objected to the Bill mainly on the ground that the abolition of the nomination boroughs would exclude from Parliament many eminent men who could in no other way obtain admission to the House of Commons. Twenty members, he said, who were connected with the army, sat

for these boroughs; seven belonging to the naval profession; fourteen great merchants; seventeen eminent lawyers; and eight gentlemen who represented the India and the China trade. The 'Waverers' who took part in the debate were Lords Haddington, Gage, Wharncliffe, and especially Lord Harrowby, who delivered a powerful and telling speech. The Duke of Wellington, whose opposition was as uncompromising as ever, endeavoured to encourage the Anti-reforming peers to vote against the Bill by contradicting the assertions which had been so confidently made and generally believed, that the king was in favour of the measure. 'I am fully persuaded,' he said, 'that it is a mistake to suppose that the king has any interest in the Bill; and I am satisfied that if the real feeling of the king were made known to the country, the noble earl would not be able to pass the Bill.' The Duke's comments on the 'Waverers' so irritated Lord Wharncliffe, that the latter, says Le Marchant, 'came breathing fury to the Chancellor (who had intended to speak next), entreating that he might be allowed to answer him. This he did with a heartiness and vigour which, if he had not spoken for nearly three hours, would have been very effective.' The Duke was supported by the Earl of Winchelsea, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Eldon, Lord Tenterden, and other Tory peers, and by the bishops of Durham, Gloucester, Rochester, and Exeter. 'Phillpotts, bishop of Exeter,' wrote Mr. Greville, 'made a grand speech against the Bill, full of fire and venom, very able. It would be an injury to compare this man with Laud; he more resembles Gardiner. Had he lived in those days he would have been just such another, boiling with ambition, an ardent temperament, and great talents. He got a terrific dressing from Lord Grey, and was handled not very delicately by Goderich and Durham, though the latter was too coarse. He had laid himself very open, and able as he is, he has adopted a tone and style inconsistent



with his lawn sleeves and unusual on the episcopal bench. He is carried away by his ambition and his alarm, and terrifies his brethren, who feel all the danger in these times of such a colleague.' On the other hand, the bishops of Lincoln and Landaff intimated their intention to vote for the second reading, but without thereby pledging themselves to support all the provisions of the Bill. The Lord Chancellor was as usual followed by Lord Lyndhurst, but their speeches were greatly inferior to those which the two learned lords delivered in the debate on the former Bill.

'The debate was closed,' says Greville, 'by a remarkable reply from Lord Grey, full of moderation, and such as held out the best hopes of an adjustment of the question—not that it pacified the ultra-Tories, who were furious.' Sir Denis says it was 'magnificent.' 'Taking into consideration,' said Macaulay, 'the time of the night, or rather of the day, the exhaustion of the subject, the length of the debate, and Lord Grey's age, it was almost unparalleled.' The scene towards the close, as described by Lord Jeffrey, was very striking. 'The debate,' he says, 'was not very brilliant, but got in its latter stage excessively interesting. The Chancellor, more tranquil and less offensive than usual but not at all languid, and in very good voice throughout, chiefly correcting false representations, dispelling vain terrors, and arguing and soothing. Lyndhurst's by far the cleverest and most dangerous speech against us in the debate, and very well spoken. Lord Grey's reply on the whole admirable; in tone and spirit perfect; and, considering his age and the time, really astonishing. He spoke near an hour and a half, after five o'clock, from the kindling dawn into full sunlight, and I think with great effect. The aspect of the House was very striking through the whole night, very full, and on the whole still and solemn (but for the row with Durham and Phillpotts, which ended in

the merited exposure of the latter); the whole throne and the space around it clustered over with 100 members of our House, and the space below the bar nearly filled with 200 more, ranged in a standing row of three deep along the bar, another sitting on the ground against the wall, and the space between covered with moving and sitting figures in all directions, with twenty or thirty clambering on the railings and perched up by the doorways. Between four and five, when the daylight began to shed its blue beams across the red candle light, the scene was very picturesque, from the singular grouping of forty or fifty of us sprawling on the floor awake and asleep, in all imaginable attitudes, and with all sorts of expressions and wrappings. "Young Cadboll," who chose to try how he could sleep *standing*, jammed in a corner, fell flat down over two prostrate Irishmen on the floor, with a noise that made us all start, but no mischief was done. The candles had been renewed before dawn, and blazed on after the sun came fairly in at the high windows, and produced a strange but rather grand effect on the red draperies, and furniture, and dusky tapestry on the walls.'

The House divided at seven o'clock on the morning of the 14th of April, when the second reading was carried by a majority of nine, which was considerably below what was expected by the Ministerial party. The supporters of the Bill on this occasion, as compared with the last, had increased from 158 to 184, while the Opposition had diminished from 199 to 175. Three peers, who did not vote on the previous occasion, now voted against the second reading of the Bill—viz., the Marquis of Abercorn, the Earl of Ashburnham, and Viscount Ferrard; while the Marquis of Donegal, the Marquis of Westmeath, and Viscount Downe, who supported the former Bill, did not vote on this occasion. Seventeen peers, who voted against the Bill in 1831, voted for it in 1832. Ten who voted against it then did not vote at all now, and twelve



who had not voted at all in 1831 supported the second reading of the present Bill. Among these were the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, St. David's, Worcester, and Chester. The majority of the peers present at the division was only two, and proxies could not be used in committee, so that the difficulties of carrying the Bill as it stood seemed almost insuperable. The House adjourned at the beginning of the following week for the Easter vacation, and did not resume its sittings until the 7th of May.

The adjournment of three weeks was turned to account by the Reformers throughout the country, for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on the Lords to induce them to pass the Bill unamended. Monster meetings were held in Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other large towns; and petitions were agreed to be sent to the king, imploring him to create a sufficient number of peers to coerce the anti-reforming majority of the Upper House. At Edinburgh 60,000 persons assembled in the King's Park, and unanimously adopted resolutions expressing their determination to stand by the King and the Ministry in their efforts to obtain for the people their constitutional rights. A meeting of the political unions of the three counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford, was held at Birmingham on the 7th of May, and is said to have consisted of 150,000 persons, who, with uncovered heads, uttered the words dictated by one of the speakers, 'With unbroken faith, through every peril and privation, we here devote ourselves and our children to our country's cause.'

The anti-reforming peers, however, had fully made up their minds to deprive the Bill of some of its chief provisions, or, at least, greatly to impair their efficiency; and their first step was to propose the postponement of the disfranchising schedules, A and B. Earl Grey's warning, that this step would be productive of the greatest embarrassment, was communicated to Lord

Lyndhurst by Lord Wharncliffe; but the ex-Chancellor told him that 'the Tories were so irrevocably bent upon this, and that they were so difficult to manage and so disposed to fly off, that it was absolutely necessary to give way to them, and it must be proposed, though he would gladly have waived it; but that was impossible.' Accordingly, when the House went into committee on the 7th of May, Lyndhurst proposed this amendment, in what Greville calls 'a very aggravating speech.' Lord Grey, who, in order to conciliate the more moderate members of the Opposition, had moved the omission from the first clause of the Bill of the words 'fifty-six,' thus leaving for the present undetermined the number of the boroughs to be disfranchised, stated in explicit terms that he considered Lord Lyndhurst's proposal one of vital importance. The anti-reforming peers were profuse in their protestations, that though they wished to postpone the disfranchising clauses of the Bill, they were quite willing to go the full length of disfranchising at least all the boroughs contained in Schedule A; but they were careful not to state, what has now been made known through the publication of the Duke of Wellington's Correspondence, that they were resolved to withhold the franchise from the metropolitan boroughs, and from Greenwich, Devonport, Brighton, and a number of other large towns, and to give thirty of the seats thus saved to the small boroughs in Schedule B; in other words, to abolish that schedule altogether.

The Earl of Harewood, a nobleman of great influence in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and who had much experience in the House of Commons, said, 'He wished to exonerate himself from being a party to any project or indirect contrivance to defeat the Bill. If the proposition (the amendment) contained in it anything which he did not understand, or anything sinister, he would not support it. He wished that more time were allowed to promulgate what was meant to be proposed if the proposition



were successful; and if that were the case, he was sure all feelings of acrimony on the other (the Ministerial) side would be done away. He thought that if the amendments to be proposed were seen and known, they would remove all the objections which the noble lord opposite might have to the amendment. He had no idea that the object was to get rid of Schedule A, and if it were, he certainly would not join in any such object. He believed that the plan of enfranchisement to be proposed would include all Schedule A, and perhaps more; and he had no predisposition to defeat that schedule. There might be some variations, perhaps, in the places to be disfranchised; but he believed, if the enfranchisement were first agreed to, the places to be disfranchised would be identical with that in Schedule A. If the noble Earl (Grey) did not look on the proposition in a hostile light, much might be done to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the whole question.\*

The Duke of Newcastle, however, who, though narrow-minded and intolerant, was thoroughly straightforward and honest, declared that he would give his support to the amendment, in order that the Bill should not pass; and the Duke of Wellington said he had already avowed, and would again avow, his decided hostility to the measure. But when it had passed the second reading, he felt it to be his duty to consider the principles of the Bill, and to make it, so far as it was capable of being made, a measure fit for the House to pass and for the Government to carry into execution. What the Duke meant by this general statement is shown by a letter written on the 2nd of May to the Rev. G. R. Gleig. 'The metropolitan representation,' he said, 'is ruin.\* We may, possibly we shall, get over it. The democracy has by the Bill a positive gain of sixty-four members. We may

reduce these numbers very considerably. We may improve Schedules A and B. We may improve the £10 franchise.' There can be no doubt that Lord Wharncliffe and the other 'Waverers,' though they protested that there was no disposition on the Opposition side of the House to be niggardly as to the amount of disfranchisement, fully intended to support the amendments mentioned by the Duke of Wellington.

Earl Grey was not, however, to be intimidated or cajoled. He hoped, he said, the noble lords present would not deceive themselves; but he must say, that if the motion were successful, it would be fatal to the whole Bill. 'Should the amendment be carried, it will be necessary for me to consider what course I shall take. More I will not say than what on a former occasion was stated by the noble Earl on the other side, and it was not denied by any other person, that this Bill had found support in public opinion. Noble lords deceive themselves if they suppose that opinion in favour of this Bill is relaxed; and certainly I dread the effect of the House of Lords opposing itself as an insurmountable barrier to what the people think necessary for the good government of the country and a sufficient representation.' More he would not say, than that to the motion of the noble and learned lord he meant to give his most determined opposition.' The committee divided on the amendment, when it became evident that the 'Waverers' had in a body rejoined the Tory party. Lord Lyndhurst's motion was carried by a majority of thirty-five; there being 151 in favour of it and 116 against it.

Lord Grey had, with equal wisdom and courage, resolved to stake the existence both of the Bill and of the Ministry on the issue of the division, and he immediately moved that the House should resume, adding that he should also move that the further

Hamlets, and Chelsea were represented by Conservative members. Westminster, even at the general election of 1830, returned two Conservatives by large majorities, and so did Greenwich, from which Mr. Gladstone had to retire.

\* It is curious to compare this strong statement with the results. In the course of three or four years Marylebone, one of the dreaded metropolitan constituencies, returned Lord Teignmouth, a staunch Conservative, and at a later period Southwark, the Tower



consideration of the Bill should be delayed till the 10th. The meaning of this notice was at once perceived by the Opposition, who deprecated either of the alternatives thus indicated—the resignation of the Ministry, or a large creation of peers. Lord Ellenborough, who moved the amendment for the rejection of the Bill on the second reading, took the opportunity, ill-timed as it appeared to be, to state the outlines of a scheme of reform which he and his party were willing to support. They were prepared, he said, to vote for the disfranchisement of Schedule A, making, with the members for the borough of Weymouth, 113 seats to be placed at the disposal of Parliament. They were also willing to adopt the £10 qualification, provided it were better defined, and to retain the scot-and-lot right of voting. One half of these concessions, offered a year before, would have been generally and cordially accepted; but it was now too late. Earl Grey sarcastically congratulated the noble Lord and the House on the progress he had at length made in the principles of reform, and especially on his intention to support the £10 qualification and to retain the scot-and-lot voting where it existed, thus rendering this ‘democratic measure still more democratic;’ but he politely declined to accept of the scheme which Lord Ellenborough had proposed.

After the House had risen Lord Althorp, who was present during most of the debate, accompanied Lord Grey into the Chancellor’s private room, where the leading members of the Cabinet soon collected to consider their new position. With the exception of the Duke of Richmond, they were unanimous in thinking that they must either resign or obtain from the king assurance that he would create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Bill unmutated through Parliament. The Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor were commissioned to submit this proposal to His Majesty.

A great change, however, had now come

over the mind of the king, in regard both to the question of Reform and to his Ministers. There can be no doubt that he had in the first instance given the Bill his cordial approval, and was anxious to see it carried. But he had latterly become alarmed by the gloomy predictions of impending revolution uttered by men of high character and a reputation for political foresight; and he was even more influenced by the violent language and proceedings of the political unions. It was strongly suspected that his queen and his family (the children of Mrs. Jordan), who were in close communication with the leaders of the Opposition, contributed not a little to increase his fears and anxieties, and to alienate him from the Government. The Duke of Wellington’s Correspondence shows that the public impression respecting the intermeddling of the king’s family at this critical juncture, in favour of the Tory party, was well founded. The Earl of Munster, the eldest of the king’s natural children, repeatedly wrote the leaders of the party, urging them to be ‘staunch.’ During the abortive efforts of the Duke of Wellington to form a Ministry, the Earl wrote his Grace on the 12th of May—‘*Pray, depend upon the king. Not ten minutes before he saw Lord Grey, when as I have written you word nothing passed, he said, in reference to something I said, “Why, you know very well, George, as well as I do, that I never will make Peers.”*’ Again, on the 16th of May, when the Duke of Wellington had resigned his commission, and Earl Grey had been sent for by the king, Lord Munster wrote the Duke—‘The king repeated to me, five minutes before Lord Grey came in, that *nothing should make him create Peers. He is most stout. For God’s sake be sure, if the king is driven to the wall, of Peel.*’ The king intimated to Lord Lyndhurst his wish that one of his younger sons should be appointed Lord Chamberlain. Lord Althorp had for some time perceived an unusual degree of coldness and embarrassment in the king’s manner towards the



Ministers generally; which, coupled with the querulous remarks known to have escaped him on the democratic spirit of the Liberals, convinced his Lordship that His Majesty's confidence in the Ministry had been withdrawn. When, therefore, Earl Grey and his colleagues proposed to the king the creation of a sufficient number of peers to overbear the majority of the House of Lords, he not unnaturally shrank from a step which would, he thought, destroy the independence of that body. He had with reluctance agreed to create a small number of peers, if this should be found necessary to carry the Bill; but he could not bring his mind to swamp the Upper House by the elevation to it of sixty peers at one time, for the express purpose of carrying a measure the expediency of which he had begun to doubt. He therefore rejected the advice of his Ministers, and accepted their resignation, which was the alternative submitted to him. 'It is supposed,' says plain-speaking Mr. Greville, 'that this *coup* has been preparing for some time. All the royal family, bastards and all, have been incessantly *at* the king, and he has probably had more difficulty in the long run in resisting the constant importunity of his *entourage* and of his woman-kind particularly, than the dictates of his Ministers; and between this gradual but powerful impression and his real opinion and fears, he was not sorry to seize the first good opportunity of shaking off the Whigs.'

On the evening of May 9th Earl Grey announced in the House of Lords the king's acceptance of the resignation of his Ministry, and moved that the order for going into committee next day should be discharged. A furious attack was in consequence made upon him by the Earl of Carnarvon, who, though an old Whig, was one of the most violent opponents of Reform. He asserted that the defeat of the Ministry on the order in which the different provisions of the Bill should be considered, afforded only 'slight and inadequate grounds for one of the most atrocious

propositions with which a subject ever dared to insult the ears of a sovereign'— 'an advice given by Ministers who meant to deal with their Lordships as abject tools and instruments, precisely as they were dealt with by those whom they could not deny to be their lords and masters.' 'But,' he added, 'it shall not go forth to the public that, because the noble Lords opposite have determined to abandon this measure, this House is unwilling to enter into the discussion of its merits. I therefore move that your Lordships proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee on Monday next.'

The Premier repelled this abusive and uncalled for attack, and vindicated the counsel he had given to the king with great dignity, and at the same time with well-merited severity. 'I am too much accustomed,' he said, 'to the ill-timed, violent, personal, and unparliamentary language of the noble Lord who has just sat down, to be much affected by the disorderly attack which he has made on my colleagues and myself. Nor is it for the defence of myself personally against the imputations which the noble Earl has thought proper to cast on me that I again rise to address your Lordships. I trust that in the estimation of your Lordships and the public my character is such that I may, without presumption, consider myself as sufficiently guarded from the danger of suffering by such imputations. The noble Earl has been pleased to qualify the advice I thought it my duty to tender to my sovereign as atrocious and insulting, and there were other noble Lords on that side of the House who appeared to agree with the noble Lord in that opinion. All I can say is that I deferred giving that advice until the very last moment; until the necessity of the case and my sense of public duty imposed upon me an obligation which appeared to me imperative. If it should become a matter of discussion, I shall be found fully prepared to argue that we have taken a right course. But I appeal to your Lordships whether, until that period shall



arrive, I am called upon to notice the accusation? For my own part I could never consent to remain the shadow of a minister under the tutelage of noble Lords opposite, nor could I be a party to permitting the Bill to be cut and carved, and mutilated and destroyed, by the other side of the House. We have taken the step complained of because we saw that it was absolutely impossible for us to carry on the measure subject to daily defeats, and to the alterations, by a majority consisting to the amount of four-fifths, I believe, of persons who objected to any reform at all.'

The motion of the Earl of Carnarvon was then adopted, and the House separated.

On Wednesday morning, May 9th, the king sent a letter to the Ministry by a special messenger accepting their resignations. The news speedily transpired, and a meeting of the leading Whigs took place the same day at Brooks' Club, when it was arranged that Lord Ebrington should immediately give a notice in the House of Commons, for the following day, of an address to the Crown on the present state of public affairs. In the afternoon the king held a levee, which Lord Althorp attended, and was most graciously received. His Majesty then formally accepted the resignations of the whole administration, along with those of their friends in the royal household, so that a clear field was left for the anti-reformers. The king, while he hardly spoke to the Duke of Wellington, paid particular attention to the ex-Ministers. The Lord Chancellor had a private interview of more than half an hour, in which the king pressed him most urgently not to give up the Great Seal. His Majesty reminded him of what had passed when he came into office—'I told you then,' he said, 'that you were *my* Chancellor; besides, after all, the office is a civil, not a political one.' The Chancellor replied that the constitution had made it the latter, as he thought unwisely, so that he had no alternative.

The king shed tears, but the Chancellor was firm, and withdrew.

In the evening Lord Althorp repaired to the House of Commons to announce the resignation of the Ministry. 'On his entrance,' says the *Times*, 'he was instantly hailed by a crowded House with enthusiastic cheers and cries, accompanied by plaudits both of hands and feet, in which some of the strangers joined most cordially.' He seemed almost bewildered by this general and unexpected acclamation, and took his seat in some confusion. As soon as silence could be obtained, his Lordship rose and announced the resignation of the Ministers, simply adding that they took this step because the recent proceedings in the Lords made it impossible for them to carry the Reform Bill in the state which their duty and their promises alike required. Lord Ebrington then gave his notice of a motion for the next day of an address to the Crown on the state of public affairs. Lord Althorp, from whom this intention had been carefully concealed, as had been anticipated, raised objections to it as premature; but the loud protests of the Liberal members against any delay overruled his objection.

On the following evening, Thursday, 10th of May, there was again a crowded house and increased excitement. Lord Ebrington moved a resolution expressing deep regret at the 'retirement of those Ministers in whom this House continues to repose unabated confidence,' and imploring 'His Majesty to call to his councils such persons only as will carry into effect, unimpaired in all its essential provisions, that Bill for the reform of the representation of the people which has recently passed this House.' Mr. Strutt, member for Derby (afterwards Lord Belper), who seconded the motion, boldly declared that the leaders of the Opposition were unfit to be trusted with the charge of the Reform Bill. 'If, indeed,' he said, 'the time will ever come when we are willing to submit our victorious armies to the command of the officers of the enemy; if we shall ever call the culprits



from the bar to the judgment-seat—then, and not till then, will I consent to intrust the construction and management of this Bill to those who have shown themselves its avowed enemies or its reluctant and wavering supporters.’ Mr. Alex. Baring (afterwards Lord Ashburton), who spoke as the representative of the Duke of Wellington, in a long and elaborate speech called upon Lord Althorp for an explanation of the differences between the Ministry and the king, and declared himself ‘entirely ignorant of the cause which had led to the extraordinary resignation.’ This statement, which was received with loud laughter, called up Lord Althorp, who amidst breathless silence said, ‘I have no objections to state that the advice which we thought it our duty to offer to His Majesty was that he shall create a number of peers sufficient to enable us to carry the Reform Bill through the other House of Parliament in an efficient form.’ This frank avowal elicited ‘a burst of cheering, by far the most enthusiastic, universal, and long-continued ever witnessed within the walls of Parliament.’ A sharp debate followed, in which Mr. Hume, Lord Morpeth, and Sir Charles Wetherell took part. ‘A magnificent speech by Macaulay,’ says an eye-witness of the scene, ‘rather startled the moderate Whigs, whilst Sir Robert Peel, though very eloquent, betrayed his distrust of the policy of his party.’ Mr. Macaulay strenuously defended the advice given by the Ministers, that new peers should be created. No objection, he said, had been raised to the creation of 200 in the course of a generation by the one party that held power during that period; and he did not think that there could be, under such circumstances, any valid objection to the creation of fifty peers in one day to redress the balance. Lord Ebrington’s motion was carried by a majority of eighty—the Ayes being 288, the Noes 208.

Meanwhile the people were in a state of unparalleled excitement. The news of the division on the night of the 7th, and the

consequent resignation of the Ministry, spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning, and everywhere created consternation and anxiety. Mr. M. D. Hill, Recorder of Birmingham, said ‘the people are so excited that anything at all unusual throws them into confusion. A man blowing a horn is immediately taken for an express, and the arrival of a coach from London at an unusual hour emptied the workshops in an instant. Very little work is done. The workmen walk about talking of nothing but the Bill.’ A similar state of feeling existed throughout the whole country, and the account of the vote of the Lords was received as a public calamity. In some places the bells of the churches and dissenting chapels were tolled all night, in others they were muffled. On the 10th of May the Common Council of the City of London passed a resolution, declaring that the persons who had advised the king to reject the advice of his Ministers to create peers ‘have proved themselves enemies of the sovereign, and have put in imminent hazard the stability of the throne and the tranquillity and security of the country.’ They also adopted a petition to the House of Commons to refuse the supplies, until the Reform Bill should have been carried. The Livery of London, assembled in the Common Hall, adopted exactly the same course. A similar petition was sent up from Manchester, which in four hours received the signatures of 25,000 persons. Mr. John Wood, who presented it to the House, said ‘he was informed by the deputation from Manchester that the whole of the north of England was in a state which it was impossible to describe. Dismay and, above all, indignation prevailed everywhere. He believed, however, if the House did its duty, that the country might yet be saved; if it would not, he believed the people knew their duty; and if the House would not stop the supplies, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whoever he might be, would very soon find that his coffers were un replenished.’



A petition from Bolton, praying the House of Commons to grant no supply till the Bill was passed, was signed by 20,300 persons within two or three hours. A similar step was taken at Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and all the other large towns in the United Kingdom. Public meetings also were held at which the most violent language was employed, and the most outrageous abuse was heaped upon the anti-reforming peers. The king himself, the queen, and his family were not spared. At Birmingham notices were placed in most of the windows in the town, declaring that the inhabitants were resolved not to pay taxes unless the Bill was passed un-mutilated. Not a few even of the upper classes expressed the same determination. Lord Milton desired the tax-collector to call again, and intimated that he might find it necessary to refuse payment.

As might have been expected the Political Unions took the most prominent part in this agitation. The National Union passed a resolution, 'That whoever advises a dissolution of Parliament is a public enemy,' and declared itself in permanent session. It is a significant fact that the Unions received an immense increase to their numbers during the week. Fifteen hundred new members—all men of substance, and a large number of them Quakers—joined the National Union in one day. It was with extreme difficulty that the people in the manufacturing districts could be kept from coming to extremities. The General in command at Birmingham wrote to Lord Hill, the Commander-in-chief, that he was wholly incapable of resistance in case of insurrection. His whole force consisted of two troops of the Greys within the town, and two companies of infantry at Dudley. A similar spirit prevailed in Yorkshire. Some of the leading men at Saddleworth wrote to Sir George Strickland, one of the members for that county, that 'the people were tired of signing petitions and addresses. They

wished to fight it out at once, and the sooner the better.' The fight was believed to be so near at hand, that a manufacturer offered to supply the Birmingham Union with 10,000 muskets at fifteen shillings a piece. Some of the Unions had under consideration a plan of marching peaceably to London, and bivouacking in the squares; while the Birmingham Union, now 200,000 strong, was to encamp on Hampstead Heath, there to wait till the Reform Bill became law. The country, in short, seemed to be on the very brink of a civil war and a revolution.

Lord Althorp and other influential Reformers exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent any outbreak on the part of the people; and pointed out that violent measures would prove highly injurious, not only to the best interests of society, but also to the success of the Reform Bill. Their efforts to preserve the peace were powerfully assisted by a famous speech which the Rev. Sydney Smith, at this critical juncture, delivered at Taunton. On a previous occasion, after the rejection of the Reform Bill of 1831, he made his celebrated comparison, which has become proverbial, of the House of Lords to Dame Partington attempting to drive back the Atlantic Ocean. After declaring, in regard to the bishops, that he 'could not but blush to have seen so many dignitaries of the church arrayed against the wishes and happiness of the people,' the witty and sagacious Canon went on to say, 'As for the possibility of the House of Lords preventing ere long a reform of Parliament, I hold it to be the most absurd notion that ever entered into human imagination. I do not mean to be disrespectful; but the attempt of the Lords to stop the progress of reform reminds me very forcibly of the great storm of Sidmouth, and of the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824 there set in a great flood upon that town; the tide rose to an incredible height; the waves rushed in upon



the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea water, and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused. Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but I need not tell you that the contest was unequal. The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease; be quiet and steady. You will beat Mrs. Partington.'

At the present emergency, when 'men's hearts were failing them for fear,' Mr. Smith once more took up the parable, and said at another Taunton meeting, 'One word before we part, for an old and excellent friend of ours—I mean Dame Partington. It is impossible not to admire spirited conduct even in a bad cause; and I am sure Dame Partington has fought a much longer and better fight than I had any expectation she would fight. Many a mop has she worn out, and many a bucket has she broken in her contest with the waves. I wish her spirit had been more wisely employed, for the waves must have their way at last; but I have no doubt I shall see her some time hence, in dry clothes, pursuing her useful and honourable occupations, and retaining nothing but a good-humoured recollection of her stiff and spirited battle with the Atlantic.'

While the country was thus in a state of commotion and alarm, the chiefs of the Tory party were busily engaged in an attempt to form an administration. On accepting the resignation of his Ministers, the king sent for Lord Lyndhurst, and informed him that he was determined to form a Government on the principle of carrying 'some extensive measure of reform' in the representation of the people. The Chief Baron lost no time in communicating this information to the Duke of Wellington,

Sir Robert Peel, and other leaders of the Tory party. The Duke was quite well aware that after the uncompromising opposition which he had offered, not only to the Bill now before the House of Lords, but to all reform of the representation, he was not the man to take charge of such a measure as the king insisted on. He therefore proposed that the formation of a Government should be intrusted to Sir Robert Peel, promising him at the same time every assistance in his power. Sir Robert, however, felt that he was placed in a similar predicament, and declined to undertake the responsibility of a Bill which in his opinion, as he had often and publicly declared, would entail great calamities on the country. He therefore refused to accept office; but at the same time, following the example of the Duke of Wellington, he professed his readiness, if a Ministry were formed from the Tory party, to give it all the support his opinions would permit him to afford. Similar replies were given by Mr. Goulbourn and Mr. Croker.

In this emergency Lord Lyndhurst appealed again to the Duke of Wellington. 'The more I consider the subject of our consultations,' he wrote, 'the more I am satisfied that you must consent to be *the minister*, or everything will fail. I am confident we can manage the affair, and the situation of things is such that at all events it is *our duty to try*.' The Duke's immediate reply was, 'I shall be very much concerned indeed, if we cannot at least make an effort to enable the king to shake off the trammels of his tyrannical minister. I am perfectly ready to do whatever His Majesty may command me. I am as much averse to reform as ever I was. No embarrassment of that kind, no private consideration, shall prevent me from making every effort to serve the king.'

On Peel's refusal to accept office, application was made by the Duke to Mr. Alexander Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton, an eminent London merchant, who



is justly described by Lord John Russell as a man of great experience, of great ability, and intimately acquainted with the means by which the credit of the country was upheld. But he was somewhat timid and irresolute; and though not disinclined to comply with the Duke's wishes, he had doubts as to the course he should pursue. It is understood, however, that he ultimately agreed to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was reported that Baring stipulated that Manners Sutton, the Speaker, should accept office, and lead the House. 'His value,' Sir Henry Hardinge wrote the Duke on the 13th, 'is not to be estimated by his real ability, but by the re-union of many advantages which no other man can possess. For fifteen years he has preserved the respect of the House. He speaks collectedly and well; he has heard every debate on every important question; and he has compromised himself on no question.' The Speaker was accordingly tried, with what result is related in graphic and pungent terms by Greville. 'The Speaker,' he says, 'was mightily tempted to become Secretary of State, but still doubting and fearing, and requiring time to make up his mind.' At an interview with the Duke and Lyndhurst at Apsley House (on Sunday the 16th), he declared his sentiments on the existing state of affairs in a speech of three hours, to the unutterable disgust of Lyndhurst, who on his return home expressed his opinion of the Speaker and his exhibition in terms too plain to be repeated. 'After these three hours of oratory Manners Sutton desired to have till the next morning (Monday) to make up his mind, which he again begged might be extended till the evening.' The truth is, that Manners Sutton, who was a poor man, could not afford to relinquish the Speakership for an office from which he might have been ejected in a week; and his vanity and ambition drawing one way and his interest another, he was utterly at a loss what course to take. The matter, however, was speedily decided for him in another way.

While the Tories were thus putting forth their utmost efforts to form an Administration, the Whigs were not idle. A great meeting was held at Brooks' Club on Saturday night (the 12th), at which Lord Ebrington, Mr. Hume, and other prominent members of the party, strongly urged that any Reform Bill which the new Ministers might propose should be at once rejected. Lord Althorp, however, deprecated this course, and recommended that their Bill, should be accepted, but on the understanding that the acceptance was to be no bar to future demands. It was on this occasion that Mr. Stanley, with his usual impetuosity, jumped on the table and attacked the Tory leaders with unsparing severity in a spirit-stirring and eloquent speech, which had a most rousing effect on the members present. Mainly in deference to Lord Althorp's advice, the meeting with marked reluctance agreed not to oppose any measure of reform brought forward by the new Ministry, but the feelings of the majority were decidedly in favour of a different course.

'The House filled early on Monday,' says Sir Denis le Marchant. 'The Ministers expectant present, appeared in excellent spirits. Sir Henry Hardinge, who had agreed to act under the Duke, stepped over to Lord Althorp before the debate began, and told him that the real difficulties of forming the Administration were at an end, and he hoped that Lord Althorp did not disapprove of the Duke's conduct. He seemed too elated to listen to Lord Althorp's cold and unsatisfactory reply, and soon rose to answer Lord Ebrington's question as to the Duke of Wellington having accepted office on the condition of bringing in a Reform Bill. Lord Ebrington's language was very strong, but not too strong for the temper of the House, for he was loudly cheered when he described such conduct as an act of gross immorality; nor did Hardinge's explanation, which implied a denial of the imputed conduct, improve the aspect of the case.' A most animated debate followed. Mr. Baring's ingenuity



and casuistry were again employed to represent the Duke as having come to the king's assistance when abandoned by his Ministers, taking the only course which under the circumstances were left open to him—a line of defence no doubt inspired by the Duke himself, whose devotion to his sovereign alone had induced him to undertake the thankless and perilous task. Lord Althorp pronounced a more emphatic censure than he had yet expressed on the immorality of the course taken by individuals who, having opposed the Reform Bill in its principle and details, were nevertheless ready to accept office with the view of carrying the very measure they had so strenuously resisted. But his language was mild and moderate compared with the speeches of Mr. Macaulay and Lord John Russell, who carried the House completely with them. The replies made on the other side by Sir Edward Sugden and Sir George Murray were quite ineffective, and were listened to with marked indifference.

Greville, in describing the debate, speaks of 'the memorable night in the House of Commons, which everybody agrees was such a scene of violence and excitement as never had been exhibited within those walls. Tavistock told me he had never heard anything at all like it, and to his dying day should not forget it. The House was crammed to suffocation; every violent sentiment and vituperative expression was received with shouts of approbation, yet the violent speakers were listened to with the greatest attention. Tom Duncombe made one of his blustering Radical harangues, full of every sort of impertinence, which was received with immense applause; but which contrasted with an admirable speech full of dignity, but also of sarcasm and severity, from Lord John Russell—the best he ever made. The conduct of the Duke of Wellington, on taking office to carry the Bill, which was not denied, but which his friends feebly attempted to justify, was assailed with the most merciless severity,

and (what made the greatest impression) was condemned, though in more measured terms, by moderate men and Tories.' Sir Robert Inglis, whose high character gave great weight to his words, said that 'while he held, as an old Tory, that the king had the same right to give his decision on any measure which might pass the two Houses, he could not forget also this other great constitutional truth, that the opinions and wishes of the king were known to the House in no other way than by his public acts, for which his known confidential advisers were responsible. He was told that the new Government was actually to take charge, had indeed already taken charge, of the Reform Bill. He was willing to make the greatest allowance for changes of opinion in young men; but when he was told of men of mature age, statesmen who all their lives had been opposed to a particular measure, who had in April protested against it as revolutionary, adopting it and making it their own measure in May, he must own that he could imagine no consideration which could justify such a change of conduct. He did not accuse any one of love of pelf or even of power; he did not say that ambition, "that last infirmity of noble minds," had misled any one; but the conduct itself, from whatever motive, he must deprecate as fatal to that singleness and consistency of public character which, as he had already stated, he considered to be the best property of public men, and in them of their country.'

The disavowal of their proceedings by such staunch and influential Tories as Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Davies Gilbert, convinced the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst that their attempt to form a Government was hopeless. Mr. Baring, who spoke four times, seeing clearly, from the state of the House, the impossibility of forming a new Government, at last suggested that the ex-Ministers should resume their offices, and carry the Bill. He made this proposal without any previous concert with the Duke, who, however, entirely approved



of what he had said. Greville says that 'after the debate Baring and Sutton went to Apsley House and related to the Duke what had taken place; the former saying "he would face a thousand devils rather than such a House of Commons."'

Next day the Duke of Wellington, accompanied by Lord Lyndhurst, repaired to the king and informed him that he could not fulfil the commission with which His Majesty had been pleased to honour him. His Majesty by their advice wrote to Lord Grey, requesting him to resume the Government. When his Lordship received this communication he merely informed the king that he was aware that the Duke of Wellington had failed in forming a Ministry, and that he would consult his former colleagues on the state of affairs. When the Cabinet met, very serious discussions took place as to the course they should adopt. They were all firmly resolved that the Bill must be carried in its integrity, but considerable difference of opinion existed as to the best mode of effecting this object. They were informed that the king was prepared to use his influence to induce the anti-reforming peers to abstain from further opposition to the Bill; but the Ministers considered it unsafe to rely upon an understanding of this kind. It was therefore considered necessary that the Premier should be armed with power to create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Bill, should any of its essential principles be interfered with by the hostile peers. Earl Grey and the Lord Chancellor waited upon the king to communicate to him the resolution of the Ministers. He received them in a manner which unmistakably indicated his displeasure and annoyance at the turn affairs had taken; but he had no alternative, and with a very bad grace intimated his compliance with their demand, on the understanding that the power to create new peers was not to be exercised unless it should be absolutely necessary in order to pass the Bill unimpaired. This condition was not expressed, however, in the written

promise which the king at the request of the Chancellor handed to him at the close of the interview:—

'The king grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill—first calling peers' eldest sons.

'WILLIAM R.

'WINDSOR, *May 17, 1832.*'

On receiving this assurance the Ministers consented to resume their offices; and on the evening of the same day Earl Grey intimated the result to the Peers and Lord Althorp to the House of Commons, to the great delight of the Reformers, and even to the relief of the great body of the Tories, who were seriously alarmed at the threatening manifestations of public feeling.

Sir Herbert Taylor, the king's private Secretary, who was present at the interview of the Prime Minister and the Chancellor with His Majesty, on the same evening wrote the following note to the leading Opposition peers:—

'MY DEAR LORD,

'I am honoured with His Majesty's commands to acquaint your Lordship that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House of Peers to-night from a sufficient number of peers, that in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.

'I have the honour to be, yours sincerely,

'HERBERT TAYLOR.'

The conduct of the Duke of Wellington throughout this crisis was severely condemned by the Reformers, but was lauded by the Tories in the most glowing terms; the Tory peers, in particular, as Greville said, 'vied with each other in expressions of admiration.' On the other hand, they were angry at Peel for his refusal to accept office, and they even insinuated that, 'having kept himself out of the scrape,' he was 'anything but sorry for the dilemma into



which the Duke had got himself;’ while the Reformers, of course, approved of his behaviour, as every way worthy of a high-principled statesman. There was certainly ‘something remarkable,’ as Lord John Russell observes, ‘in the contrast between the conduct of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel at this crisis. They were both men of high character; both anxious for the honour of their sovereign and the welfare of their country. Their position appeared similar, if not identical. Yet the Duke of Wellington had declared that if he had refused to assist in the formation of a Government, he would have been ashamed to show his face in the streets; while Sir Robert Peel declared in the House of Commons that, if he had accepted the task proposed to him, he could not have walked upright into that House. The Duke of Wellington’s feeling was that of excessive loyalty as a subject; Sir Robert Peel’s that of dignity and consistency as a statesman. We have no right to withhold our meed of respect from either of them.’

The intimation of the royal wish given by Sir Herbert Taylor had the desired effect. The Duke of Wellington, after giving an account of his proceedings during the ‘ten days’ interregnum, withdrew from the House, and did not make his appearance in it again until the day following the passing of the Reform Bill. The Earl of Harewood, after bitterly complaining that the independence of the House of Lords was destroyed, intimated his intention of withdrawing from further opposition, and the great body of the anti-reform peers followed the same course. The Bill in consequence passed easily through committee in the course of six days, without any material alteration; and on the 4th of June it was read a third time and passed by a majority of eighty-four—only twenty-two being against it, while 106 voted for it. On the following day the amendments introduced into the Bill by the House of Lords were agreed to by the House of Commons without any discussion regarding their merits,

but with a good deal of angry recrimination respecting the mode in which the measure had been carried, and the opposition of the majority of the peers overcome. It was on this occasion that Lord John Russell said, ‘I think that, so far as Ministers are concerned, this is a final measure. I declared on the second reading of the Bill, that if only a part of the measure were carried, it would lead to new agitations; that is now avoided by the state in which the Bill has come from the other House.’ This ‘finality’ declaration, as it was termed, was constantly referred to in subsequent discussions on proposed extensions of the franchise, down to the passing of the second Reform Bill thirty-five years later.

The members of the Government, and indeed the general public, were exceedingly desirous that the king should give his assent to the bill in person. Had he done so, there can be little doubt that he would have been cordially received, and that the dissatisfaction caused by his refusal to create peers would have been removed and speedily forgotten. But he felt very sore at having been compelled to take back his Ministers, after having expressed, as Greville says, ‘unbounded joy at what he thought was to be his deliverance from the Whigs;’ and he was especially indignant at the scurrilous abuse which had been heaped upon the queen and his own natural children, aggravated by the hisses and groans of the populace when he entered London after accepting Earl Grey’s resignation. He therefore peremptorily refused to give his assent in person, and it had consequently to be given by commission; the commissioners being the Lord Chancellor, Earl Grey, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Wellesley, Earl Durham, and Lord Holland. The Speaker, followed by the members of the House of Commons, went up to the House of Lords to witness the ceremony, and, on his return, announced in the usual terms that the royal assent



had been given to the Bill—an intimation which was received in solemn silence.

The Scottish and Irish Reform Bills had still to be disposed of; and though there was no attempt to call in question the principle of the measure, the former, which was read a second time on the 21st of May, was so pertinaciously contested in its details that it was not read a third time until the 23rd of June. Sir George Murray made a strenuous, but unfortunately an unsuccessful attempt to obtain an addition to the number of the representatives allotted to Scotland. He showed that, assuming population as the basis of representation, Scotland should have eighty-five members. If taxation was taken as the criterion, it should have fifty-nine. If both were taken, it should have seventy-two. Taking population, revenue, and assessment on real property together, the number of Scottish representatives should be seventy-five.

In the House of Lords the Earl of Haddington moved as an instruction to the committee to provide for the representation of the Universities of Scotland, by giving one member to the University of Edinburgh, King's College and Marischal College, Aberdeen, and one to the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews—the right of voting to be in the office-bearers and graduates resident in Scotland. But the motion was opposed by the Lord Chancellor, and negatived without a division. Thirty-five years later this just and judicious proposal was carried into effect. The Bill passed the Lords on the 13th of July.

The Irish Reform Bill, which was brought in by Mr. Stanley, met with strenuous opposition in both Houses of Parliament, mainly on the ground that it would render the Roman Catholics completely predominant in Ireland, but the second reading was carried in the Commons by 246 votes against 130. When the House went into committee a vigorous attempt was made by O'Connell and Shiel to obtain the restoration of the franchise to the forty-shilling freeholders, to deprive the University of

Dublin of one of the two members proposed to be given to it by the Bill, and to extend the franchise to persons occupying freehold estates of the clear yearly value of five pounds. But the Ministers adhered firmly to the provisions in the Bill, and were supported by the Tories in resisting the proposals of the Irish reformers. The measure was discussed at great length in the Commons, but it passed rapidly through the House of Lords, and received the royal assent on the first week of August. A Boundary Bill for settling the divisions of the counties which under the English Reform Act were to be divided, and for defining the boundaries of the different boroughs, formed a necessary appendage of the Act, and was carried without opposition.

The change made in the representative system of the country by the measure which had thus at length become law, was of a most extensive character, and is now universally admitted to have produced the most beneficial results. Fifty-six nomination boroughs, having a population of less than 2000, returning 111 members, were completely disfranchised, and thirty more, having a population under 4000, were deprived of one of the two members which they had hitherto returned. The united boroughs of Weymouth and Melcombe-Regis were henceforth to send two members instead of four. The 143 members thus placed at the disposal of Parliament were divided between the counties and new large urban constituencies. The English counties, which had before returned ninety-four members, were now to be represented by 159. The metropolitan districts and a number of large towns, such as Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, hitherto unrepresented, were to return two members each; and twenty-one towns, whose population amounted to 12,000 and upwards, were to return one each. In the counties the franchise was extended to copyholders and leaseholders, and to tenants-at-will paying a yearly rent of £50. In the boroughs owners or occupants of property of the yearly value of £10 became



electors, but the old freemen were permitted to retain their votes; all, however, were excluded who had been made freemen since March, 1831. In Scotland the old system was completely abolished, and the franchise conferred for the first time on *bona fide* owners and occupants. There were considerable changes, also, made in the arrangement of the constituencies, and eight members were added to the town representatives; raising the number of members returned by Scotland from forty-five to fifty-three. Ireland received an increase of five members, including one given to Dublin University.

A general feeling of satisfaction prevailed throughout the country when the long-protracted and perilous contest was thus at last brought to a close; but great diversity of opinion was then exhibited, and still exists, respecting the propriety of the means by which the opposition of the peers was overcome, and the Bill carried in its integrity.

It was earnestly urged that a large creation of peers was the only mode in which the Upper House could be brought to co-operate harmoniously with the House of Commons and the people in passing numerous measures, not only of political, but of legal, fiscal, and social reform; that the old balance of parties in the House of Lords had been entirely overthrown by the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown to create peers from 1784 to 1830 almost entirely in favour of one party. Mr. Pitt, during his rule, had advised the creation of one hundred peers: Lord Liverpool had sanctioned the creation of fifteen in a single day. A majority of at least eighty was arrayed against Earl Grey when he succeeded to power in 1830. Besides these new creations by the successive chiefs of the Tory party, many peers had received from them higher titles as the reward of their political assistance. Earls had been made marquises; viscounts and barons had been made earls, and felt themselves bound in honour to support the policy advocated

by the statesman from whose hands they had received these favours. In these circumstances it need excite no surprise that the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1831 was rejected by a majority of forty-one, and that of the peers who owed their elevation to Tory premiers, 150 voted against the Bill, and only fifty voted for it; while of the peers created before 1790, 108 voted in favour of the Bill, and only four against it.

The chief reason alleged in justification of the refusal to create peers was, that such a step would utterly destroy the independence of the House of Lords as a branch of the Legislature. It was also urged that it was a measure of extreme violence virtually amounting to a revolution, and very dangerous as a precedent. But as Lord John Russell has remarked, 'it may be a question whether the manner in which the vote of the House of Lords was nullified by the compulsory absence of a great many of the majority was not more perilous for their authority than the creation of peers which the Cabinet of Lord Grey proposed. Whether twelve or one hundred be the number requisite to enable the peers to give their votes in conformity with public opinion, it seems to me that a House of Lords sympathizing with the people at large, and acting in concurrence with the enlightened state of the prevailing wish, represents far better the dignity of the House and its share in legislation than a majority got together by the long supremacy of one party in the State eager to show its ill-will by rejecting bills of small importance; but afraid to appear, and skulking in clubs and country houses in face of a measure which has attracted the evident sympathy of public opinion. Yet such was the state in which the House of Lords was left by the forbearance and regard for royal scruples of Lord Grey and his colleagues.' The hostile majority was, indeed, induced by the influence of the king, and in deference to his wishes, to permit the Reform Bill to pass unimpaired; but for a good



many years it was 'unscrupulously employed by Lord Lyndhurst to stop the course of wholesome legislation, and to nip in the bud measures which, while they were useful, were at the same time unpretending, and were not likely to rouse popular enthusiasm, or to justify in the eyes of the country a large addition to the House of Lords.'

The results of the Reform Bill have fully vindicated the political sagacity of the eminent statesman by whose disinterested efforts and firmness this great measure became law; while they have at the same time proved that the fears and anxious forebodings even of the most eminent leaders of the Tory party were utterly groundless. The reform of the municipal corporations and of the poor law, the abolition of slavery, of all restrictions on trade and commerce, of religious disabilities, of educational monopolies, of taxes on knowledge, of church rates, and numerous other excellent measures which never would have been passed by an unreformed Parliament, have given new vigour to the constitution, and greatly increased the prosperity of the country, while at the same time they have strengthened the loyalty and patriotism of the people. To say nothing of weak alarmists, who always prophesy ruin, even the Duke of Wellington declared again and again in the most explicit terms that, if the Bill passed, it would be impossible to carry on the Government, and that the country and all its institutions would be destroyed. It was taken for granted, as beyond doubt, that the Tory party was annihilated; and yet in the space of two years a Tory prime minister was in office, supported by upwards of 300 members of the House of Commons, and in seven years more the same statesman was again at the head of affairs more powerful than ever—the Whig Ministry having been ejected from office by 360 votes against 296 in the Lower House, and by a majority of seventy-two in the House of Lords.

In his speech from the throne His Majesty had told the Parliament that, 'in parts

of Ireland, a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended, in some instances, with afflicting results, and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvement in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and, at the same time, remove the present causes of complaint.' Both Houses, accordingly, appointed select committees 'to inquire into the collection and payment of tithes in Ireland, and the state of the law relating thereto.' They speedily discovered that it had become impossible to collect tithes in that country, even at the point of the bayonet. A system of illegal resistance had been organized, so widespread and powerful as to bid defiance to the law, and to all the efforts of the authorities to enforce it. Those who demanded tithe, and those who paid it, or were concerned in any way in enforcing payment—the clergy, the attorneys, process-servers, and policemen—lived in continual dread of assassination, and a number of them lost their lives. Great numbers of the clergy were reduced to a state of the deepest distress, almost to the verge of starvation: not a few of them had been obliged to pawn or sell their furniture and clothes, or were toiling personally on their glebes to raise potatoes to feed their children, or were even dependent on a gift of oatmeal from some benevolent neighbour. In these circumstances the Ministry felt that immediate relief must be given, and the Committee of the House of Commons recommended that £1,000,000 should be advanced as a loan to the clergy, and that the tithes should be commuted for a land tax, so as effectually to secure the revenues of the church, and at the same time to remove all collisions between the parochial clergy and the occupiers of the land. A series of resolutions embodying these recommendations was moved by the Irish Secretary and carried by a great majority; and a Bill, entitled 'The Irish Compulsory Tithe Composition Bill,' which was brought



in to carry them into effect, in spite of the violent opposition of the Radical and Irish Roman Catholic representatives, was supported by the great body of the members of both Houses, and became law. The measure had the effect of delaying the disestablishment of the Irish Church, but it alienated from the Government a large body of their Irish supporters.

The dissatisfaction existing among the more extreme Liberal members encouraged the Opposition to make another attempt to induce the House of Commons to express disapprobation of the conduct of the Ministry with reference to the Russian Dutch Loan. A motion made by Mr. Herries, on the 12th of July, against the payment of the loan, was defeated by a majority of forty-six. Four days afterwards the attack was renewed by Mr. Baring, who was strongly suspected to have been the author of the movement.

He moved for the production of papers 'relating to the Convention of the 19th of May, 1815, between Great Britain, Russia, and the Netherlands, explanatory of the spirit and objects of that convention;' the Ministry again triumphed, but their majority was reduced to thirty-six. Emboldened by this diminution in the number of the supporters of the loan, the Opposition made a third assault on the Government, but this time found themselves in a minority of seventy-six.

This was the last party struggle of the session. In the following week the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his budget, which was accepted by both parties, and the supplies were voted without opposition. The Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August, on the understanding that the dissolution would not take place till late in the year.

LIST OF BOROUGHES PROPOSED TO BE DISFRANCHISED, WHOLLY OR IN PART, BY THE FIRST REFORM BILL.

Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.	Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.
Aldborough, . . . . .	Duke of Newcastle, . . . . .	60	Malmesbury, . . . . .	Mr. Pitt, . . . . .	13
Aldeburgh, . . . . .	Marquis of Hertford, . . . . .	80	Mawes, St., . . . . .	Duke of Buckingham, . . . . .	20
Appleby, . . . . .	{ Earl of Thanet and Earl Lonsdale, . . . . .	100	Michael, St., . . . . .	{ Lord Falmouth and Mr. J. H. Hawkins, . . . . .	32
Bedwin, . . . . .	Marquis of Aylesbury, . . . . .	80	Midhurst, . . . . .	Mr. John Smith, . . . . .	18
Beeralston, . . . . .	Earl of Beverley, . . . . .	100	Milborne, Port, . . . . .	Marquis of Anglesea, . . . . .	90
Bishop's Castle, . . . . .	Earl Powis, . . . . .	60	Minehead, . . . . .	Mr. Luttrell, . . . . .	10
Bletchingley, . . . . .	Mr. M. Russell, . . . . .	80	Newport, Cornwall, . . . . .	Duke of Northumberland, . . . . .	62
Boroughbridge, . . . . .	Duke of Newcastle, . . . . .	50	Newton, Lancashire, . . . . .	Mr. Legh, . . . . .	60
Bossiney, . . . . .	Ld. Wharnccliffe and Mr. Turner, . . . . .	35	Newton, Isle of Wight, . . . . .	{ Lord Yarborough and Sir F. Barrington, . . . . .	40
Brackley, . . . . .	R. H. and J. Bradshaw, . . . . .	33	Okehampton, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	250
Bramber, . . . . .	{ Lord Calthorpe and the Duke of Rutland, . . . . .	20	Orford, . . . . .	Marquis of Hertford, . . . . .	20
Buckingham, . . . . .	Duke of Buckingham, . . . . .	13	Petersfield, . . . . .	Colonel Joliffe, . . . . .	140
Callington, . . . . .	Mr. A. Baring, . . . . .	50	Plympton, . . . . .	{ Mr. Trebny and the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, . . . . .	810
Camelford, . . . . .	Marquis of Cleveland, . . . . .	25	Queenborough, . . . . .	Money <i>versus</i> Ordinance, . . . . .	270
Castle Rising, . . . . .	{ Marquis of Cholmondeley and Hon. F. G. Howard, . . . . .	50	Romney, New . . . . .	Sir E. Dering, . . . . .	150
Corfe Castle, . . . . .	Mr. H. Bankes, . . . . .	50	Ryegate, . . . . .	{ Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Somers, . . . . .	800
Dunwich, . . . . .	{ Lord Huntingfield and Mr. Barne, . . . . .	18	Saltash, . . . . .	Mr. Buller, . . . . .	36
East Looe, . . . . .	Mr. Hope, . . . . .	50	Seaford, . . . . .	{ Lord Seaford and Mr. J. Fitzgerald, . . . . .	—
Eye, . . . . .	Sir E. Kerrison, . . . . .	100	Steyning, . . . . .	Duke of Norfolk, . . . . .	110
Fowey, . . . . .	Mr. Austin and Mr. Livey, . . . . .	70	Stockbridge, . . . . .	Lord Grosvenor, . . . . .	100
Gatton, . . . . .	Lord Monson, . . . . .	5	Tregoney, . . . . .	Mr. J. A. Gordon, . . . . .	180
Haslemere, . . . . .	Earl of Lonsdale, . . . . .	60	Wareham, . . . . .	Right Hon. J. Calcraft, . . . . .	20
Hedon, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	830	Wendover, . . . . .	Lord Carrington, . . . . .	140
Heytesbury, . . . . .	Lord Heytesbury, . . . . .	50	Weobly, . . . . .	Marquis of Bath, . . . . .	90
Higham Ferrers, . . . . .	Lord Fitzwilliam, . . . . .	145	West Looe, . . . . .	Mr. Buller, . . . . .	55
Hindon, . . . . .	{ Lord Grosvenor and Lord Calthorpe, . . . . .	240	Whitchurch, . . . . .	Lord Sidney and Sir S. Scott, . . . . .	70
Ilchester, . . . . .	{ Disputed between Lord Cleveland & Lord Huntingtower, . . . . .	70	Winchelsea, . . . . .	Marquis of Cleveland, . . . . .	40
Lostwithiel, . . . . .	Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, . . . . .	94	Woodstock, . . . . .	Duke of Marlborough, . . . . .	400
Ludgershall, . . . . .	Sir G. Graham & Mr. Everett, . . . . .	70	Wooten Bassett, . . . . .	Earl of Clarendon & Mr. Pitt, . . . . .	—
			Yarmouth, . . . . .	The Holmes Family, . . . . .	50



THE FOLLOWING WAS THE LIST OF BOROUGHES WHICH WOULD RETURN ONE MEMBER  
OF PARLIAMENT EACH:—

Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.	Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.
Amersham, . . . . .	Mr. W. Drake, . . . . .	125	Rye, . . . . .	Dr. Lamb, . . . . .	25
Arundel, . . . . .	Money and Duke of Norfolk, . . . . .	450	St. Germans, . . . . .	Earl St. Germans, . . . . .	70
Ashburton, . . . . .	{ Lord Clinton and Sir L. V. Palk, . . . . .	170	St. Ives, . . . . .	Mr. Wellesley, . . . . .	200
Bewdley, . . . . .	{ Lord Lyttelton, . . . . .	13	* Sandwich, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	955
* Bodmin, . . . . .	{ Marquis of Hertford and Mr. D. G. Gilbert, . . . . .	36	Shaftesbury, . . . . .	Lord Grosvenor, . . . . .	300
* Bridport, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	340	* Sudbury, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	800
* Chippenham, . . . . .	Mr. Neald, . . . . .	135	* Tamworth, . . . . .	{ Lord Townshend and Sir R. Peel, . . . . .	300
Clitheroe, . . . . .	Earls Howe and Brownlow, . . . . .	45	* Thetford, . . . . .	{ Duke of Grafton and Mr. A. Baring, . . . . .	31
* Cockermouth, . . . . .	Earl of Lonsdale, . . . . .	180	Thirsk, . . . . .	Sir F. Frankland, . . . . .	60
* Dorchester, . . . . .	{ Earl of Shaftesbury and Mr. R. Williams, . . . . .	200	* Totness, . . . . .	Corporation, . . . . .	58
Downton, . . . . .	Earl of Radnor, . . . . .	60	* Truro, . . . . .	Earl of Falmouth, . . . . .	26
Droitwich, . . . . .	Lord Foley, . . . . .	12	Wallingford, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	180
* Evesham, . . . . .	Bribery, . . . . .	600	Westbury, . . . . .	Sir E. A. Lopez, . . . . .	70
* Grimsby, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	300	Wilton, . . . . .	Earl of Pembroke, . . . . .	20
Grimstead, East, . . . . .	Earl de la Warr, . . . . .	30	* Wycombe, . . . . .	Corporation and Sir J. D. King, . . . . .	65
* Guildford, . . . . .	Lord Grantley, . . . . .	250			
Helstone, . . . . .	Duke of Leeds, . . . . .	36			
* Honiton, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	350			
* Huntingdon, . . . . .	Earl of Sandwich, . . . . .	240			
Hythe, . . . . .	Corporation and patronage, . . . . .	150			
Launceston, . . . . .	Duke of Northumberland, . . . . .	15			
* Leominster, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	700			
Liskeard, . . . . .	Earl St. Germans, . . . . .	105			
Lyme-Regis, . . . . .	Earl of Westmoreland, . . . . .	30			
* Lynton, . . . . .	Sir H. B. Neale, . . . . .	70			
* Maldon, . . . . .		2000			
* Marlborough, . . . . .	Marquis of Aylesbury, . . . . .	21			
* Marlow, . . . . .	Mr. O. Williams, . . . . .	285			
Morpeth, . . . . .	{ Earl of Carlisle and Mr. W. Ord, . . . . .	200			
Northallerton, . . . . .	Earl of Harewood, . . . . .	200			
Penrhyn, . . . . .	Money, . . . . .	400			
* Richmond, . . . . .	Lord Dundas, . . . . .	270			

As it was ultimately decided that the number of members of the House of Commons should not be diminished, Buckingham, Eye, Midhurst, Petersfield, and Wareham were taken out of Schedule A. On the other hand, Downton, Steyning, St. Germans, and East Grimstead were transferred to that Schedule. The boroughs in Schedule B marked with an asterisk were taken out of that list by the third bill, and allowed to retain their right to return two members each. Penrhyn was united to Falmouth, and Sandwich to Deal and Walmer. It is worthy of notice that the Dukes of Norfolk and Grafton, the Marquises of Cleveland and Anglesea, Earls Fitzwilliam, Clarendon, Grosvenor, Thanet, and Radnor, Lords Carrington, Dundas, Lyttelton, and Foley, Messrs. M. Russell, Howard, Ord, Calcraft, and John Smith, patrons or proprietors of boroughs, voted for their disfranchisement.

The number of the constituency and the prevailing influence were added by Mr. Molesworth, but several alterations were made in the list by the second and third bills.



## CHAPTER II.

Coronation of the King and Queen.—Union of Belgium and Holland—Complaints of the Belgians against the Dutch Government—Insurrection at Brussels—Concessions of the King—Progress of the Revolution—Revival of the Burgher Guard—Outbreak of the mob in Brussels—Prince Frederick's Assault on the City—Its Failure—Fruitless attempts of the Prince of Orange to conciliate the Belgians—The Provisional Government—The National Congress—Declaration of Belgian Independence—Interposition of the Five Powers—The Conference at London—Candidates for the Belgian Throne—Election of Prince Leopold—French Intrigues—Invasion of Belgium by the Dutch, and defeat of the Belgians—The Negotiations of the Conference—Bases of Separation—Their rejection by the King of Holland—Siege of Antwerp—Ultimate settlement of the Dispute.

WHILE the country was convulsed with the contest respecting the Reform Bill, several events had taken place which should not be left unnoticed. There was a dispute respecting the coronation of the king and queen, which His Majesty regarded as a superfluous ceremony; but the feeling of the aristocracy was so strongly in favour of his following the ancient usage, that he was obliged to submit. He desired, however, that the coronation should be conducted on a restricted scale, and that all the ceremonies might be dispensed with except those in the church, as 'these ceremonies were at variance with the genius of the present age, and suited to another period of society.' At a meeting of the Council he made a speech to the effect that he would be crowned to satisfy the tender consciences of those who thought it necessary; but that he thought that it was his duty (as this country, in common with every other, was labouring under distress) to make it as economical as possible. The ceremony, which was performed on the 8th of September, 1831, was shorn of much of the ancient pomp and time-honoured absurdities with which it used to be accompanied, and the expense was brought under £30,000, instead of £240,000, which was squandered on the coronation of George IV. It was nevertheless very splendid. 'I never saw so magnificent a scene,' says Lord Macaulay; 'all down that immense vista of gloomy arches there was one blaze of scarlet and gold. First came heralds, in coats stiff with embroidered lions, unicorns, and harps; then nobles bearing the regalia, with pages in rich dresses, carrying their coronets on cushions; then the Deans and Prebendaries of Westminster, in copes of cloth of gold; then a crowd of beautiful girls and women, or at least of girls and women who at a distance looked altogether beautiful, attending on the queen. Her train, of purple, velvet and ermine, was borne by six of these fair creatures. All the great officers of state, in full robes—the Duke of Wellington with his Marshal's staff, the Duke of Devonshire with his White Rod, Lord Grey with the Sword of State, and the Chancellor with his Seals—came in procession. Then all the royal dukes, with their trains borne behind them; and last, the king leaning on two bishops. I do not, I daresay, give you the precise order. In fact it was impossible to discern any order. The whole abbey was one blaze of gorgeous dresses mingled with lovely faces. The queen behaved admirably, with wonderful grace and dignity; the king very awkwardly. The Duke of Devonshire looked as if he came to be crowned instead of his master. I never saw so princely a manner and air. The Chancellor looked like Mephistopheles behind Margaret in the church. The ceremony was much too long, and some parts of it were carelessly performed. The Archbishop mumbled. The Bishop of London preached well enough, indeed, but not so effectively as the occasion required. The moment of the crowning was extremely fine. When the Archbishop placed the crown on the head of the king, the trumpets sounded, and the whole audience cried out, "God save the king!" All the peers and peeresses put on their coronets,



and the blaze of splendour through the abbey seemed to be doubled. The king was then conducted to the raised throne, where the peers successively did him homage, each of them kissing his cheek and touching the crown.' At the banquet which followed the ceremony, the king made a statement which helped to increase his popularity throughout the country. 'I do not agree,' he said, 'with those who consider the ceremony of coronation as indispensable, for the contract between the prince and the people was as binding on my mind before. No member of the House of Hanover can forget the conditions on which I hold the Crown, and,' added His Majesty, striking an energetic blow on the table, 'I am not a whit more desirous now than before taking the oath, to watch over the liberties and promote the welfare of my people.' 'The coronation went off well,' says Greville; 'and whereas nobody was satisfied before it, everybody was after it.'

A revolution had meanwhile taken place in Belgium, which excited great anxiety throughout the Continent, and at one time threatened to kindle a European war. On the downfall of Napoleon the Congress of Vienna, in order to guard the Netherlands from future invasion, and to limit France to its ancient boundary on that side, excluding it from the coveted seaboard, had resolved to unite Belgium with Holland, and the frontier had been protected by a line of strong fortresses raised under the inspection of the British Government, and partly at their expense. The terms of the union were designed to maintain that equality between the government of the two countries, which was the fundamental principle of the union. As a security for these conditions, the liberty of the press and the independence of the judges were guaranteed by the constitution. The former, however, was rendered null almost at the outset by a royal *ordonnance* which, though professedly issued for the purpose of protecting the country against foreign

emissaries or Napoleon's return from Elba, continued in operation until 1829, and was then replaced by another little less severe. So stringent was this decree, that it was impossible to find fault with any acts of a minister, or, indeed, to express any opinion whatever on a political question, without coming within the scope of its operation. In the same way the independence of the judges was set aside. According to the terms of union, they were to hold their offices for life; but up to 1830 a provisional judicature alone existed in Belgium, in which the judges were selected by the king, and entirely dependent upon his goodwill and pleasure.

With regard to taxation, Holland was a much richer country than Belgium, and ought in fairness to have contributed a larger sum to the public revenue, and this was at first the case. But in 1821 taxes which pressed heavily upon the poorer and agricultural class, among others the odious *mouture* or tax on flour, which was the immediate pretext for revolt, were substituted for taxes upon colonial luxuries, paid by the wealthy and commercial section of the community. When in 1827 £4,000,000 were added to the taxes imposed upon the united kingdoms, the imposts on Holland were augmented by £1,000,000, those on Belgium by £3,000,000. The inequality and unfairness of this system of assessment were seriously aggravated by the fact, that the Belgians were to a great extent excluded from the various establishments for whose support they were compelled thus largely to contribute. The Societies of Commerce, the Military Schools for the instruction of naval, military, and engineering officers, the Military and Naval Boards, the Supreme Council of the Nobles, the Diplomatic Offices, the Coinage of Money, the Chancery of the Military Order of William, and even the Chancery of the Belgian Lion, were all in Holland. The administration of the mines also was in that country, though Holland does not contain a single mine. The only public establishment in



Belgium was the bank at Brussels, and the Director, the Secretary, and the chiefs of the different bureaux were all Dutchmen. Of the Ministers, Secretaries of State, and the other leading officials, 244 were Dutch, and only sixty-four Belgians. The six members of the Council of Ministers were all Dutch. Of the ambassadors, envoys, and other members of the diplomatic staff, thirty were Dutch and nine Belgians. In the army the proportion of generals, colonels, and directors of Engineers was forty Dutchmen to eight Belgians. All the generals, five in number, were Dutch. Out of twenty-three lieutenant-generals only two were Belgians; forty-eight colonels were Dutch, and eight Belgians. The lieutenant-colonels were in the same proportion. Of the whole number of officers, from generals to sub-lieutenants, 1967 in number, only 278 were Belgians.

With regard to education, all existing seminaries were closed at the union, unless they had received the approbation of the king, without which no new institutions were allowed to be established. In North Brabant, which was almost entirely Roman Catholic, eight out of eleven inspectors of schools were Protestants. In the other provinces of the north there was only one Roman Catholic inspector, and in the whole of the northern provinces, out of seventy-nine inspectors, seventy-four were Protestants. In Belgium, French was the language spoken, not only by the upper classes and at the bar, but by the greater portion of the people of all ranks. But the king and his Council, with almost incredible folly, enacted not only that Dutch should be used in all public documents, but that this language should be employed by all persons speaking in the public courts—an enactment which was felt to be both oppressive and insulting. To crown all, at the instigation of M. Van Maanen, the Dutch Polignac, who was urging the King of Holland headlong to his ruin, an *ordonnance* was issued, which declared that every person who was dismissed from, or who voluntarily

quitted office, must have a satisfactory testimonial from the king, without which he was deprived of all his public rights as a citizen, and could neither vote for a candidate nor be eligible himself to a seat in the local magistracy or the Chambers. The Dutch representatives generally voted almost unanimously in favour of the partial and unjust laws against Belgian interests; and if only two or three voted with them, the resistance of all the other representatives of their country was unavailing. The law for the introduction of the *mouture*, for example, was carried by the votes of fifty-three Hollanders and two Belgians against fifty-one Belgians, unsupported by a single Dutchman; and the budget of 1829 was opposed by forty-seven Belgians and four Hollanders, but was carried by the votes of forty-nine Hollanders and four Belgians.

The Roman Catholic priesthood were especially hostile to the Government, which they accused of encroaching on their privileges and showing undue favour to their Protestant fellow-subjects. But the truth is that the clergy, who had submitted without a murmur to the arbitrary regulation of their affairs by the French emperor, seem to have imagined that the establishment of the kingdom of the Netherlands afforded a favourable opportunity to press their claims to supreme authority. The vicar-general of Ghent demanded the re-establishment of all the ancient rights of the Romish Church—not only, as he said, the free exercise of their religion, but the restoration of 'all the rights, privileges, exemptions, and prerogatives of the bishops, prelates, religious houses, and other institutions of every kind, as they had existed under the Austrian rule; while the king and the royal family only were to be allowed the observance of their own religious services in private.' This extraordinary claim on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to a power independent of and, indeed, superior to the state, was, of course, utterly inadmissible. And the refusal of these unreasonable demands made the



clergy, as a body, hostile to the Government, though the king, while adhering to the policy of tolerating all sects, increased the stipends of the inferior orders of the clergy, and made provision for the aged and infirm. But his establishment of a 'philosophical college' for the instruction of the clergy, and his shutting up the seminaries instituted by the bishops, gave deep offence to the whole clerical body, and made them eager to throw off the Dutch rule. The leaders of the Liberal party, including a number of republicans and free-thinkers, sought the attainment of the same object, though for totally different reasons. They had hitherto treated the Roman Catholic system with contempt and ribaldry, and had been the bitter enemies of the priests, but they now made common cause with them in striving to obtain the redress of their grievances. When the States-General met, in 1829, petitions were presented from every district and from almost every parish, to which a million of signatures was attached, praying that steps should be taken to remedy the evils of which the whole nation complained—the partiality shown in the distribution of places and offices between the Dutchmen and the Belgians, the unwarrantable interference of the Government with the Roman Catholic schools, the restrictions on the liberty of the press, the severe punishments inflicted on persons accused of libel, the absence of responsibility on the part of Ministers, the unequal pressure of taxation, and, above all, the arbitrary imposition of the Dutch language on the whole Belgian nation, who almost all spoke the French tongue.

So strong was the feeling of the people in regard to these questions, that they returned to the Second Chamber an overwhelming majority hostile to Government, who not only rejected a law brought in by the Ministry for the regulation of the press, but even went so far as to refuse the supplies. The king, obstinate though he was, now became alive to the fact that

the high-handed manner in which he had ruled his Belgian subjects had alienated the whole nation, and seriously endangered the union of the two countries, and he instructed his Ministers to make a number of not unimportant concessions. A Belgian Minister of the Interior was introduced into the Cabinet. The proposed law of public instruction was withdrawn; the law on the regulation of the press was greatly modified; the decree enforcing the use of the Dutch language was considerably altered; and, in order to conciliate the Roman Catholics, a Belgian belonging to their church was nominated Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs. But, unfortunately, the effect of these concessions was neutralized by various arbitrary, unjust, and most injudicious measures. The royal Chamberlains and Commissioners, who had voted against the budget, were dismissed from office; a M. de Stussart, who held no public office of any kind, was for a similar reason deprived of the pension which he had enjoyed since the establishment of the kingdom of the Netherlands, for having acted as prefect during the time that Belgium was annexed to France. These most unwise proceedings raised a loud outcry that the Government had resolved that all Belgians who were dissatisfied with their measures were to be excluded from public employments, both civil and military. A subscription was commenced, to indemnify the officials who had been dismissed from office, which was limited to a florin from each subscriber, for the purpose of showing the strength of the party and organizing the members into a regular association. The collection was to be made throughout the whole country; and, taking a wider range as it advanced, it was intended to indemnify not only the Chamberlains and Commissioners who had already been dismissed from office, but all whose patriotism should in future expose them to the vengeance of the Dutch court.

It soon appeared that this precaution was not unnecessary. A M. de Potter,



proprietor and editor of a journal called the *Courier des Pays Bas*, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Government by his opposition to their Belgian policy. He held republican principles, and his writings were certainly of a highly inflammatory character. He had recently been tried under the arbitrary and unconstitutional law for regulating the press, and condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment, which he was still suffering. He was the author of several works on ecclesiastical history, in which he had exposed and denounced the intrigues of the Jesuits, who in turn condemned his writings as infidel and impious; but at this critical period he strongly advised that a union should be effected between the Liberals and the priests, in order that they might co-operate cordially in obtaining a redress of their grievances. From his prison he issued a recommendation that the proposed scheme of a patriotic subscription should be made the basis of a general Belgic confederation for the purpose of resisting, by strictly legal means, the unconstitutional measures of the Dutch Government, and of indemnifying citizens who should suffer for their opposition to arbitrary power. He proposed that the subscribers should select from the members of this association the candidates whom they would support as deputies to the States-General, and for all other elective offices; and that through means of this confederation the Belgian people should bring their influence to bear on the Ministry, to compel them to act within the limits of the constitution.

No sooner did M. de Potter's letter appear in his journal than the Government resolved to prosecute him and his co-proprietor or editor, M. Coche-Momens, who was immediately arrested, and along with De Potter subjected to a close and rigorous confinement on a capital charge of high treason. M. Vanderstracten, the editor of a journal called *Le Belge*, in which the project had been published; Bartels the editor, and De Neve the printer, of *Le*

*Catholique*, the organ of the priestly party; and an advocate called Tielmans, a friend and correspondent of De Potter—were also apprehended and imprisoned. Their private papers and correspondence were at the same time seized in the hope of finding evidence that they were engaged in a treasonable conspiracy for the overthrow of the Government.

These proceedings on the part of the Ministry naturally added fuel to the popular excitement. Nearly a thousand petitions were presented to the Second Chamber of the States-General, complaining of the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of the Government, and praying for a redress of grievances. The Liberals and the clergy united cordially in this movement, and there was scarcely a village or hamlet in the whole country which did not take part in the agitation. These petitions gave rise to a keen and protracted debate in the Chamber of Deputies—some of the Dutch members urging that the assembly should pass to the order of the day as an expression of their disapprobation of the manner in which the signatures had been obtained, as they alleged, by the intimidation and intrigues employed by the priests. But the Belgic Deputies called attention to the fact that the chief grievances complained of had long, but in vain, been brought under the notice of the Chamber; that when, in 1828, the petitioners prayed for redress, the Ministers scoffed at their small number, and now when the people had risen as one man to press the same demands, the cry of faction, intimidation, and intrigue had been raised. The contest lay between the whole Belgic nation and the men who wished to govern the country without control, and who had for years been steadily undermining the constitution; and unless they had met with the present check, would soon have left the deputies nothing to do but to vote the budget. The Chamber agreed to receive the petitions by a majority of eighty-eight to eleven, many of the Dutch members voting with the majority.



The Ministers, in their alarm and anger at M. de Potter's scheme, originally intended to bring him and his friends to trial on a charge of high treason; but finding that there was no evidence to warrant such an accusation, they abandoned the capital charge for one of sedition. The accused were tried, not by a jury, but by a court presided over by Van Maanen, and composed of judges holding office at the royal pleasure. The proceedings lasted from the 16th to the 30th of April, 1830. The only evidence adduced was the private letters of the prisoners, which the Government had intercepted at the post office, or had seized in their possession. These letters contained nothing that, by any fair interpretation or even straining, could be regarded as seditious or illegal; and only discussed such topics as the best mode of obtaining a Belgic majority in the Chambers, of organizing an opposition to the proceedings of the Ministry, and of enlightening the people on such questions as the liberty of the press, freedom of education, an equal distribution of public offices and emoluments between Belgians and Dutchmen, equality of taxation and of religious rights and privileges, and other topics relating to the general interests of the community. The court, nevertheless, found MM. de Potter, Bartels, and Tielmans guilty of a seditious conspiracy against the Government and the public tranquillity: the others were acquitted. M. de Potter was sentenced to banishment for eight years from the kingdom of the Netherlands; Bartels and Tielmans for seven years—all of them being allowed to choose their place of exile. They were refused admission to France and Prussia, and ultimately found refuge in Switzerland.

While the Belgians were in this state of chronic discontent and excitement, the French Revolution broke out, and Charles X. was expelled from his throne. The revolutionary flame speedily extended to the adjoining territory of the Netherlands, which at that time contained a large num-

ber of discontented and intriguing refugees from almost every country of Europe. French 'regicide conventionalists, exiled Napoleonists and proscribed constitutionalists, Italian carbonari, expatriated Poles, Spanish Liberals, disgraced Russians, and Irish radicals,' had all found an asylum in Brussels, and were ready to take up arms against any regular government. A riot broke out in that city on the 25th of August, which was originally directed against the 'infamous and odious' *mouture*, or tax on flour, but was speedily converted into a political movement. The houses of the editor of the *National*, a journal in the interests of the Dutch party, and of M. Van Maanen, the Minister of Justice, who was specially obnoxious to the popular party, were attacked, plundered, and set on fire. The wine and spirit shops were next broken open, and so were the shops of the gunsmiths, which were plundered of their arms. Next morning the troops were called out to disperse the rioters; but after an encounter in which several lives were lost, at the earnest request of some of the respectable inhabitants, the soldiers were withdrawn in a body to the Palace Royale, leaving the mob in possession of the city.

As might have been foreseen, the rioters, composed largely of unemployed workmen and the lowest of the rabble, proceeded to carry on the work of robbery and destruction. They attacked, pillaged, and demolished the houses of the Procureur du Roi, the Director of the Police, and the Commandant of the City, and then proceeded to enter the manufactories and destroy the machinery, while 2000 soldiers stationed in one of the public squares of the city made no attempt to interpose for its protection against the devastations of a lawless and plundering mob. At length the municipality was forced to take steps to put a stop to these outrages, and gave orders for the reorganization of the Burgher Guard. In the course of that night and the following day nearly 5000 members of this municipal force obeyed the call; and taking possession



of all the military posts of the city, they speedily suppressed the riot, though not without bloodshed.

The government of Brussels was thus, without any previous concert or design, placed in the hands of the great body of its citizens, who, having taken up arms to suppress the mob, now resolved to avail themselves of their organization to compel the Government to accede to their terms. They lost no time in issuing a formal statement of their demands, which comprised the 'entire, frank, and sincere execution of the Fundamental Law, without interpretation in favour of the Government, either by decrees, Ministerial circulars, or Cabinet rescripts,' the removal from the Ministry of the 'infamous and odious' Van Maanen, a new electoral system, the re-establishment of trial by jury, a new organization of the Judiciary Court, the responsibility of Ministers, the transference of the High Court to Belgium, the cessation of the intended prosecution of Liberal journalists, and some other reforms of a similar nature. They at the same time appointed a deputation of the principal inhabitants to proceed to the Hague to wait personally upon the king, and to point out to His Majesty the necessity of making concessions, in order to allay the public discontent. They were also to recommend the immediate convocation of the States-General. The departure of the deputation was hastened by the approach of troops, which were marching from various points on Brussels. By the 28th of August a reinforcement of 8000 men had arrived under the walls of the city; but they were induced to refrain from entering it by the urgent representations of the commander of the Burgher Guard, that if they attempted to do so the popular tumults would at once be renewed. It was therefore agreed that, 'so long as the inhabitants respect all the civil authorities and preserve good order,' the troops would not enter the city until after the return of the deputation which had been despatched to the Hague.

It is quite possible that, if the king had intimated at once his frank compliance with the demands of the citizens of Brussels, which were all just, reasonable, and moderate, the union between Belgium and Holland might even yet have been preserved; and, at all events, there is good reason to believe, that even though the union had not been maintained, his sovereignty over both kingdoms would still have been secured. But though he accepted the resignation of Van Maanen, and ordered the States-General to be convoked on the 13th of September, the king would give no satisfactory answer to the other demands of the people. With regard to Ministerial responsibility, he remarked that the Fundamental Law gave him the free choice of his Ministers, and that he could not come to any determination on the subject by constraint; that he set too much value on the honour of preserving the royal dignity to appear to yield like a person to whom a demand should be addressed with a pistol at his head. With respect to the locality of the Supreme Court, he would consider the request, and the means of reconciling all interests. As for the alleged unequal distribution of public offices, while not disputing the truth of the statements made on that point, he said that it was very difficult to divide the public offices, and that it was still more difficult to please everybody; but that he would attend to the subject as soon as good order should be re-established.

Meanwhile, the king had despatched two of his sons, the Prince of Orange and Prince Frederick, to Brussels, in the hope that their presence might induce the citizens to respect the royal authority. The former was intrusted with a peaceful commission, while the command of the army was conferred on Prince Frederick. On approaching the city they were waited on by a deputation to inform them that the Prince of Orange might enter Brussels without opposition, if he came alone; but that, if he attempted to bring a body of troops



with him, his entrance would be resisted. It was reported, probably without foundation, that the Prince refused to accept these terms, and threatened to put his army instantly in motion. It is certain that he proposed that the Burgher Guard, on his entrance, should lay aside the illegal colours and standards which they had assumed, and restore the royal insignia which had been torn down or defaced. These stipulations, however, were refused, but the Prince, notwithstanding, entered Brussels on the 1st of September, attended only by his own aide-de-camp. His passage through the streets, crowded with a turbulent mob, was attended with imminent danger, but he reached the palace in safety. The first step which he took was to appoint a committee, composed of the leading citizens, with whom he could deliberate on the grievances of which they complained. He then issued a proclamation thanking the inhabitants, in the name of the king, for the services which they had performed in the suppression of the riot and the re-establishment of order.

The deputation to the Hague returned on the 2nd of September and gave in their report, and next day the Commission appointed by the Prince of Orange finished their labours, and brought forward for the first time the demand that the union between Holland and Belgium should be dissolved, and the latter placed under its own executive, and left in possession of its own institutions—a demand which, of course, rendered the consideration of the grievances previously complained of superfluous; for, if their country obtained a separate legislature and executive, all other arrangements were in their own hands. A number of the Belgic members of the States-General, who were at this time in Brussels, on being consulted by the Prince, expressed the same opinion, with the distinct assurance, however, that they had no idea of throwing off the authority of the present reigning house. 'We represented to His Royal Highness,' they said, 'that in

the agitation of people's minds the dynasty of Nassau has not for one moment ceased to be the unanimous wish of the Belgians,' and they assured him that if the difficulties of its situation were removed, 'the House of Orange, henceforth free to associate itself with our wishes, might depend on the attachment and fidelity of all.'

The Prince of Orange immediately set out for the Hague, to submit this new proposal, along with the other demands of the Commission, to the king, and promising to support them with all his influence. In his absence a Committee of Public Safety, consisting of eight members, was appointed 'to secure the preservation of the dynasty—to maintain the principle of the separation of the North and South, and to take such measures as may be necessary for the interests of commerce, manufactures, and public order.' Meanwhile insurrections had broken out in Liege, Tournay, Mons, Bruges, and other towns, which were suppressed by the prompt action of the Civic Guard, who, however, followed the example of Brussels in demanding the entire separation of the two countries in everything but the common rule of the reigning dynasty. On the other hand, the two leading cities of Ghent and Antwerp forwarded addresses to the king, protesting against the proposed dismemberment of the kingdom.

The States-General met at the Hague on the 13th of September, and were opened by a speech from the king, in which he said that he was 'employed in lightening the burdens of the people, when suddenly Brussels, and, following her example, several other places burst into rebellion'—an expression which gave deep offence to the citizens of the Belgian capital, and called forth an indignant remonstrance. The States-General proceeded to consider the important questions submitted to them; but their forms were cumbrous and tedious, and the Belgians became quite impatient under the delay of the decision expected from the Chambers. The populace in



Brussels, encouraged by mobs from Liege, Namur, and other towns, became more and more unmanageable, and at length broke out in open insurrection, attacked and disarmed the Burgher Guard, and seized a large quantity of arms stored in the town hall. The Committee of Public Safety was dissolved, and the mob, re-inforced by the unemployed miners and ironworkers of Liege and other seats of manufacturing industry, once more remained masters of the city.

Prince Frederick, the commander of the forces, was at Antwerp when the insurrection broke out; and on learning that the insurgent rabble had overpowered the Civic Guard, who had made themselves responsible for the maintenance of order in the city, he resolved to march on Brussels with his troops. On the 21st he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing his intention to take possession of the city, in order to put an end to the disturbances which were threatening life and destroying property, and demanding that the posts which had been held by the Burgher Guard should be given up to his soldiers. The upper classes would gladly have received the royal army into the town, as the means of putting an end to the prevailing danger and confusion; but the lower orders and the crowds of unemployed artizans, together with the armed strangers who had poured into the capital, were determined to oppose to the utmost the entrance of the troops. Preparations were made, after the example set by the citizens of Paris, for a vigorous resistance. The pavement was torn up, and barricades were formed at the gates and in the streets leading to them. Stones and other missiles were piled on the tops of the houses on both sides of the streets along which the troops would have to advance, and it was evident that possession of the city would not be gained without a keen and bloody contest.

On the morning of the 23rd the troops advanced towards the city in six divisions,

and attempted to force an entrance at six different gates of the city. The gates and the barricades erected behind them were speedily cleared away by the artillery, but when the military advanced into the city they were assailed not only by a deadly force from behind the barricades erected in the streets, but were overwhelmed by paving stones, heavy pieces of furniture, hatchets, and missiles of every sort hurled down upon them from the tops of the houses. The divisions which had entered by the Flanders gate, the Audenlecht gate, and the Lacken gate were compelled to retire after sustaining heavy losses; but the troops who attacked the Schaerbeek gate forced their way, after a keen conflict, to the park, where they took up a commanding position, and the divisions which were ordered to advance by the gates of Namur and Louvain likewise succeeded in establishing themselves within the walls, so that the upper part of the city was now in the possession of the troops. The contest lasted until five in the afternoon.

A forged proclamation, in the name of Prince Frederick, was circulated through Brussels during the night, declaring that if the troops made themselves master of the city on the following day they would be rewarded by two hours' unrestrained plunder of the inhabitants. In the excited state of the public mind the lying document was believed to be genuine, and in consequence a large number of the more respectable citizens now joined the populace in their resistance to the royal army. The contest was renewed next day with increased fury and obstinacy, but with no decisive result on either side. The reiterated attacks of the populace on the troops, which had forced their way into the city, were repulsed with heavy loss; but the soldiers were unable to advance beyond the positions which they had previously occupied. The conflict on the 25th was equally indecisive; a number of houses, however, were set on fire; and the troops, who now succeeded in making themselves masters of the street



of Louvain, were guilty of excesses which seriously injured the royal cause. The combat was renewed on the 26th and 27th; but the inhabitants, strengthened by powerful reinforcements from the neighbouring towns, repelled all the efforts of the assailants to obtain possession of the lower and crowded parts of the city. And at length, finding the attempt hopeless, the troops withdrew, and retreated to their former quarters in the neighbourhood of Vilvorde. The loss on the side of the inhabitants during these conflicts amounted to 165 killed and 375 wounded; but the insurgents, probably for the purpose of increasing the excitement against the Government, asserted that their losses were double these numbers. Of the soldiers 138 were killed and 650 wounded.

While these unhappy events were taking place, the States-General were deliberating on the questions submitted to them in the royal message; and after a debate which lasted several days, the Second Chamber resolved, on the 28th of September, by a majority of fifty to forty-four, that it was necessary to make alterations in the Fundamental Law; and they likewise decided, by fifty-five votes to forty-three, that there should be a separation between Belgium and Holland. The Dutch representatives, and indeed the great mass of the Dutch people, were by no means desirous for the continuance of the legislative union with the Belgians, who did not stand high in their estimation, and the chief opposition to the separation came from the Belgic representatives. The revolution had now, however, gone beyond any settlement on this basis; and the sanguinary conflict in the streets of the capital had so exasperated the people, that nothing short of a complete separation and a change of dynasty would satisfy them. It was announced that the House of Orange had ceased to reign in Belgium; 'that point,' it was added, 'was decided in the days of September.'

Hopes were still entertained, however, by the court that the other provinces would

exhibit greater moderation. By a decree issued on the 4th of October, the king intrusted the Prince of Orange with the temporary administration of all the southern provinces which still remained faithful to his crown, and authorized him to employ his best efforts to bring back to their allegiance the capital and the other towns that had raised the standard of rebellion. He was also empowered to form for the southern provinces a separate administration composed entirely of Belgians, of which the Prince himself was to be the head. On reaching Antwerp, on the 5th of October, the Prince issued a proclamation in which he announced that 'all places connected with this Government will be given to the inhabitants of the provinces which compose it. The greatest liberty will be left with respect to the instruction of youth, and other ameliorations will be made in accordance with the wish of the nation and the wants of the times.' The Prince followed up this proclamation by the nomination of a 'Committee of Consultation,' composed entirely of Belgians of high and popular character, to propose measures which they might think necessary to secure the object of his mission. He at the same time sent a communication to the Provisional Government of Brussels, requesting them to meet him at Antwerp in order to give him information as to the best means of satisfying the wishes of the Belgian nation. They informed him, in reply, that they had no authority to treat with him respecting the future situation of Belgium, and that this could be done only by a National Congress. Their proceedings showed that they had no wish or intention to make any arrangement with the Prince. They appointed a commission to frame a new constitution for the Belgic provinces; and on the 10th of October they decreed the assembling of a National Congress, to consist of 200 deputies, to be elected by all Belgian citizens twenty-five years of age, paying those taxes which had been fixed for the electoral colleges. The elections



were to take place on the 3rd of November, and the Congress was to assemble on the 8th.

It had now become quite apparent that the concessions offered by the Prince of Orange, ample though they were, had come too late. The clergy were bent on overthrowing the rule of a Protestant sovereign, and the Liberals apparently placed no confidence in the promises made by a king who had ruled the country in an arbitrary and unconstitutional manner. The insurrection against his authority made it evident that there was no royal party among the Belgic people, and that the king had no hold upon them except by means of the troops that garrisoned the fortresses. The Belgian soldiers refused to act against their countrymen, and the Dutch portion of the army was not sufficiently numerous to maintain possession of the towns and citadels against the combined attacks of the populace and the civic guards. Ath, Mons, Namur, and Liege were delivered up in rapid succession to the insurgents. Ghent held out only till the 18th of October, and by the end of that month the whole country, including all the fortresses with the exception of Antwerp, Maestricht, the citadel of Termonde, and Luxembourg, had submitted to the Provisional Government.

The Prince of Orange, still 'hoping against hope' that a reconciliation could be effected, made one more effort to propitiate the triumphant insurgents; and on the 16th of October he issued a proclamation from Antwerp declaring the Belgians an independent nation, and placing himself at their head. He even went so far as to offer to enter into negotiations with the Provisional Government for the evacuation of Antwerp, Termonde, and Maestricht, which were still held by the Dutch garrisons. The haughty and, indeed, contemptuous reply which he received to his overtures showed that he had humbled himself in vain. The independence of the nation, he was told, had already been established by the victory of the people, and required no ratification;

and as to the Prince declaring himself their head, it was the people, and not he, who were at the head of the movement which had secured the independence of the nation. They scornfully repudiated the assumption that he had authority over any of the provinces of Belgium. They could not recognize, they said, any Government in power but those which at that moment governed the whole country. The Prince then proposed an armistice, offering at the same time to set at liberty all the prisoners in his hands. The Provisional Government told him in reply that they would not even take his proposal into consideration until he had given orders for evacuating Antwerp, Maestricht, and the citadel of Termonde, and had withdrawn his army entirely beyond the Moerdyk. And with gratuitous insolence they added, that the Prince must also give them sufficient reason to believe that these orders would be punctually executed.

The Prince, however, in his eagerness to conciliate the insurgents, had already exceeded his powers. The king entertained no intention to deliver over to the Provisional Government the fortresses which protected the frontier of his own country. He, therefore, recalled the commission which he had given to his son, as head of the Belgic administration, and gave orders that Antwerp, Maestricht, and Venloo should remain occupied by the Dutch troops. The Prince took his leave of the Belgians in a farewell address, which was at once dignified and affecting. 'I have endeavoured,' he said, 'to do you all the good that it was in my power to effect without having been able to attain the noble object to which all my efforts were directed, namely, the pacification of your five provinces. You are now going to deliberate on the interests of the country in the National Congress which is preparing. I think, then, that I have fulfilled, as far as depended on me at this moment, my duties towards you, and I intend to fulfil a very painful one by withdrawing from your country to go and



await elsewhere the issue of the political events in Belgium; but at a distance, as well as when among you, my good wishes are with you, and I shall always endeavour to contribute to your real welfare.'

The Provisional Government were now so elated by the success which had hitherto attended their operations, that though their army was little better than an undisciplined rabble, they resolved to attempt the reduction of Antwerp and the strong citadel which commanded the town. The Dutch army, after its evacuation of Brussels, had gradually fallen back on that fortress, followed by the insurgent forces, who, as they approached the town, mustered courage to attack the posts held by the Dutch troops. The movements of the latter were a good deal embarrassed by the refusal of the Belgian soldiers to act against their countrymen, and it at last became necessary to make a complete separation between them and the Dutch, and no longer to allow them to appear in the ranks. Though awed by the presence of the garrison, a considerable portion of the citizens sympathized with the popular movement, and plainly indicated their intention to assist the insurgent army in their operations for the reduction of the city and the citadel. A riot broke out in the streets, which led to some loss of life; and General Chassè, the military governor, declared the city in a state of siege, and warned the inhabitants to lay in a supply of provisions for a month.

The insurgent forces arrived under the walls of Antwerp on the 25th of October, and a stubborn fight took place in the suburbs between them and the garrison. The conflict was renewed on the following day, and the populace taking part in the struggle, overpowered and disarmed some of the Dutch posts. Next day, in the heat of the fight, the insurgent citizens succeeded in carrying one of the gates and giving admission to the whole insurgent army. General Chassè on this withdrew his troops and retired into the citadel. The insurgents, being quite aware that the city

was at his mercy, agreed to a convention for a suspension of arms. The Dutch commander bound himself to remain quietly within the citadel, and the insurgents, on the other hand, came under an obligation to attack neither the citadel nor the arsenal, both of which were to remain in the undisturbed possession of the troops. The convention had scarcely been concluded, however, when the insurgents, probably imagining that General Chassè would be reluctant to fire upon the town, in open violation of their agreement, made an attack upon the arsenal and burst open one of its gates by cannon-shot. The old Dutch veteran was not inclined patiently to suffer such treatment, which was both treacherous and dangerous. He replied to this violation of the convention by opening from the citadel and the frigates in the river a cannonade upon the city, which was set on fire in several places by the bombs and red-hot shells which he threw into it. A number of houses were burned, and a considerable quantity of merchandise was destroyed. After the bombardment had lasted till late at night, the insurgents, finding that they were helpless to protect the city against the attacks of the garrison, were fain to solicit an armistice, which was readily granted, for three days. But it led to an agreement by which General Chassè engaged to confine himself to the citadel and arsenal, and the insurgent forces became bound to quit the city. The Belgians were loud in their complaints against General Chassè for his barbarity in bombarding a defenceless city; but the verdict of the European public decided that they alone were to blame for their bad faith in violating the terms of the convention.

Meanwhile the five Powers who created the united kingdom of the Netherlands were viewing the outbreak and its results with great interest and anxiety. The three northern Powers would willingly have interposed and compelled the Belgians to accede to the equitable and reasonable terms now offered by Holland; but they



were apprehensive, and not without good reason, that if this had been done, France would have eagerly availed herself of the opportunity to interfere for the protection of the Belgians, in the hope that the result of a war would be the annexation of Belgium to the French territories. One party of the insurgents, indeed, openly declared that the interests of the country required its union to France. Lord Palmerston expressed his conviction, that in order to prevent Belgium from becoming a French province, it was necessary to contrive a plan for giving it a separate existence. The King of the Netherlands himself naturally appealed to the allied Powers who had formed his kingdom to maintain it for him, and they agreed to interpose their good offices by negotiation to bring about a peaceable settlement of the questions at issue between Belgium and Holland. Their first object was to obtain a cessation of hostilities, which was agreed to on the 20th of November, and was succeeded on the 5th of December by an armistice—the conditions being that the forces of each country should withdraw within the limits they possessed previous to their union.

The five Powers then resolved to hold a Conference in London, in order to settle the complicated arrangements which had to be made for the separation of the two countries. They had a very delicate and difficult task to perform. Not only had the form of government—republican or monarchical for the new state—to be determined with their sanction; but they had to decide upon the boundaries of the two kingdoms, to settle the navigation of the Scheldt, the division of the public debt, the guardianship or demolition of the fortresses on the French frontier, which Belgium by itself could not adequately defend, and various other intricate questions of the same sort. In the meantime the National Congress had been installed at Brussels on the 10th of November. It was composed, in tolerably fair proportions, of the nobility and clergy, merchants, lawyers, and landed proprietors.

Baron Surlet de Chokier was elected President. The members of the Provisional Government resigned their authority into the hands of the Congress; but were requested to resume their offices until it should be decided what form of government was to be permanently established in the country. It was then proposed that the Congress should declare Belgium independent—avowedly for the purpose of putting an end at once to the movement in favour of a union with France. The motion was adopted in the following words:—‘The National Congress proclaims the independence of the Belgian people, saving the relations of Luxembourg with the Germanic Diet.’

The next question to be considered was the form of their Government. A small but active and noisy section, headed by De Potter, who had returned from exile, declared themselves in favour of a republic. One member avowed that he preferred the republican form of government, because it would speedily lead to a union with France. An Abbe, named De Hearne, expressed a similar opinion, because he thought this form the most favourable to the Catholic religion. Finding themselves in a very small minority in the Congress, the republicans insisted that the question regarding the form of government to be instituted should be decided by an appeal to the people—a proposal which was indignantly rejected. When the question was put to the vote 174 declared themselves in favour of a hereditary monarchy, and only thirteen for a republic. This result was mainly due to the conviction that any other decision would have embroiled them with the allied Powers, and especially with the French Court and Government, who were at this time greatly troubled by the intrigues of the republican party. M. Van de Weyer, a young Belgian lawyer, on whose ability and judgment Lord Palmerston pronounced a high eulogium, and who afterwards rose to great eminence in the Ministry, pleaded earnestly that the Prince of Orange should



be the head of the new state, if he would consent to withdraw altogether from his connection with Holland and become exclusively the sovereign of Belgium. This proposal met with the cordial approbation of the European monarchs, and of Lord Palmerston. But the tide of public feeling in Belgium itself ran strongly against it, and after a discussion, which lasted two days, the Congress adopted by an overwhelming majority (161 votes to 28) a resolution declaring that 'all the members of the Orange Nassau family are for ever excluded from all power in Belgium.' They then proceeded to frame the various articles of the constitution, the most important of which were the declaration that the head of the State was hereditary and inviolable, but that his Ministers were personally responsible for every act they should countersign; that the king should have the command of the army, and the power of declaring war, and of making treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce. He was to enjoy the prerogative of convoking the Chambers, and of closing the session, but the Chambers were to assemble by right on the 5th of November every year. He might dissolve the Elective Chamber, but the Act of Dissolution was to convoke the electors within forty days, and the Chambers within two months. The Civil List was to be fixed at the commencement of a reign, but every other part of the public expenditure was to be voted annually. The Chamber of Deputies was to consist of 100 members, chosen by popular election; the precise nature of the franchise, however, was left to be determined by a future law.

The constitution of the new state having been thus arranged, and the form of government settled, the Congress proceeded to consider who should be selected as the future sovereign of the country. In regard to this matter there was an endless diversity of opinion. Some proposed the Prince of Capua, brother to the king of the Two Sicilies; others the Duke of Nemours,

a younger son of Louis Philippe, king of France; others declared themselves in favour of Sebastiani, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs; others even of Chateaubriand. Some pressed the claims of a prince from the royal family of Sweden; some called for the Prince of Savoy-Carignan; some for the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon; some for the Pope; some for an Austrian archduke. Prince Otho of Bavaria had a good many supporters; but the favourite candidate was the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugene Beauharnais, and a relation of the royal house of Bavaria as well as of the Bonaparte family.

The Congress soon learned that their choice of a ruler must be made in conformity to the wishes of the conference of the five Powers. France made it known that if the choice should fall on the Duke of Leuchtenberg, she would not recognize him as sovereign, and that England would adopt the same course. It was evident that to elevate to the throne of Belgium a member of the family of Napoleon, would be dangerous to the throne of the French king; and Louis Philippe declared in the most explicit terms his determination to oppose an arrangement at once most disagreeable to France, and the least favourable to the tranquillity and independence of the Belgians. The Congress complained loudly of this tyrannical interference with their national affairs, and their rights as an independent state; but found it prudent to relinquish their project, though their next proposal was not a whit more judicious. A majority of the Congress agreed to offer the crown to the Duke of Nemours, second son of Louis Philippe. There can be no doubt, as was shown by his proceedings in the case of Spain, that the French king would gladly have allowed his son to close with this tempting offer, which would have made Belgium virtually a part of France—a result which was eagerly desired by the French people at this juncture. But he was well aware that the other European Powers would have recourse to arms rather



than permit this proposal to be carried into effect; and having received an unmistakable warning from Lord Palmerston, he instructed Sebastiani, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, to inform the Congress that the proffered crown would not be accepted. The king, he said, 'cannot consent to the re-union of Belgium to France. He will not accept the crown for the Duke of Nemours, even were it offered to him by the Congress.' This explicit intimation led to another outburst of indignation on the part of the Belgic Congress. It was pretended, among other absurd allegations, that this intervention was part of a plot to bring back the House of Orange; and they determined to act on their own notions with respect to the choice of a sovereign. On the day of election three candidates were proposed, the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, and the Austrian Archduke Charles. Ninety-seven votes were given for the Duke of Nemours, seventy-four for the Duke of Leuchtenberg, and twenty-one for the Archduke. The conference of the five Powers, in London, made the Congress aware that the proffered crown would certainly be rejected; and that if they were to fall back on the Duke of Leuchtenberg, none of the great Powers would recognize him. The Congress, in very offensive terms, expressed their disbelief of these assertions, and sent a deputation of two members to Paris to inform the French king of the promotion intended for his son. But they were informed by His Majesty that his regard for the peace of Europe, and the happiness of its nations, rendered it imperative that this honour should be declined.

This apparently decisive and definite rejection of the proffered crown would in all probability have put an end to any further attempt to bring France and Belgium into a closer connection, had it not been for the intrigues of the French ministers, who secretly encouraged the Belgians to insist on following the course they had adopted. 'Talleyrand sounded me as to my agreeing to naming the Duke

de Nemours king of the Belgians,' wrote Lord Palmerston on February 1, to Lord Granville, our ambassador at Paris. 'I told him we should look upon it as a union with France, and nothing else, and it was for France to consider *all* the consequences which such a departure from all her engagements must necessarily expose her to. The other three Powers are quite unanimous on the subject; and I must say that if the choice falls on Nemours, and the king of the French accepts, it will be a proof that the policy of France is like an infection clinging to the walls of the dwelling, and breaking out on every successive occupant who comes within their influence.'

The conference had formally agreed, on the 20th of January, 'not to seek any increase of territory, any exclusive influence, any separate advantage in the arrangements respecting Belgium;' and Lord Palmerston, the British plenipotentiary, observed that 'any separate arrangements respecting Belgium would seem also to impose on them the obligation to reject any offers that might be made by the Congress at Brussels in favour of any prince of the reigning houses of those states whose representatives are now assembled in London;' and he proposed to the Conference to declare in a protocol, that in case the sovereignty of Belgium should be offered to a prince of one of the reigning families of the five Powers, such offer should be unhesitatingly rejected. It was a suspicious circumstance that while the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, and Russia unanimously agreed in this opinion, and declared themselves ready to enter in the name of their courts into the engagement proposed, the plenipotentiary of France took the question *ad referendum*, in order to receive the orders of his court. This was the more noticed since the previous letter of Sebastiani, the French Foreign Minister, stated plainly that the crown, if offered to the Duke of Nemours, would not be accepted. The British Cabinet on this took up the



matter promptly and firmly, and resolved to require from France the fulfilment of the engagement by a refusal to accept for the Duke the crown if offered. 'We could not,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'submit to the placing of the Duke de Nemours on the throne of Belgium without danger to the safety and a sacrifice of the honour of the country. We are willing to recognize Belgium as independent, and assist her in remaining so, provided she will be so in reality; but union with France we cannot permit, because it would give to France an increase of power dangerous to our security. We know we should have to fight France after such a union; and we had better, therefore, do so before it.' On the receipt of Lord Palmerston's official despatch, intimating the decision of the British Cabinet, 'a change of tone, of temper, and of language,' says Lord Granville, 'instantly took place in the French ministry; and the positive refusal of the king to consent to the acceptance of the Belgian crown by his son was intimated to our ambassador in the course of a few hours.'

But the hankering after the establishment of French influence in Belgium was by no means at an end. Louis Philippe, who was always noted for his eagerness to promote the interests of his family, now brought forward as a candidate for the crown his nephew, Prince Charles of Naples, a youth of nineteen; and a hope was expressed that Britain would, 'as an act of friendship and kindness towards the king and Government, consent to this arrangement.' 'The Palais Royal,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'are so intent upon putting this Prince of Naples upon the throne, that there is nothing they will not promise to induce the Belgians to elect him. They will engage that an Orleans princess shall be his wife; they will, notwithstanding the protocol of January 20th, promise to support the Belgians in their demand of Luxembourg, Limburg, and the left bank of the Scheldt, and Maestricht.' They also promised their aid for a more favourable

arrangement of the public debt. The French Government were all the while incessant and uniform in their assurances of friendship and peace. But as Lord Palmerston somewhat indignantly remarked, 'If they are straightforward in their intentions, why cannot they be so in their proceedings? Why such endless intrigues and plots, and such change of plans, all tending to the same object—the establishing in Belgium that influence which they have renounced in the 20th January protocol? If the Neapolitan prince is elected freely by Belgium of its own accord, well and good; but if he is to be placed there by a French intrigue, and being nephew to Louis Philippe, is also to be his son-in-law, there would be little difference between such an arrangement and that of the Duke de Nemours.' The scheme was received with marked disapprobation by the plenipotentiaries of the other Powers, as well as by the representative of the British Government; while it does not appear to have been entertained with much favour by the Belgians. It was therefore speedily laid aside.

On the final rejection of the crown by the Duke of Nemours, the Belgian Congress resolved to elect a Regent who should, in the meantime, act as the head of the Government. Their choice fell on Baron Erasmus Surlet de Chokier, their president, and the head of the late deputation to Paris; but he possessed no real authority or power to control the irregular and imprudent acts of the members of the Congress. 'What was called a Government,' indeed, 'was neither loved, respected, nor feared.' There was no proper protection for either property or persons; and the democratic clubs were far more powerful than the legislature or the law.

In the meantime the Conference of London was engaged in arranging the 'bases of separation.' Having compelled both sides to consent to a suspension of arms, they proceeded to the settlement of the disputed matters between the Dutch



court and the Provisional Government at Brussels. The two most difficult points were the apportionment of the public debt, and the settlement of the territorial boundaries. In regard to the latter, the Belgians claimed not only the province of Limburg, but the left bank of the Scheldt below Antwerp, and the whole of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which was a constituent part of the Germanic Confederation, and was never incorporated with the kingdom of Holland, much less with Belgium. The Conference, however, was not disposed to pay any respect to such exaggerated and unwarrantable claims. On the 20th of January they issued a protocol containing 'the fundamental bases' on which the treaty of separation was to be founded. It was agreed that Holland should comprise all the territories which had belonged to the United Provinces in 1760, while Belgium was to consist of the other territories which had been formed in 1815 into the kingdom of the Netherlands, with the exception of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, 'which being possessed by the Princes of the House of Nassau, under a different title, forms part, and will continue to form part, of the Germanic Confederation.' As this division of the former kingdom would give to each of the states portions of territory isolated in the territories of the other, the five Powers were to arrange such exchanges as would give continuity of possession and a free communication to both. The streams and rivers traversing the territories of the respective states were to be subject to the general act of the Congress of Vienna relative to the free navigation of rivers. Lastly, it was settled that Belgium, thus defined, 'shall form a state perpetually neutral, the five Powers guaranteeing to it that perpetual neutrality, as well as the inviolability and integrity of its territory.' Another protocol of the 27th of January embodied these territorial arrangements in an annex of twenty-four articles, entitled 'Bases destined to establish the separation of Belgium from Holland,' and prescribed

the manner in which the public debt was to be apportioned. It declared that  $\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$  parts should be paid by Holland and  $\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{4}$  by Belgium, and that, in consideration of this division, the inhabitants of Belgium should participate in the trade with the colonies belonging to Holland, on the same footing and with the same rights and advantages as the inhabitants of that country. Further, that the port of Antwerp should, in conformity with Article XV. of the Treaty of Paris of May 30th, 1814, continue to be solely a port of commerce.

The King of Holland gave in his adherence to these arrangements on the 28th of February; but the Belgian Congress protested vehemently against them as unwarrantable and unjust, and reiterated their demands for a large extension of territory and a diminution of the amount of the debt allotted to them. The Conference answered in very pointed terms the Belgian protest, which publicly avowed a desire to respect neither the possessions nor the rights of neighbouring states, exposing the folly and absurdity of the demands of the Congress, and the 'nullity of its pretensions.' 'Moreover,' they said, 'all that Belgium could require she has obtained—separation from Holland— independence— external safety— guarantee of her territory and neutrality—the free navigation of the rivers that serve as the channel of her commerce, and peaceable enjoyment of her national liberties.' The Conference then proceeded to re-enact the bases already laid down, and to declare, 'that it remains understood, as it has been from the beginning, that the arrangements resolved on by the protocol of January 20, 1831, are fundamental and irrevocable.'

The anger of the Congress at this peremptory rejection of their unreasonable demands was violent in the extreme. The policy they pursued was to adopt whatever concessions the Conference made in favour of their own pretensions, but to declare in every other case that the Conference had merely the power to make proposals, and not



to establish conditions—refusing to receive any representations as to the choice of a king, or any decision as to the limitation of territory, assuming that the territory which the Belgian Congress had declared to be Belgian was to be Belgian as a matter of course. When this was refused they set both Holland and the Congress at defiance. The Belgian Regent issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Luxembourg, calling upon them to throw off the yoke of the Dutch Government, and assuring them that Belgium would remain true to their cause. The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that war was inevitable, for it was a point of honour to defend Luxembourg, as the constitution which the Congress had adopted considered Luxembourg as part of Belgium. It was even proposed in Congress that the Government should inform the King of Holland that, if he did not, within a month, renounce the possession of Limburg, Luxembourg, the left bank of the Scheldt, and the citadel of Antwerp, he should be compelled to do so by force of arms. And this ridiculous threat was made at a time when Belgium had not a regiment which would have looked Dutch troops in the face—when the Treasury was empty, the taxes unpaid, and their Ministers could not borrow a shilling in the European money market.

The Belgian Government was now, indeed, utterly powerless—the clubs and the populace were the real rulers of the country. Riots broke out in the capital and all the other large towns, and gross outrages were perpetrated on the respectable citizens, and on all who had incurred the displeasure or suspicion of the mob. A large number of the members of Congress resigned, and the country seemed about to fall into a state of complete anarchy. It was evident that the obstinacy and folly of the Belgian Congress had to no small extent arisen from their reliance on the support of France. But at this juncture the French Premier, M. Lafitte, resigned, and his successor, Casimir Pèrier repudiated at once

the ‘double diplomacy, double-dealing, infirmity of purpose, and want of principle,’ displayed by his predecessor, and made the Belgians clearly understand ‘that France thought the limits drawn by the Conference equitable and just, and that she would give the Belgians no support, moral or physical, in their attempts upon the Dutch territory.’ The knowledge that France was now acting honestly and cordially with the other Powers contributed not a little to dash the hopes and moderate the language of the Belgian Government and Congress; and the Conference, and especially the French plenipotentiary, seem now to have imagined that, if the Belgians could be brought to elect Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had been first thought of, as their king, the questions in dispute might be amicably settled.

At this juncture Lord Ponsonby, the British Minister at Brussels, wrote to Lord Palmerston that the assent of Belgium would be greatly facilitated if the five Powers would support it in an effort to obtain Luxembourg for an indemnity; and the Conference acting on this information, in a protocol of the 21st May, authorized Lord Ponsonby to declare that though the five Powers would not enlarge the time for Belgium accepting the bases already settled, yet ‘they would open a negotiation with the King of the Netherlands in order to secure if possible to Belgium, for a just compensation, the possession of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, preserving always its relations to the Germanic Confederation.’ But they still insisted on the unqualified accession of Belgium to the ‘bases of separation’ as an indispensable condition even to the opening of such a negotiation with Holland, and intimated that if the assent of Belgium to the conditions now stated was not given by the 1st of June, the dispositions of the protocol of the 10th of May would forthwith be carried out.

Some of the French Ministers continued still to show a hankering after some part of the Netherlands, however small, and hinted



that they would like to obtain Landau and Bouillon. On the 29th of March Talleyrand read to Lord Palmerston a despatch from the French Foreign Minister, saying that France would support Prince Leopold as a candidate for the crown, and that he had no doubt that England, for the sake of an agreement so advantageous to her, would consent to all the French wishes about Bouillon, and Luxembourg, and Maestricht, &c. Palmerston informed him that the election of Leopold, which had been suggested by France, not by England, was a matter of comparative indifference to the British Government, and would make no change whatever in their opinions and determinations; and that they should not be a whit more inclined to support the unreasonable pretensions of the Belgians with Leopold than without him. An agent of Soult, one of the members of the French Cabinet at this time, came over to London authorized to say that Soult was determined to get possession of Belgium; and that in order to detach Britain from the other Powers, and to persuade her to consent to the views of France, they were prepared to offer her Antwerp and Ostend, and would make any arrangement almost that would be agreeable to her, but consistent with their views. This dishonest intrigue, which there is good reason to believe was carefully concealed from Pèrier, of course utterly failed of its object.

Though the British Government had positively refused to make any concessions to Belgium in the event of Prince Leopold's election, the Belgians evidently hoped that by taking this step they would promote the objects on which their hearts were set; and they despatched deputies to London to ascertain what course Leopold would be likely to take if the crown should be offered to him. He informed them that he could come to no decision on their proposition until they had come to an agreement about limits with the five Powers. 'Leopold is quite right,' wrote Palmerston to Granville, 'not to accept until he knows what it is

that is offered to him. Were he to go now, he would be like Miguel, recognized by nobody; and, in fact, they offer him not a throne so much as a quarrel with all Europe, and complete uncertainty of ever getting out of it.'

The protocol of the 21st of May had expressly declared that if the unqualified accession of Belgium to the conditions laid down in the 'bases of separation' should not be intimated by the 1st of June, all communication between the five Powers and Belgium was to cease. When that day arrived, no such intimation had been made, and Lord Ponsonby and General Belliard, the French Commissioner, accordingly quitted Brussels. 'People all say the Belgians are madmen,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'and there is no use in reasoning with them. I have observed a good deal of method and calculation in their madness, and, at all events, they are not destitute of that cunning which belongs to insanity. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that when they find that we are really in earnest, and that they have driven us to the extreme point to which we will go, they will gradually recover their senses and find out a way to arrange matters somehow or other.' So it proved.

On the 1st of June the Congress, though they still refused to accede to the articles of separation, passed a decree authorizing the Government to open negotiations for the purpose of terminating all questions relative to territory by means of pecuniary sacrifices. They then determined to proceed immediately to the choice of a sovereign, and on the 4th of June they elected Prince Leopold. No other candidate was named, and a deputation of ten members was despatched to London to offer His Royal Highness the crown. Although at this very time the Conference, in reply to the remonstrances of Holland against entertaining the proposal to make the transfer of Luxembourg to Belgium the subject of 'negotiation,' had reiterated their adherence to the provisions of the protocol of May 21st, the Belgian



deputies evidently expected that the conditions would now be modified in their favour, and their expectations were not wholly disappointed. A new series of negotiations was commenced in London, avowedly for the purpose of inducing Prince Leopold to accept the crown. On the 26th of June Leopold informed the Belgian deputation that he had at last resolved to comply with their invitation, having received from the Conference a protocol termed 'Preliminaries,' the terms of a new treaty to be concluded between Belgium and Holland, which had removed his scruples.

In these 'Preliminaries' the express declaration that Luxembourg belonged to Holland, because held by the king as Grand Duke and a member of the Germanic Confederation, was omitted; even Maestricht, which Lord Palmerston declared to the Belgian envoy to be 'an indispensable protection to Holland in the valley of the Meuse, and never can be surrendered to Belgium,' which, indeed, had not the shadow of claim to it, was now to be left for future discussion and arrangement. Besides other changes in the terms which had been declared final and irrevocable, Belgium was set free from the obligation to accept the original bases before she could be received into political relations with the five Powers. No wonder that these 'Preliminaries' were accepted by the Belgic Congress in defiance of the clubs and the populace, and that Holland peremptorily refused to accede to them; though the Conference despatched to the Hague M. Weissenberg, a plenipotentiary of Austria, to explain and justify their conduct. The king took his stand, as he was entitled to do, on the original propositions of the Conference, which they had repeatedly confirmed and declared to be 'fundamental and irrevocable,' and demanded their fulfilment. It was expressly stipulated that the proposed preliminaries were to be null and void if rejected in whole or in part by Holland or by Belgium; and as Holland now rejected them entirely, they of course fell to the

ground. The original bases of separation thus remained in full force, and the five Powers were bound by their own agreement to perform their engagements. But in their eagerness to induce Leopold to accept the crown and to bring their protracted and troublesome negotiations to a close, they authorized the Prince to take possession of the throne without exacting his compliance with one of the conditions which they were pledged to enforce, and with a confident expectation, on his part, that the modified propositions would now be substituted in their room. He accordingly set out for his new kingdom; and travelling by way of Calais, Ostend, Ghent, and Bruges, he reached Brussels on the 19th of July, and two days later was formally installed King of the Belgians, taking the oath required by the constitution, swearing to observe the laws of the country, and 'to maintain the national independence and the integrity of the territory,' in which Luxembourg was included. It is not easy to reconcile this proceeding with the approbation bestowed by Lord Palmerston on Leopold's refusal to accept the crown until the Belgians had acceded to the articles of separation, and with his lordship's explicit statement to D'Arsoth, the Belgian envoy, that 'their constitution, as they will call it, declares part of Holland and all Luxembourg to be parts of their territory, and requires their king, as his first act, to swear to maintain the integrity of their territory; these claims must be given up before anything can be acknowledged by the five Powers, and therefore they would make the king swear one day an oath which he must necessarily break the next.'

It might have been foreseen that such treatment would not be patiently submitted to by a nation like the Dutch, proud of its historical renown, smarting under the injustice done to them, and governed by a sovereign 'obstinate by character, and rendered more so by the conviction that right was on his side.' On the 1st of August he declared the armistice between



Belgium and Holland at an end, and on the same day he forwarded a despatch to the five Powers, stating that while he was still willing to negotiate a definite treaty on the terms which they had prescribed and he had accepted, 'he was determined on supporting these negotiations by military measures—a determination which the recent events in Belgium had rendered imperative since a prince had put himself in possession of the sovereignty of that country without having previously fulfilled the conditions established by the Conference, and had taken an unrestricted oath to a constitution derogatory to the territorial rights of Holland.' His operations were only to be 'for the purpose of arriving at that state of things which the act of separation had acknowledged to be just and convenient.'

This announcement took the Conference by surprise, and placed them in a very awkward and unpleasant predicament, as they probably foresaw the result of this attempt on the part of Holland to compel by force the execution of the terms which the Conference had declared to be the only terms that they considered reasonable and just. The King of Holland was as prompt as he was decided in his measures. One division of the Belgian troops was concentrated at Mechlin, to which Leopold had repaired in person. The main body, called the army of the Meuse, under the command of General Daine, was stationed near Hasselt. The principal division of the Dutch forces, commanded by the Prince of Orange, entered Belgium in the direction of Turnhout and Diest, and made themselves masters of Diest without resistance; then taking up a position which completely prevented the junction of the two Belgian divisions, they attacked the army of the Meuse on the 8th, and put it to an instantaneous and disgraceful rout. The 'brave Belgians,' who had been clamouring for war and threatening hostilities against the Dutch if they did not at once comply with the demands made on them, fled almost without firing a shot, as they did at Waterloo, and neither

the General nor his troops halted in their flight until they reached Liege, having been altogether cut off from Brussels. The victors immediately turned towards the capital, which had now no protection except the troops stationed at Mechlin. On learning the defeat of the army of the Meuse, Leopold took up a position in front of Louvain to cover Brussels. But on the 12th his position was turned, and an attack of the Dutch compelled him to make a hasty retreat. While one division cut him off from the capital, the main body followed him to Louvain. At this juncture a British messenger met the Prince of Orange, bringing the intelligence that the French had entered Belgium to support the new king, and requesting a suspension of hostilities. The Prince refused to consent except on condition that Louvain should be surrendered; and without loss of time attacked the Belgians in a new and strong position which they had taken up in front of Louvain. They were driven from one point to another, and were at last compelled to evacuate the town at once. Louvain was accordingly surrendered to the Dutch next day, and the short but decisive campaign terminated. A large division of the French army was by this time in the vicinity of Brussels, prepared to enforce the decision of the Conference; and the Prince of Orange, in obedience to orders from the Hague, withdrew his forces within the Dutch frontiers. It had, however, been made evident to all Europe, that if Holland and Belgium had been allowed to settle their own affairs, the former would have brought matters to a much more speedy conclusion than the Conference had been able to do.

As soon as Lord Palmerston heard of the march of the Dutch army he wrote, 'The great thing to be done now is to prevail on the French Government to prevent the French soldiers from running into Belgium.' But the step which he had deprecated took place at once, as he suspected. The French soldiers did run into Belgium, and thereby caused great excitement and uneasiness. The



plenipotentiaries of the other four Powers received a positive assurance from the French Ministers that their troops would return as soon as the Dutch quitted Belgium, and the Conference on this agreed to issue a protocol on the 6th of August, stating that, 'on the one hand, France had, in coming to the determination which she had adopted, not had time to comply with the obligation, which she wished to fulfil, of concerting measures with her allies; but that, on the other, she manifested her determination only to have recourse to these measures for the execution of the engagements entered into by the five Powers with respect to the maintenance of the armistice between Holland and Belgium, and not with any object personal to France. Moreover, it was agreed that the French troops should retire within the limits of France as soon as the armistice shall have been re-established as it existed before the renewal of hostilities.' But indications speedily appeared that the 'political intermittent fever, which had so long hung about the French Government, still afflicted them,' and the spirit of aggression and ardent thirst for aggrandizement, as Lord Palmerston termed it, led the French Ministers to seek to avail themselves of the state of affairs in Belgium to resume their 'underhand intrigues and double diplomacy.' Six days after the protocol of August 6 had been signed by Talleyrand, the French plenipotentiary, another meeting of the Conference was held, and while waiting till the rest should arrive, that astute diplomatist took occasion to say to Bulow, the Prussian representative, that 'Belgium could not go on as it was; that Leopold is a poor creature, and unfit to be a king; the Belgians a set of cowardly vagabonds, unworthy to be independent; that we have got into a difficulty that threatens to upset either the French or the English Ministry; that if the French troops retire, there is an end of Pèrier; and if they do not, the English Government must fall, and that there is but one solution of these difficulties, and that is partition;

that if France, Prussia, and Holland united the thing would be simple, and England must be contented with the making Antwerp a free port. He dwelt at some length upon this, his old and favourite project, till their conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the other plenipotentiaries.'

An unpleasant discussion had for some time been carried on between the French Ministry and the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia respecting the dismantling of the fortresses which protected the frontier of the Netherlands. These fortresses were built by the money of the allies, and were intended as a check and barrier against aggression by France. But after the neutrality and inviolability of Belgium had been acknowledged and guaranteed by France, as well as by the other Powers, the Conference was unanimously of opinion that the new situation in which Belgium would be placed ought to change the system of military defence that had been adopted for the kingdom of the Netherlands, that the fortresses in question would be too numerous not to make it difficult for the Belgians to provide for their maintenance and defence, and that, in consequence, a part of these fortresses might be razed. The reason why this resolution was adopted, though not expressed, was quite well understood, and was simply to prevent them falling into the hands of France upon the first rupture that might take place. Sebastiani and Talleyrand earnestly urged that France should be a party to the discussion which of the fortresses were to be dismantled and which kept up; but this pretension was firmly rejected. 'It would, indeed,' as Lord Palmerston remarked, 'have been a strange and an anomalous proceeding to have invited the expected invader to deliberate in Council upon the best means of providing a defence against his possible attack. How could France be expected to concur sincerely with the other Powers in dismantling those fortresses which could least effectually stop her army, and which would first fall



into her hands in case of war, and in leaving those which could be most useful in checking her advance, and which would be the last to be reduced by her arms? There is the most palpable incongruity in the very notion itself.'

The French Ministry were very angry at this firm rejection of their preposterous demand; and when they were called on to fulfil their promise to withdraw their troops from Belgium, they intimated that an arrangement must be made about the fortresses before the French army would entirely evacuate that country. To this claim Lord Palmerston returned a positive and, indeed, indignant refusal. 'We wish,' he said, 'some of these fortresses to be dismantled as much as they do, and it *will* be done. If they want only dramatic effect, and to be able to say that the French army did not retire from Belgium till the Powers of Europe had named the fortresses to be demolished, that may suit them, but it does not suit us; it may be very useful to Pèrier's Government, and highly gratifying to the good people of Paris, but it will be so at the expense of the administration of Lord Grey, and of the just pride of the English nation, to say nothing about the other three. We fully mean to dismantle many of these Belgian fortresses; but we will never endure that France should dictate to us in this matter at the point of the bayonet.' The French Government, however, and their plenipotentiary, returned to the charge again and again with the most persistent importunity; but Lord Palmerston held firmly to the position which he had taken up. These fortresses, he reiterated, were never intended for aggression against France; but, in the opinion of the highest military authority, they are indispensable for the defence of Belgium against France, and it would be preposterous to permit the selection of the places to be dismantled to be made by that very France whose aggression they were destined to prevent. 'There really would be something in the proceeding so utterly repugnant to common sense, and

so incompatible with the condition of an independent nation, that it is quite and entirely impossible.' In the end, the French Government were obliged to withdraw their troops unconditionally; and on the 30th of September, Belgium was entirely evacuated. On the 14th of December following, a definite convention respecting the destruction of the fortresses was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the four Powers; and after a careful consideration of the whole circumstances, it was agreed to demolish Menin, Ath, Mons, Philippeville, and Marienburg, 'the last two of which the French had first wished to acquire, and then desired to have left, with a wish (not improbably) of subsequently obtaining them.' The whole of the correspondence on this subject shows in a very painful light that eager desire for conquest, aggrandizement, and military glory which, from the time of the first Revolution, has distinguished the French nation and their rulers, as well as the unscrupulous means they take to gain their ends, and the underhand intrigues and tortuous diplomacy by which they have sought to conceal their schemes. There is reason to fear that the terrible calamities which have thus been brought upon their country have not even yet eradicated these vices from the national character.

The settlement of the dispute between Holland and Belgium seemed as far off as ever. The Dutch Government, as we have seen, had acceded to the first plan of separation, while the Belgians obstinately and violently refused their assent. In order to facilitate the election of Prince Leopold, the Conference had altered their original stipulations, as contained in twenty-four articles which they had declared to be irrevocable, and had adopted a new basis of separation contained in eighteen. To these the Belgian Congress were persuaded, with great difficulty, to agree; but Holland firmly refused her consent. The inroad of the Dutch army, and the ignominious defeat of the Belgians, had completely obliterated the



effect of the expulsion of the Dutch from Belgium by the successful revolution, and had shown that with little more than half the population Holland was decidedly superior to her rival in military power, organization, and generalship. It was evidently a difficult and a dangerous task to compel such a country to accede to a treaty which she had repudiated from the first, and which differed in various important points from the terms which the Conference had pronounced equitable and fundamental. It had clearly become necessary once more to modify the articles of separation; and the Conference resolved to take the settlement of the case into their own hands, and to make the acceptance of the terms they now proposed compulsory by both parties. The left bank of the Scheldt and Maestricht were still assigned to Holland, along with Venloo, as had been originally proposed; the navigation of the Scheldt was to be regulated according to the general Act of the Congress of Vienna; and Belgium was to have the right of navigating certain canals which lay wholly within the Dutch territory. Luxembourg was to be divided, and Holland was to receive, as 'a territorial indemnity' for the part she relinquished, a portion of the province of Limburg which had been originally assigned to Belgium, but which contained a population less by 50,000 than the territory that Holland was required to surrender. In apportioning the debt, the Conference made an alteration favourable to Belgium in the arrangement originally prescribed by them. The interest of the debt, which had been incurred since the Union, was to be divided equally between Holland and Belgium. The debt that had existed before the Union was allotted to Belgium, which was also required to pay an additional sum of 650,000 florins in consideration of 'the advantages of navigation and commerce which Holland is called on to concede, and the sacrifices of various kinds to which on her side the separation leads.' The result was that of 27,700,000 florins of interest annually paid

by the kingdom of the Netherlands before the separation, Belgium was in future to pay only 8,400,000. The conditions now prescribed by the Conference were to be inserted *verbatim* in a direct treaty between Holland and Belgium, placed under the formal guarantee of the five Powers. They were declared to be 'the final and irrevocable decisions of the five Powers, who of common accord are resolved to bring about their full and entire acceptance by any party adverse to them.'

It appeared at first as if these conditions would be rejected by both parties. The Belgian Congress were indignant at the refusal of the Conference to comply with their preposterous demands that the whole of Luxembourg, along with the left bank of the Scheldt and Maestricht, should form part of their state. The Dutch Government, on the other hand, with much more reason refused to withdraw from the engagements which the Conference had originally prescribed and they had accepted, or to admit the right of the Conference to dispose of the hereditary territories of their sovereign without his own consent, and by treaties in which he was not permitted to take any part. The general European public could not shut their eyes to the fact that Holland had been treated with harshness and injustice, in order that Leopold might be offered and induced to accept the crown of Belgium, and that France might be prevented from making herself mistress of that country.

The Belgian Congress ultimately agreed, by a majority of fifty-nine to thirty-eight votes, to accept the treaty—a result mainly due to the exertions of Leopold himself, who saw clearly the folly and futility of resistance. He was, at the same time, not the less bitterly mortified at the failure of the expectations which he alleged had been held out to him. 'Here am I,' he said in a letter to Lord Palmerston, 'who was only induced to accept the throne of Belgium on certain conditions, which the allies solemnly guar-



anted to me. The King of Holland defies the allies, and attacks me in consequence of these conditions; and now I am required to agree to things which, if they had been imposed upon me originally, I should have refused.'

The King of Holland, however, obstinately refused to accept the treaty on the conditions prescribed, and pleaded with great force, that when Holland accepted and Belgium refused, Belgium was admitted to negotiate, and to negotiate successfully, for alterations unfavourable to Holland in the decree which had been declared both final and irrevocable. But now that Belgium accepted and Holland refused, claiming on far stronger grounds the same right, she was told that the Conference would never admit modifications on what it had declared to be irrevocable. His Majesty met with great sympathy in England; and if it had not been for the absorption of public interest in the Reform Bill, the treatment which the ancient ally of Britain received from the Conference might have been highly injurious to the Government. But the people were so engrossed at this time with their home affairs that the Foreign Secretary was allowed to take much his own way in settling the affairs of Holland and Belgium. Several months were spent in tedious and fruitless negotiations. The King of Holland expressed his willingness to concur in the territorial arrangements prescribed by the Congress, provided the conditions respecting the use by Belgium of the rivers, and canals, and roads of Holland were modified, and an equitable arrangement made respecting the pilotage and superintendence of the Scheldt below Antwerp. The Conference and the British Government, with the exception of Lord Palmerston, were satisfied with these moderate and equitable proposals; but the Belgians took the alarm, and, supported by France, clamoured loudly for their rejection. Prince Leopold was married at Compiègne in August, 1832, to the eldest daughter of Louis Philippe. 'It is under-

stood,' says the Duke of Wellington, 'that the plan for breaking off the negotiations with the King of the Netherlands was settled at Compiègne. Upon Leopold's return to Brussels the Belgian Ministers discovered that they could not remain in office if any change were made in the treaty of November, 1831, unless the citadel of Antwerp were surrendered as a preliminary.' They accordingly resigned, and a partial and collusive change of the administration in Belgium took place, which afforded an excuse to the king for declaring that he could not consent to any negotiation on such of the twenty-four articles as were susceptible of modification until the respective territories should have been reciprocally evacuated. As the demands of Belgium were the demands of France, the Conference, though with evident reluctance, resolved to comply with them; but at the same time offered to make some modifications in the secondary articles of the treaty. These proposals, however, failed to give satisfaction to the King of Holland; and the Belgians, supported by the French, clamoured loudly for military coercion. The three Northern Powers were averse to the employment of force, and were of opinion that a pecuniary pressure upon Holland would be sufficient for the purpose; but the two Western Powers thought this mode of action more dilatory, more uncertain, and in reality more oppressive to the Dutch nation. Count Orloff was despatched by the Emperor Nicholas as a special envoy to dissuade the King of Holland from a useless resistance. It is matter for regret that this advice was not followed by His Majesty, now that it had become unmistakable that prolonged resistance could have no beneficial effect, but would uselessly cause expense and loss of life to his own subjects, and would postpone the settlement of a question which events might again render troublesome and dangerous to Europe. But the king was immovable. The Northern Powers refused to take any part in coercive measures, and it was left to France and England to enforce



the treaty imposed upon Holland. The harbour of Antwerp was blockaded by a British fleet, and the fortress attacked by a French army, under the command of Marshal Gerard, consisting of 50,000 infantry, with 6000 cavalry, and a strong battering train. The Dutch garrison amounted to between 4000 and 5000 men, commanded by General Chassè, a veteran officer of distinguished courage and military skill, who was instructed and resolved to defend the citadel to the last. The besiegers opened their fire on the 4th of December, and night and day between sixty and seventy pieces of battering artillery and howitzers rained shot and shell on the fortress. General Chassè returned the fire with equal vigour and resolution, and held out for twenty-three days, until almost every building in the citadel had been battered to pieces, and its surface presented one mass of ruins.

At length, when even the bomb-proof places were ruined, and the external walls

laid open to an extent which made an assault quite practicable—the overwhelming numbers of the enemy leaving no doubt of its success—the stout-hearted old general, believing that he had done every thing in his power to defend the post intrusted to his charge, offered on the morning of the 30th to surrender the citadel and to retire with his garrison into Holland. The French marshal, however, insisted that the surrender of forts Lillo and Liefkenshoek, farther down the river, should be included in the capitulation. But the King of Holland refused to accede to this demand, and the garrison, with their brave old commander, were conveyed as prisoners of war into France. The citadel was made over to the Belgian troops, and the French army returned into their own country. An indefinite armistice was established in 1833 between Holland and Belgium; but an ultimate agreement was not concluded until April, 1839.



## CHAPTER III.

Excitement produced on the Continent by the French Revolution—Polish Insurrection—Constitution of Poland in 1815—Barbarities of the Grand-duke Constantine—Their results—Tyranny of the Czar—Preparations of the Poles—Manifesto of the Diet—Sympathy for the Polish cause—Invasion of Poland by the Russians—Mistaken strategy of Marshal Diebitsch—Victories of the Polish General Skrzynecki—Death of Marshal Diebitsch—Prince Paskievitch, his successor, changes the plan of operations—The Poles driven back on Warsaw—Fall of that city—Cruelties of the Russian Government—Remonstrances of Lord Palmerston—Insurrections in the Italian Principalities, Modena, and the Papal States—Suppressed by the Austrians—Barbarities of the Papal Troops—Renewed Insurrections—Austrian interference—French expedition to Ancona—Proceedings in Spain—Repeal of the Salic Law by Ferdinand II.—Rising of the Spanish Liberals, and of the Carlists—Queen Christina appointed Regent—Formation of a Liberal Ministry—Miserable condition of Portugal—Cruelties of Don Miguel—British interference—Don Miguel's submission—His ill treatment of French subjects—Measures adopted by the French Government—Invasion of Portugal by Don Pedro—Protracted war with Don Miguel—State of matters in France—Insurrection of the Republicans—Successive Ministries—Resignation of the Lafitte Cabinet—Casimir Pèrier becomes Prime Minister—His firm and moderate policy—Insurrection in La Vendée—The Duchess de Berri—Ravages of the Cholera in France, England, and Scotland—Deaths of Goethe and Sir Walter Scott.

THE excitement and agitation produced by the revolution which drove Charles X. from the throne of France was not confined to Belgium; the whole continent of Europe was affected by it. An insurrection broke out even in Hanover; but with no real grievances to support it, the commotion speedily subsided, and the insurgents quietly dispersed before the Government had time to take any steps for their suppression. The little Duchy of Brunswick had been constrained formally to dethrone its foolish and turbulent ruler, whose conduct had brought him under the ban of the Germanic Diet, and had compelled him to flee from his state. By the advice of the British Ministers and the Diet the younger brother of the absconding duke had assumed his place and government, in accordance with the expressed wish of his subjects, and the princes related to the House of Brunswick. In Hesse Cassel the disturbances occasioned by the personal character and conduct of the Elector made it necessary for him to admit his eldest son to a share in the Government. There was a dispute about the succession of Baden. Saxony, too, had its clubs and its agitations, and the demand for reform was so strong that the king was obliged to associate his nephew with him in the Government as joint-regent, and to promise that an improved constitu-

tion would speedily be promulgated, and a law passed to allow the redemption of feudal rights. Switzerland also was thrown into a state of commotion by the demands made in Basle, Schwyz, Berne, Lucerne, and other cantons, for the abolition of exclusive privileges, the reform of abuses, and a more liberal constitution, which in most cases were granted without open violence or an appeal to arms, though in some instances the insurgents employed force to gain the objects they had in view. There were insurrections in several other minor states which were speedily suppressed without bloodshed. But the rising of the Poles against the intolerable oppression and cruelty of the Russian Grand-duke Constantine led to a fierce and sanguinary war.

After the downfall of Napoleon the Congress of Vienna settled that a portion of ancient Poland, comprising the chief part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with a population of about 4,000,000, should be erected into a separate kingdom under the sovereignty of the Russian Czar, with its own constitution recognized and solemnly guaranteed by the other European powers. The new kingdom of Poland was proclaimed on the 20th of June, 1815; and on the 24th of December following a constitutional charter was granted to it of an unexpectedly liberal character. The liberty of the press



and the inviolability of person and property were guaranteed in the fullest extent. The legislative authority was vested in the king and in two chambers—one of senators, and another of deputies. The former were to be nominated by the king, and to hold office for life; the latter were to be chosen by a numerous constituency, comprising all landowners who paid any contribution towards the support of the state, all manufacturers and shopkeepers possessing a capital of 10,000 florins, all rectors and vicars, and all artisans or mechanics distinguished for talent and skill. The deliberations of the Diet, which were to be public, extended to all subjects of a legislative or administrative character; but the initiative belonged exclusively to the king and the Council of State. The great departments of the state were to be presided over by responsible ministers. All public business was to be transacted in the Polish language, and all offices, civil and military, were to be held by natives alone. The Roman Catholic religion was declared to be the national religion; but dissenters of all denominations were placed on a footing of perfect equality, as to civil rights, with the members of the established church.

During the first four or five years after the establishment of the kingdom of Poland in 1815, the Government was conducted on the whole in a fair and moderate spirit. The provisions of the charter were generally observed, and the viceroy, Count Zayonezek, a Pole, strove to attach his countrymen to the Government of the Czar. This policy had the effect of disarming, to a considerable extent, the antipathies and prejudices of the people; and the opposition to the ministers in the Chamber of Deputies was comparatively trifling. But the Spanish revolution of 1820, and the spirit of impatience under the control of arbitrary power, which at that time manifested itself throughout the continent, alarmed the Czar and his brother despots of Austria and Prussia. The Holy Alliance which had been formed by these Powers began to

bear fruit; recourse was had to repressive measures rapidly increasing in severity, and undisguised efforts were made to suppress entirely the spirit of national independence in Poland. The Grand-duke Constantine, Commander-in-chief of the army, though nominally under the control of the Imperial Lieutenant, in reality wielded supreme authority in the country. He possessed considerable force of character; but he was savage and brutal in the extreme, and was liable to paroxysms of passion so violent as to make him act like a madman. He had no regard either for the rights or the feelings of others, and was habitually guilty of outrages which display a mixture of ferocity, cruelty, and cowardice almost incredible. All classes and both sexes were alike subjected to his brutalities. It was a common practice of his to cause the heads of such women as displeased him to be shaved; and he not unfrequently, in addition, made them to be tarred and feathered. He took a special pleasure in witnessing the perpetration of these barbarities, and altogether treated the unfortunate Poles as if he thought that they belonged to an inferior order of beings.

While the Grand-duke was thus giving unrestrained license to his violent and capricious temper, the political rights and privileges of the Poles were systematically trampled under foot. The liberty of the press was abolished, in direct violation of the charter, by an ordinance dated the 31st of July, 1819. This was followed by the suppression of the Patriotic Association, modelled by General Dombrowski after the recommendations of the Czar himself. A military commission was next appointed, which tried and condemned civilians, without observing any of the rules and formalities prescribed by the laws. Great numbers of spies were kept in Constantine's pay; and the liberty, and life even, of every man was at the mercy of a common informer. Arbitrary arrests by the secret police, illegally supported out of the public revenue, were incidents of almost daily



occurrence, followed by secret condemnations to imprisonment or banishment. The dungeons of the state prison, which had been erected in Warsaw, were crowded with the victims of the execrable tyranny of the Grand-duke, with whom suspicion was equivalent to the clearest evidence of guilt. The charter expressly stipulated that when Russian troops required to pass through Poland, they were to be maintained at the expense of the Imperial Treasury; but for years a large body of soldiers had been stationed at Warsaw, and paid by the inhabitants of the capital, whom they were employed to overawe. To crown all, the senators nominated by the Czar were without the qualification prescribed by the charter, and were, besides, poor worthless tools of the Government; and bribery was lavishly employed to procure the return to the Chamber of Deputies of men of a kindred spirit, and who were ready to co-operate with the senators and the Ministers in destroying the liberties of their country. Even the convening of the Diet was to a great extent dispensed with. The charter required that one should be held every two years; but no meeting was convoked from 1820 to 1825, and only one from the year 1825 until after the accession of Nicholas in 1829.

These arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings excited deep indignation among the Poles, and hatred of their oppressors. The country was ready for an explosion, and the insurrection in Paris in July, 1830, produced an almost electrical effect on the whole Polish nation. There is reason to believe that secret encouragement to throw off the Russian yoke was held out to them by leading French Liberals, and that they were led to believe that they might rely on the sympathy and support of the friends of liberty in every country of Europe. At the same time it is certain that there were no preparations made for a general insurrection at this time, and that when it took place it did not arise from any political intrigues or from the incitement of clubs or revo-

lutionary demagogues, but mainly from the intolerable oppressions of the half-madman, half-savage Russian Grand-duke. His freaks of cruelty, and his barbarous and illegal treatment of all who had the misfortune to incur his disapprobation or even suspicion, had at length become intolerable. The feeling of abhorrence which they excited was shared by the soldiers, who suffered no less than the civilians from his savage and brutal freaks. He was a martinet in military discipline and regulations; and it was his custom, when an officer swerved a hairbreadth from the minute and cumbrous rules which he had laid down, to make him leap his horse over a row of bayonets, which were elevated bit by bit until the horse was often impaled, and the rider severely wounded or killed.

The long-expected crisis was at length brought about by Constantine's treatment of some students attending the military school at Warsaw. At a social banquet they had drunk a toast to the memory of Kosciusko and other popular Polish heroes. The Grand-duke appointed a commission to inquire into this offence, and they reported that there was no ground for inflicting punishment on the youths. A second inquiry was ordered, with the same result; which so exasperated the Prince that he took the affair into his own hands, and without warrant of law ordered some of the students to be flogged and others to be imprisoned. Their companions in the Military School were so indignant at this gross violation both of law and justice that they rose in arms, on the 29th of November, to resist this arbitrary proceeding. Their first project was to seize the person of Constantine himself, who resided at the palace of Belvidere on the outskirts of the city. At seven o'clock in the evening they forced their way into the palace, where they were opposed by Lubowedizki the director of the police, who, on being wounded, took to flight. They next encountered the Russian general, Gendre, a



man detested for his cruelties and crimes, who was killed in the scuffle. But Constantine himself succeeded, by the help of a valet, in escaping through a window. He fled to the barracks of three regiments of guards at a short distance, and they immediately turned out to suppress the mutiny. The Polish troops in the garrison then joined the students. The towns-people next took part in the fray, and, assisted by the friendly soldiers, forced their way into the arsenal and supplied themselves with arms. The contest raged for some time with great fury; but in the end the Russian troops, after a very sanguinary struggle in the streets, were driven out of Warsaw, and compelled to retire to the other side of the Vistula. The troops suffered severely in the contest, having lost three or four generals, besides many other officers and a large number of common soldiers.

Warsaw was now in the hands of the Poles, of whom 30,000 were in arms. The functionaries of the Government having fled, six of the most popular and influential of the nobility—Adam Czartorinski, Michael Radzivil, Michael Kochanowski, Count Louis Pabz, Julien Niemczeniez, Secretary of the Senate, and General Joseph Chlopicki—were appointed in the place of some obnoxious members of the Council of Administration. This was done in the name of the Emperor-king of Poland, whose authority was still recognized though his ministers were thus dismissed from office, and his troops driven out of the city. In the hope of an accommodation, a deputation of the most influential citizens waited upon the Grand-duke, who still lingered in the vicinity of Warsaw, and laid before him their grievances. Their demands were both moderate and reasonable. They requested that the emperor would fulfil the promise made by his father to incorporate with the kingdom of Poland the Polish provinces which had been united with Russia; that the Lithuanian corps, under the command of the Grand-duke, should not enter the Polish territory; and

that all the ancient parts of Poland, now under the dominion of Russia, should be re-united to the kingdom of Poland. Constantine was constrained by his position and his fears to receive these representatives in a temperate manner very unusual with him; but he had neither the power nor the inclination to grant the requests of the deputation. The present use of force, however, was now out of the question, as the troops under his command were not numerous, and besides their fidelity could not be relied on. He therefore gave permission to the Polish regiment of chasseurs of the guard, and some detachments of Polish infantry whom he had forced along with him, to return to Warsaw, and next day (December 3) took his departure along with the rest of the troops for the frontiers, 'recommending all establishments, property, and persons to the protection of the Polish nation.'

The real character of the Czar Nicholas was as yet imperfectly known to Europe; and even his own subjects were not aware of the extent to which his imperious and ferocious disposition would carry him in inflicting punishment on those who ventured to resist his authority or to disobey his commands. The Poles seem, therefore, to have cherished some faint hopes that the emperor, on learning the facts of the case, might regard their proceedings with lenity. At the same time they thought it prudent to be prepared for the worst, in case he should determine to treat them as rebels. The Poles were a warlike people, and the Russians had kept up their military organization and discipline. All the Polish regiments joined the national cause; and General Chlopicki, a skilful soldier, though not an experienced statesman, who was appointed Commander-in-chief, speedily found himself at the head of a regular and well-trained army. Their prospects were certainly not very hopeful, for their country had been dismembered and divided among the three Northern Powers, who were very likely to make common cause against



any attempt to restore the ancient kingdom of Poland. It might have been taken for granted that Russia alone, with its immense armies and military resources, would have no difficulty in crushing the insurgent Poles in their isolated position, with no port at their command through which they could obtain the assistance of those friendly to their cause, or supplies of military stores. And if they should, contrary to all expectation, prove able to hold their ground against the gigantic might of Russia, Austria and Prussia were almost certain to interfere in her support, in order to prevent the revolutionary flame from extending to those portions of ancient Poland which had formed their share of her spoliation.

The Poles, however, brought to bay, and compelled to choose between an armed resistance to tyranny and cruelty, or humble submission to whatever punishment the Czar might think fit to inflict, prepared resolutely for the unequal contest. In imitation of the old Roman republic in times of imminent danger, they invested the Commander-in-chief with the powers and the title of 'Dictator,' in order to secure energy and promptitude in the adoption of the measures necessary for their defence. In assuming this office, General Chlopicki was careful to disclaim any intention on the part of the Poles to throw off their allegiance to their king, Nicholas I., or to demand anything more than the free constitution which the Czar had promised them. In the proclamation which he issued announcing his acceptance of the offer, he said, 'The Poles know how to be faithful; and when all Europe abandoned him before whose victorious eagles the nations had prostrated themselves, the Polish battalions, firm in the hour of reverses, never ceased till the last moment to range themselves around the fallen conqueror. But in the present instance the power of evil had outstripped all bounds; it was impossible to convey the language of truth to the head of the State; flatterers,

greedy of reward and prodigal of calumnies, gave us every day new chains instead of liberty. Never was insurrection more legitimate! No; the king himself will be forced to admit the justice of our cause when he comes to know the extent to which he was abused.'

Two commissioners were despatched to St. Petersburg to lay a full statement of their case before the Czar, with the hope that he might even yet be induced to grant them reasonable terms; but he demanded unconditional submission before he would listen to their representations or consider their complaints, and he issued a proclamation threatening to inflict on the Poles signal vengeance for 'their horrid treason.' 'I am King of Poland,' he said; 'the first cannon-shot fired by the Poles shall annihilate Poland.' The die was thus cast, and nothing remained to the insurgents but to fight to the last in vindication of their outraged rights and liberties.

The Diet assembled at Warsaw on the 18th of December, and continued Chlopicki in his office of Dictator. Having drawn the sword, he should have thrown away the scabbard; but he seems not yet to have lost all hope that the Czar might be persuaded to grant them terms, and attempted again to open negotiations. Poland, he said, wished only 'a reasonable liberty,' and 'the nation was very far from the thought of dissolving the ties which bound it to His Majesty.' Nicholas, however, declined to treat with 'armed rebels,' and the Diet on their part disapproved of the attempt to negotiate, and resolved to elect a new commander-in-chief. The choice fell on Prince Radzivil, and Chlopicki resigned his office of Dictator and returned to the ranks of the army. The executive authority was intrusted to a Council of State, consisting of five persons, under the presidency of Prince Adam Czartorinski.

As hostilities were now imminent, the Diet published a manifesto stating the grounds upon which it had renounced the authority of the Russian Autocrat and



taken up arms to vindicate their national rights. The Congress of Vienna, they said, desirous to make some reparation for the grievous wrongs which Poland had suffered, had stipulated that it should form a separate kingdom under the rule of the Russian Czar, with a charter and constitution of its own, freedom of commerce, and a recognized nationality. A constitution had indeed been granted by Alexander, as we have seen; but it had been set aside at the pleasure of the Czar, who evidently dreaded that if the Poles were permitted the enjoyment of constitutional rights, his Russian subjects would demand similar liberties for themselves. Poland, therefore, saw herself successively deprived of all her privileges. The Chambers were no longer allowed to vote the supplies; new burdens were imposed, new monopolies created; and the large sums obtained by these measures were lavished on vile sycophants and despicable spies; pensions were multiplied and augmented in a most scandalous manner, and new and needless offices were created solely for the purpose of increasing the number of parasites in the pay of the Government. In this and similar ways the money was wasted which had been wrung from the Polish people, and especially from the down-trodden peasantry. Personal liberty, which had been solemnly guaranteed, was habitually violated, and the state prisons were crowded with the most distinguished members of the Diet, and the army, as well as private citizens, who had been arbitrarily deprived of their liberty. The Polish tribunals and civil law had been annihilated by imperial ukases. Councils of war were authorized to pronounce judgment in civil cases. Individuals, whose only fault was a desire to save the spirit and character of the nation from corruption, had been subjected to infamous punishments. The youth of the first families had been transported to Siberia, or compelled to serve as common soldiers in the ranks of the army. Public education was corrupted; even the religious

faith of the Polish nation had been treated in the most intolerant manner, and every effort had been made to compel them to submit to the united Greek ritual, instead of the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church. Groundless accusations had been brought against persons of high rank and spotless character. In utter contempt of the laws, a special committee of inquiry had been appointed, composed mainly of military officers, who by protracted tortures, promises of pardon, and ensnaring questions, had sought to extort from the accused a confession of guilt. After lying two years in prison, the accused had been tried before the High National Court, and acquitted of any offence against the State. Yet instead of being set at liberty, they had been conveyed to St. Petersburg, and imprisoned there in the forts. To crown all, it was evidently the design of the Russian Government to employ the army, the treasure, and the national resources of Poland to fight against the liberties of the European nations who had thrown off the yoke of their oppressor, and preparations had already been made to carry this design into effect. For these and other cogent reasons, they had taken up arms, which they declared they would never lay down till they had not only secured their liberties as an independent kingdom, but had likewise emancipated the Polish provinces at present incorporated with Russia. This manifesto was followed up on the 25th of January, 1831, by a decree of the Diet declaring the throne of Poland vacant.

The deepest sympathy was felt throughout Europe, especially in Great Britain and France, for the gallant nation engaged in this unequal contest. 'The fight made by the Poles,' wrote Lord Palmerston while the conflict was raging, 'is deserving of the greatest admiration, and it is impossible not to wish them heartily success; but the odds against them are still very great, unless the rising in Lithuania should prove extensive and embarrassing to Russia.'



There was a strong desire on the part of the French people, which was shared even by some in our own country, that the Western Powers should interpose by force of arms in behalf of the Poles; but this could not have been done without bringing on a European war. 'We must stand upon our treaties,' said Lord Palmerston to the Russian ambassador, 'and while on the one hand we should remonstrate if Russia tried to depart from the Treaty of Vienna, on the other we could not do so ourselves by helping to make Poland entirely independent.'

The Poles, however, entered upon the struggle with great energy and indomitable resolution. They set themselves at once to train and arm the people during the breathing time afforded them before the Russian forces had made their entrance into the country. They had already in the field an army consisting of 30,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry, well disciplined and equipped, round which the new recruits could be formed, and they raised a national guard for the maintenance of order in Warsaw.

The Russian Czar had, in the meantime, made extensive preparations to suppress the insurrection by force. He had assembled a powerful army in the province of Grodno, to the north of Warsaw, to be in readiness to advance against that city when the time for action should arrive. Marshal Diebitsch, designated Zabalkanski, on account of his passage of the Balkans and his victory over Turkey in the campaign of 1829, was intrusted with the command of the Russian forces destined for the suppression of the Polish insurrection. He was evidently quite unaware of the difficulties with which he had to contend, and expected an easy victory over the undisciplined Polish insurgents. He seems to have had little or no acquaintance with the country which he had to traverse, and as Wellington remarked, expected to have passed the Vistula 'express like a post-boy.' He speedily found out his mistake.

The Vistula, one of the largest of European rivers, which has its origin in the

Carpathian mountains, after leaving Galicia runs in a north-westerly direction through Poland, dividing it into two sections. Warsaw, the capital of the kingdom, stands on the left bank of the river, nearly in the centre of the country. After leaving Warsaw the river is joined on the right by its chief tributary the Bug, which separates Poland from the Russian provinces of Grodno and Volhynia. Warsaw is thus protected on the east and the north by these two great rivers, which in winter and spring are swollen by the melting snows, and impeded by the blocks of floating ice.

The principal road, which leads from Russia to the capital of Poland, crosses the Bug at Brzese, and leads almost due west to that city. Another road enters Poland on the north at Kevno, and crosses the Narew, a tributary of the Bug at Ostrolenka. A third route enters the country from the Austrian territory, crosses the Vistula at Gora, and runs along its west bank to the capital. The Russian general resolved to direct his troops upon Warsaw by all three routes, and at the head of 80,000 men he marched along the central and most direct route to the Polish capital, while a detachment of 20,000 approached it from the north, and 10,000 from the south. Diebitsch evidently did not understand the nature of the country in which he was about to operate, or the resistance which he was about to encounter, otherwise he would not have arranged his strategy in such a manner as to separate the three divisions of his army from each other by deep and broad rivers, full of blocks of floating ice, which rendered it difficult to construct and maintain temporary bridges. The main army of the Poles, commanded by Prince Radzivil in person, took up a position to the north of Warsaw, between that city and Grodno, the Russian headquarters; while a corps under General Dwernicki watched the movements of the Russian forces under Generals Geismar and Kreuz, which were marching against Lublin and Zamosc to the south of Warsaw.



As the invading army advanced towards the capital, the Poles gradually withdrew their posts, and fell back towards the city, evidently with the hope that they might delay the advance of the Russians until the breaking up of the ice on the Vistula, the Bug, and the Narew, should endanger their communications and impede the movements of the troops and the artillery. Occasional skirmishes took place between the advanced posts of the Poles and the invading forces; but Diebitsch encountered no serious resistance until, on the 19th of February, he reached Grodno, a league in front of Warsaw, where the Polish commander had resolved to make a stand. His right was protected by the Vistula, his left by a thick wood, and his centre was stationed at the village of Grochow. In his rear was the village of Praga, which was separated from Warsaw by the Vistula. The Russians made a furious attack on the Polish left and centre, but failed to make any impression on their positions. Next day they renewed the attack in two divisions, one commanded by Count Pahlen, the other by General Rosen. The Poles, with the most determined bravery, contested every inch of ground, and at one period compelled Count Pahlen to retreat; and though he obtained large reinforcements, and a powerful battery of artillery, he could obtain no advantage over the patriots. Night put an end to the conflict, in which Diebitsch admitted he had lost 2000 men killed and wounded, among whom were several generals.

The Russian commander-in-chief remained inactive during the three following days, and occupied himself in repairing his losses. Having been joined by powerful reinforcements, on the morning of the 25th he made a general and vigorous attack on the Polish position, directing his main efforts against the wood in front of Praga, held by the left wing of the defenders, under General Skrzynecki—an officer of conspicuous gallantry and skill. After a desperate struggle, which lasted two hours, the assailants, by the assist-

ance of their formidable artillery, carried the position. But the Poles, rallied by their general, and by Chlopicki the ex-dictator, succeeded in retaking the wood. A fresh reserve, however, was brought up and new batteries erected, and in the end the defenders, greatly outnumbered, were compelled to abandon this important post. Though they had been successful in repelling the Russian attacks on other points, the loss of the wood made it necessary for the Poles to retire under the fortifications of Praga. Encouraged by their success the assailants next made a vigorous attack on that village, but were repulsed with great loss. The Polish commander, however, deemed it advisable to quit Praga, and withdrew his troops across the Vistula into Warsaw, which he did at leisure and in the most orderly manner, without being molested by the Russians. He took this step from an apprehension that the breaking up of the ice on the Vistula might carry away the bridge, and cut off his communications.

Diebitsch had now discovered the mistake he had made in under-estimating the difficulties of the task intrusted to him. The losses he had suffered in his unsatisfactory conflicts with the Poles were very heavy, and he was placed in a situation of great embarrassment and no small danger. He withdrew the main body of his troops towards Plozk, in order that they might be more readily joined by the reinforcements which he expected from Russia. Strong divisions, however, were left in front of Warsaw, one under General Geismar at Wawer, and another under General Rosen at Dembiewilkie, both on the road to Minsk, to watch the movements of the Poles and keep them cooped up within the city. With the exception of a few unimportant skirmishes in the vicinity of Praga, the month of March passed in a state of inaction, partly owing to the inundations of the Vistula through the melting of the snow, and partly to the necessity of obtaining reinforcements before the Russians could undertake operations on an extensive scale.



Meanwhile Prince Radzivil had resigned the command of the Polish army and was replaced by Skrzynecki, who had displayed such conspicuous courage and conduct in the battles of the 20th and the 25th of February. He availed himself of the opportunity afforded him, by the inactivity of the Russians, to recruit his troops and renew their equipments and artillery. Having completed his preparations, he resolved to assume the offensive and to make a sudden attack on the cantonments of the enemy scattered over the country. On the 30th of March he crossed the Vistula at Praga with 25,000 men; and aided by the darkness of the night he reached unperceived the forest of Narew, near Grochow, where a division of the Russians, consisting of 8000 or 10,000 men, under General Geismar, was stationed, and suddenly and unexpectedly attacked them with great vigour. The Russian entrenchments were stormed, and they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat to Dembiewilkie, which was held by a much stronger force under General Rosen. The victorious Poles pressed with great energy on the retreating columns of the enemy, attacked them again in their new position, and after a conflict which lasted for five hours totally defeated them and put them to flight. The Russians lost 5000 men in killed and wounded in these encounters, and 6000 prisoners. Two standards, fifteen pieces of cannon, and a number of ammunition waggons also fell into the hands of the victors.

The Russian general was both weakened and disheartened by these serious disasters, and fell back with all speed on his supports. The Poles, encouraged by their success, pressed forward in pursuit, and came up with him on the 10th of April near the little village of Iganie, on the Kostrzyn, a tributary of the Bug, about half-way between Warsaw and the Russian frontier. Here, after a fierce contest, the Poles gained another victory over their invaders, who were driven back in great disorder to their

former position at the little town of Siedlec beyond the Kostrzyn.

Diebitsch having failed in his attempt to concentrate the three divisions of his army on Warsaw, took up a new position with his right wing at Ostrolenka, on the left bank of the Narew, and his left at Siedlec on the direct road to the capital. He evidently expected that the Polish general would follow up his victory at Iganie by attacking the defeated troops now stationed at Siedlec. Skrzynecki, however, by a masterly movement executed with remarkable rapidity, crossed the Bug and assailed the Russian right at Ostrolenka. His object was to force back this division of the invading army and to throw a body of troops into Lithuania to assist the insurgents in that ancient province of Poland, and thus to place the Russian army between two fires, or to compel them to retreat into their own country in order to maintain their communications. The movement was at first completely successful. Crossing the Bug, Skrzynecki marched along the right bank of the Narew and threw himself upon the Russian right at Ostrolenka, which he carried on the 18th. The invading forces, though they comprised the flower of the Imperial Guards, were compelled to abandon their fortified position, and to fall back in the direction of Bialystock. Pursuing their advantage, the victorious Poles pressed onward, and on the 29th made themselves masters of Lomza. Next day they assaulted Tykocin, in which the retreating enemy had taken refuge. The contest lasted during the whole day, but the Russians evacuated the place in the course of the following night. The road to Lithuania was now laid open, and a corps of the Polish army, under General Chlapowski, marched into that province. Marshal Diebitsch, who had hitherto remained with the main body of his army on the south or left side of the Bug, crossed that river, in order that he might effect a junction with his shattered right wing, and save it from total destruction.



The Russian general, by this retrograde movement, succeeded in concentrating his whole force on the frontier of his own country. On the 21st of May he recrossed the Bug, and next day marched to attack the Poles with his entire army. They immediately began a retreat, but their rear guard was nearly cut off, and had to fight its way through dense Russian columns in order to rejoin the Polish army. The corps under General Guielgud was, however, separated from the main body, and Skrzynecki weakened by this loss, was obliged to retreat before the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. At Ostrolenka, where he recrossed the Narew on the 25th, his rear guard was overtaken and attacked by the Russians; and though they ultimately made good their passage of the river and rejoined the main body, they had not time to destroy the bridge by which they had crossed. The Russians immediately followed, and a sanguinary battle took place on the bank of the river. The Russians were striving to bring on fresh bodies of troops, and the Poles were making the most vigorous efforts to regain possession of the bridge by which the enemy were crossing. When night separated the combatants, the Poles remained masters of the field, but the result was not decisive; and the Polish general having lost nearly 5000 men, including thirty staff officers, and finding that the Russians were bringing an overwhelming force to act against him, resolved to withdraw from the scene of action and retire upon Warsaw. The losses in these engagements told much more severely on the Poles than on their oppressors, whose enormous numbers enabled them with greater rapidity to fill up the blanks in their ranks; and it was evident that from the shape the contest had now taken, the master of the largest battalions would ultimately gain the day. The Czar sent fresh levies after every disaster to recruit the ranks of his soldiers; but the Polish patriots had only a very limited circle from which they could draw recruits,

and must therefore in the long run be crushed.

At this crisis, too, the cholera began to make havoc in the ranks of the Poles. It broke out in the Russian army in the spring of 1831, and the infection was communicated to the Polish troops by the prisoners taken at Iganie. Though less deadly in their case than in that of their assailants, the patriots felt its ravages more severely, as they had far fewer men to spare than the Russian autocrat. The private soldiers in both armies were, of course, the chief victims; but the plague was no respecter of persons. On the 10th of June it cut off Marshal Diebitsch himself at Pultusk; and a few days later the Grand-duke Constantine, the cruel oppressor of the Poles, who had accompanied the invading army, succumbed along with his wife to the fearful malady. Diebitsch was succeeded as commander-in-chief by Count Paskievitsch, who had gained distinction in the Armenian campaign. It was suspected, though without reason, that Diebitsch had made away with himself, for he had failed so signally in his campaign against the Poles that his military reputation was tarnished, and his recall had been decreed by the Czar. There is no reason, however, to doubt that he fell a victim to chagrin, fatigue, and disease.

The success which had thus far attended their contest with the gigantic power of Russia, increased the sympathy of France and Great Britain for the Polish patriots in their struggles for freedom. The Parisians clamoured so loudly for assistance to a people so shamefully oppressed, and who had proved their fitness for national independence by the sacrifices they had made in their country's cause, that the Ministry were constrained to propose that a joint mediation should be made on their behalf by Great Britain and France. But Palmerston, though expressing deep sympathy with the Poles, felt that a remonstrance would be of no real service unless the two Powers were prepared to follow it



up, if necessary, by active measures, which at this juncture neither was prepared to do. Lord Grey, who detested the Russians, expressed his deep regret, in a letter to the Chancellor, that 'we had no power of sending a fleet into the Baltic to settle the matter in Poland.' As this step could not be taken, mediation was not attempted, and the poor Poles were left to continue their hopeless struggle singlehanded.

After the death of the Russian Marshal active operations were suspended for some months by the main armies on both sides; but subsidiary movements were made by the Poles for the purpose of encouraging the partial risings that had taken place in Podolia, Volhynia, and Lithuania. A body of troops, under General Dwernicki, which had been sent to raise an insurrection in Volhynia, after various successful operations was ultimately compelled by a greatly superior force under General Rudiger, about the end of April, to take refuge in the Austrian territory, where they were disarmed and removed from the frontier by the Austrian authorities. A force of 8000 men, under General Chrzanowski, was immediately despatched to Volhynia to arrest the progress of the victorious Russians. By forced marches he succeeded in carrying some of their posts before they were aware of his approach, and defeated and took prisoners, on the 6th and 8th of May, several of their detached divisions. But the Russians hastily concentrated their forces, and by their greatly superior numbers, after an obstinate resistance, drove him across the Wieprz into Old Zamosc, with the loss of his ammunition and 600 prisoners. Rudiger, having thus freed himself from the forces sent against him, once more approached the Vistula. A strong corps was detached against him, under General Jankowski; and Chrzanowski was directed to march from Zamosc, and attack the Russians in the rear. The strategy was skilfully planned; and if carried out, Rudiger's division would have been surrounded and overwhelmed by a greatly

superior force. But the activity of the Russian general averted the danger. Instead of waiting for the united attack he at once assailed the hostile armies in rapid succession, and compelled them to retreat in opposite directions.

The attempt to raise an insurrection in Lithuania ended still more disastrously. The two corps despatched to that province, commanded respectively by Generals Chlapowski and Gielgud, were separated from Poland by the position taken up by the Russian army after the battle of Ostrolenka. After gaining some successes over detached bodies of the enemy, they united in an attack on the Russian forces stationed at Wilna. They were repulsed, however, and driven across the river Wilna with considerable loss. One division, of about 3000 men, being cut off from the road which leads southward into Poland, fled towards the Prussian frontier, and having been overtaken by their pursuers at Kovno, were driven into Prussia, where they were disarmed. Another division, of nearly equal numbers, commanded by General Dembienski, manœuvred and fought their way with remarkable skill and courage back to the banks of the Vistula, and on the 2nd of August entered Warsaw with all their cannon, amid the acclamations of the citizens.

Paskievitch profited by the experience and failure of his predecessor. The three divisions of the Russian army, separated from each other by the Vistula and the Bug and their tributaries, had been attacked in their isolated positions and defeated in detail by the Poles. He therefore resolved to follow a different plan; and instead of approaching Warsaw from the right bank of the Vistula, where he had first to carry the strongly-fortified suburb of Praga, and then to force his way across the broad and brimming river, he resolved to cross the Vistula farther down and to advance on Warsaw from the west, where he had no serious obstacle to encounter. He could not have carried out this plan unless he



had relied on the friendly co-operation of Prussia, from which alone his supplies could be obtained. But though the two powers, Austria and Prussia, who had shared in the spoils of Poland, had not ventured to comply with the appeal made to them by the Russian autocrat for direct assistance in suppressing the Polish insurrection, they did what they could to promote this object by affording every sort of indirect aid to the Russians, and thwarting the Poles as much as possible. The quarantine restrictions, Greville asserted, were always dispensed with for officers passing through the Prussian territory to join the Russian army. Count Paskievitch was allowed to pass without performing any quarantine at all; and stores and provisions were permitted to be conveyed to the army with every facility afforded by the Prussian authorities, and every relaxation of the sanitary laws.

Relying confidently on this partiality and violation of the laws of neutrality, the Russian general quitted Pultusk and Prassnitz, where his army had been quartered, and, on the 7th of July, crossed the Vistula at Plock by a temporary bridge which he had constructed, and thus threatened Warsaw in the rear. The passage of the river, which was made without opposition, was facilitated by a mistaken movement on the part of the Polish general, who marched up the Narew for the purpose of intercepting the communications of the enemy with their own country. But confidently relying on supplies from Prussia, Paskievitch was in no degree disconcerted by this movement, and continued his advances on the Polish capital. Meanwhile the Government had summoned the whole body of the citizens to arms; and they were occupied night and day in forming entrenchments and strengthening the defences of the city on the side from which it was now threatened by the enemy. The army took up a position between Kolo and Lowicz, a few leagues to the westward of the capital, but were driven from it by the

greatly superior numbers of the Russian force, amounting to 60,000 men. They established themselves in a new position between Rauka and Bzura, still nearer Warsaw; but it too had to be abandoned in turn.

Slowly but steadily the Russians advanced on the devoted city; and the Government, convinced that further resistance was hopeless, attempted to open negotiations with the Russian general, but without any satisfactory result. To add to their difficulties and perplexities, the populace took into their heads the notion that their military leaders were either incompetent or untrustworthy, and broke out into riots which were not suppressed without bloodshed. Skrzynecki, feeling that he had become the object of popular distrust, withdrew from the command on the 12th of August, and was succeeded by Dembienski, whose masterly retreat from Lithuania had gained him great applause. The Government resigned their powers into the hands of the Diet, who invested General Krukowiecki with supreme authority.

While the Poles were thus divided and distracted the Russian forces continued to gain ground, though Paskievitch was apparently unwilling to press closely on the beleaguered city until he was joined by the corps under Rudiger, which was employed in clearing the country to the south. On the 16th and 17th of August the Poles were compelled to abandon their position behind the Bzura, and to retire within the entrenchments immediately in front of Warsaw. On the 18th the Russian commander had established his head-quarters within three miles of the city; but he allowed several days to pass in inaction, probably with the expectation that the failure of supplies, and the hopelessness of farther resistance, might induce the garrison and the inhabitants to surrender. On the 6th of September he made a furious attack on the Polish entrenchments, and after a prolonged and desperate struggle made himself master of



the first line. The assault was renewed on the next day, when the combat was even more sanguinary than before. Every inch of the ground was contested by the defenders; but the overwhelming numbers and the formidable artillery of the assailants carried everything before them, and ere evening they had made their way over the inner line of entrenchments, and Warsaw lay at their mercy. On the 8th it capitulated, and the victorious general, accompanied by the Grand-duke Michael, the brother of the Czar, entered the city with his troops. The Russians admitted that they had lost 3000 killed, including 63 officers, and 7500 wounded in this murderous combat. The remainder of the Polish army was allowed by the terms of the capitulation to quit the city and retire to Plozk. They took possession of the fortress of Modlin, and made preparations to continue the struggle. But the Russian forces promptly marched against them from different directions, and hemmed them in on every side. They had no mountain fortresses where they could have found shelter and continued the struggle for freedom; and rather than submit to the authority of the Czar they crossed the Prussian frontier and laid down their arms. In the course of a few weeks after the surrender of Warsaw the whole of Poland was at the mercy of the Russian Emperor.

It was speedily seen by his conduct that the 'tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.' The barbarities now inflicted on the unhappy Poles were shocking to humanity, and covered their Muscovite oppressor with indelible infamy. He showed what he termed his 'paternal solicitude for his faithful subjects' by abolishing their constitution and declaring their country 'an integral part of Russia,' closing their schools, prohibiting the teaching of their national language and literature, removing their libraries and public collections into Russia, banishing their nobles to Siberia, or compelling them along with thousands of the people to serve as privates in the Russian army, delivering over their high-born ladies

for wives to the common soldiers on the frontier, deporting whole families (the men, and even children, chained together on their march into the interior of the empire), and carrying away the infants of the higher classes in waggon loads, to be brought up as Russians, separated for ever from their parents, and ignorant of their extraction.

The whole civilized world stood aghast at outrages so absolutely revolting, perpetrated by a ruthless savage, who was guilty of the blasphemy of offering a public thanksgiving to the Deity for his triumph over his rebellious subjects, and declaring that the result of the contest was an evident proof of the favour with which the Almighty regarded the good cause of the Russian Czar. His treatment of Poland created the deepest abhorrence both in France and Britain, and was once and again indignantly denounced in the House of Commons. The British Government made an effort to obtain favourable terms for the country now lying prostrate under the heel of the merciless despot. Lord Palmerston instructed Lord Heytesbury, the British ambassador at the Russian court, earnestly to recommend that Nicholas should grant a full and complete amnesty to the Poles, and to point out that the Treaty of Vienna declared that Poland should be attached to Russia by its constitution, and that the constitution carefully guards against any change by mere act of executive authority. It declares that the Polish nation shall for ever possess national representation, and a Diet composed of the king and two chambers, who alone possessed the power to modify or change organic statutes and codes of laws. The revolt of the Poles could afford the Russian Government no grounds for departing from the stipulations of the Treaty of Vienna. Every king of Poland was bound to swear before God and on the Holy Scriptures to maintain the constitution, and cause it to be executed; and this solemn oath had been taken both by Alexander and the present Czar. The Treaty of Vienna made a marked distinction



between the kingdom of Poland and the provinces incorporated with the Russian empire, and to abolish the constitution was to reduce that kingdom to the condition of a province. The ambassador was also to remind the Czar that Europe looked to the re-establishment of law and justice from the submission of the Poles, and not to acts of retaliation and vengeance. Such acts could not be palliated when resorted to by a power which had subdued all opposition, and could not plead for its measures the necessity of any pressing emergency.

Such remonstrances, unsupported by any warlike demonstration, had no effect on the mind of a sovereign in whose estimation might made right, and who had the insolence to claim the possession of Poland by the right of conquest of 1815. His minister, Nesselrode, in reply to Lord Palmerston's despatch, asserted that 'the Treaty of Vienna imposed no other obligation on Russia than to maintain the union which that treaty had formed.' And he had the effrontery to add, that 'the constitution was not given in consequence of that treaty, but was the spontaneous act of the Emperor Alexander, and was annulled by the rebellion of the Poles.' But though no hand was raised in vindication of the European stipulations and the rights of the Polish people, their cause has not been unavenged. The day of vengeance, though long delayed, came at last. The death-bed of the tyrant and oppressor at the moment when disasters and misfortunes were gathering thick around his empire; the assassination of his son, and the state of constant apprehension and anxiety in which his descendants are now living, are proofs that 'He that is higher than the highest regardeth' violated faith and deeds of merciless oppression and cruelty, and that the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children who walk in their ways, unto the third and fourth generation.

Italy was ripe for revolt against the petty sovereigns who, supported by Austrian arms, had trampled on the rights and liberties of

their subjects, and had suspected, watched, persecuted, and imprisoned all who were believed to entertain liberal opinions. The example was set by the Austrian authorities in Lombardy, who had arrested and condemned to death Silvio Pellico, Count Gouffonieri, Marroncelli, and other distinguished literary men, but had afterwards commuted their sentences into imprisonment in the castle of Spielberg. The King of Naples had not only put to death in 1827 a number of young men belonging to Boscotrecase, who raised a demand for a constitution, but had massacred many of the inhabitants and razed the village itself to the ground, effacing even its site by the plough. In the Papal States a coercive policy of the most oppressive character had been systematically carried out by Pius VII. and his successor, Leo XII. All civil offices were filled by ecclesiastics, and the most shocking cruelties were inflicted on all who ventured to express dissatisfaction with the tyrannical proceedings of the Papal Government. The Duke of Modena was alleged to be insane, and he certainly conducted himself like a madman; and it was in his little State that an insurrection first broke out at this time (3rd February, 1831). The movement was led by a young man named Ciro Menotti; but the insurgents were in the first instance defeated by the troops of the Duchy, and their leader was taken prisoner. The rising was more successful, however, in the Papal States. A Provisional Government was formed in Bologna, a city of 60,000 inhabitants; and this example was followed by all the principal towns in the Legations with such rapidity, that in the course of four days the Papal authority on the north of the Appenines was completely overthrown. Encouraged by this example, the Modenese again raised the tricolor, as did Reggio, and this renewed rising received such general support, that the duke with his family fled to Mantua, carrying along with him the insurgent leader, Menotti, whom he afterwards caused to be shot. The infection



of revolt spread to Parma, and the Duchess Marie Louisa, ex-empress of the French, withdrew to Piacenza. Lombardy was too completely under the iron heel of Austria to move. Tuscany was, on the whole, ruled with mildness and moderation, and the dissatisfaction of the Neapolitans had been allayed by the amnesty and the promise of reforms with which the new sovereign, Ferdinand II., had commenced his reign in 1830, so that the rousing appeals which the insurgents in the Legations and the Duchies addressed to the inhabitants of these provinces failed to stir up a revolt.

The fugitive rulers—the Pope, the Duke of Modena, and the Duchess of Parma (who was the daughter of the Austrian emperor)—at once implored assistance from the court of Vienna to enable them to suppress the rebellion which had expelled them from their thrones; and Austria was quite as ready to grant, as they were to ask, the required aid. The policy which had been proclaimed at Laybach by the Holy Alliance was still predominant at Vienna, and no changes in legislation or administration were regarded as lawful, except those which had originated with the sovereigns themselves. The Emperor Francis had massed nearly 100,000 soldiers in Lombardy, and he at once proposed to put his army in motion to suppress the insurrections in the Legations and the Duchies. But France was not prepared to regard with indifference this attempt on the part of Austria to interfere in a quarrel between the Italian rulers and their subjects; and the French ambassador at Vienna was instructed to inform the Imperial court that France would not permit an Austrian army to enter the Papal States. Europe was on the verge of a war in which the whole continent would have been involved; but at this critical juncture the Ministry of Lafitte resigned office, and Casimir Pèrier became Prime Minister of France. His policy in regard to Italy as well as to Belgium was pacific, and Sebastiani, his

Foreign Minister, had to explain that the declaration against the interference of Austria with the Italian States did not bind the French Government to make war in order to prevent it, and that France would not take any steps to hinder Austrian troops from marching into the revolted districts, provided that they did not prolong their occupation. The Austrian court thus relieved from the apprehension of French interposition, lost no time in marching a powerful army into the provinces which had thrown off the established authorities; and in the course of eight days they suppressed without bloodshed the insurrection, and restored the Pope and the rulers of Modena and Parma to their sovereignty. The troops then retired from the country in terms of the stipulation.

Though the Vatican was once more supreme throughout the Roman States, there was not much reason to expect that the new pontiff, Gregory XVI., who had succeeded to the Papal chair on the 2nd of February, 1831, would govern his subjects with greater wisdom and moderation than his predecessors; and the five Powers thought it necessary to recommend His Holiness to introduce important reforms into his administration—among which the admission of the laity to public offices, the establishment of municipal and provincial councils, and the regulation of the finances of the State on sound principles were prominent. The Pontiff agreed to make some modifications in the municipal institutions and several fiscal reforms, but these changes gave no satisfaction to the people; and no sooner had the Austrian troops withdrawn across the frontiers than the inhabitants of the Romagna once more took up arms. Fresh disturbances broke out in the Legations, and the people began to take the management of their affairs into their own hands, disregarding the authority of the Papal legates, and acknowledging little more than a nominal subjection to the Roman See.

The Pope, on the retirement of the



Austrians, had collected a body of 5000 or 6000 men, whom he employed to restore order. They attacked and defeated the insurgents at Casena, and then advancing to Forli, of which they obtained peaceable possession, they shot down a number of the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants who had assembled in the streets to witness their entrance into the town. This cruel and unjustifiable massacre so exasperated the people, that the assistance of the Austrian troops was once more solicited by the Pope; and, accordingly, towards the end of January, 1832, they again entered Bologna. Their presence was regarded by the citizens as a protection from the barbarities of the Papal soldiery.

The French Government, however, was not disposed to tolerate this reiterated interference of Austria in the affairs of the Italian States, and they at once resolved to despatch a man-of-war and two frigates, having on board a body of troops, to take possession of Ancona. The vessels came to an anchor off that town on the 22nd of February; and having without opposition effected a landing, they took possession of the citadel, hoisted the tricolor, and drove away the Papal troops. The Pontiff remonstrated vehemently against this aggression, but without effect. It was openly declared in the French Chamber of Deputies that the expedition had been intended 'as a counter-check to Austria, and to assert an equal right of interference.' The Pope was informed that the independence and integrity of his dominions would always be the basis of the French policy in Italy, but that 'high considerations' did not permit the immediate recall of the French troops. Finding all his remonstrances without effect, the Pontiff was fain to make a virtue of necessity and to intimate that he would acquiesce in the stay of the French troops as a matter of accommodation, and in order to show to the world his desire to preserve the general peace. It was stipulated, however, that the troops were to be withdrawn as soon as the Pope should be able to dispense with the

assistance of the Austrians. This arrangement, in the meantime, prevented the outbreak of hostilities between the two Powers; but it afforded a presage of the ultimate expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, and the union of all the states of the peninsula in one free and independent kingdom.

In no country of Europe could the French revolution have been expected to produce a greater effect than in Spain, for none stood in more need of political regeneration. But it excited much less sensation here than was expected. The Liberal party had been almost destroyed by the sword, the scaffold, the dungeon, and exile; and the Spanish refugees in France and other countries were without money or organization, and differed so widely among themselves that united and energetic action against the Government was hopeless. The Spanish Liberals, who had taken refuge in France, as soon as the Bourbon dynasty was overthrown, hastened to the frontiers for the purpose of exciting their countrymen to imitate the example of the French revolutionists. They succeeded in collecting at Bayonne a few hundreds of French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish sympathizers, but they had neither money, nor arms or ammunition, nor a commissariat. They had not even taken means to ascertain the state of feeling among their countrymen, or whether they were likely to obtain reinforcements in Spain. The disunion in their ranks was of itself sufficient to ruin their cause. General Mina was appointed Commander-in-chief, but a number of the subordinates refused to obey his orders. Colonel Valdez, one of those self-willed and turbulent officers, set out on his own account to invade the country, and crossed the frontier of Navarre at Urduch, at the head of a force of about 800 men. He speedily came in contact with a body of from 6000 to 8000 royal troops, and after a brief but stubborn conflict the refugees were driven back across the frontier. Mina, who was in the vicinity of the field, sent the greater part of his men to the assistance of Valdez,



and after many romantic and hairbreadth escapes he succeeded in making his way back into France.

The Carlist insurrection against King Ferdinand was a much more formidable affair. By the old laws of Spain females were included in the order of succession to the throne ; but in 1713 the Salic law was introduced by Philip V., limiting the succession to heirs male. Charles IV., however, re-established the ancient rule, but the Cortes in 1812 restored the Salic law. The infant Don Carlos was therefore at this time presumptive heir to the crown. Ferdinand's queen (his third) died in May 1829, and in November following he took for his fourth wife a Neapolitan princess, Christina Maria, his sister's daughter.\* She was about to make him for the first time a father, and in order to secure the crown to his own child, whether it should be male or female, Ferdinand resolved to revoke the Salic law, which excluded females from the throne. His design was kept so secret that it was first made known to the Carlists by the public proclamation of the decree, with the usual formalities, in the streets of Madrid. The partisans of Don Carlos were so indignant at the mode in which the claims of their chief had been set aside that, without waiting for the expected heir, they at once entered into rash and ill-concerted plots against the king and the Government, which were detected before they were ripe for execution. A number of the leaders of the Carlist party, including the Archbishop of Toledo and several other ecclesiastical dignitaries, along with some persons who had held important offices in the state, were banished the capital.

\* The marriages of this weak, cruel, and worthless despot were an outrage on morality and all right feeling. His first wife, a daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, was his cousin. His second wife, Isabella, daughter of John VI. of Portugal, was his niece, and her sister was his brother's wife. His third wife was Maria of Saxony. His fourth was his own niece, and, on her father's side, was niece to Ferdinand's first wife. Of course a Papal dispensation was necessary to legitimize these disgusting violations of the Canon law.

Ferdinand's precaution in removing the restrictions of the Salic law on the succession to the throne showed his foresight, for the infant born by his queen, on the 10th of October, was a daughter, who was named Isabella Maria Louise. In order to give additional security that the crown should descend to her, and not to his brother, Ferdinand summoned a meeting of the Cortes, before which the repeal of the Salic law was repeated and confirmed, and the Infanta Isabella recognized as Princess of Asturias. The country continued to be disturbed by the plots both of the Liberals and the Carlists. An insurrection, concerted by a band of refugees at Gibraltar, broke out at Cadiz in 1831, at the head of which was General Torrijas. But the insurgents received no assistance either from the populace or the garrison ; and their leader, with fifty-three of his followers, fled to Malaga, where they were taken prisoners and all put to death in cold blood. In the month of September, 1832, Ferdinand was seized with a dangerous illness, and was apparently dying. The Carlists urged their master to take advantage of his brother's condition, and at once to seize the crown. But a less dangerous plan was adopted to restore his claims. The priests, and their coadjutors in the Ministry who surrounded the king's sick-bed, prevailed upon him, at what seemed his last hour, to disinherit his daughter and give his assent to a decree re-enacting the Salic law. But after he had been for some time in a state of unconsciousness, the disease unexpectedly and at once took a favourable turn, and a partial and temporary recovery took place. The young queen found no difficulty in exciting the indignation of her feeble and facile husband against the men who had taken advantage of his bodily and mental weakness, when he was apparently in the agonies of death. The Ministry were immediately dismissed, and their chief was imprisoned in a fortress. The queen was appointed Regent during the illness of the king. A new Ministry



was formed by her, composed of moderate Liberals, at the head of which was placed M. Zea Bermudez, who was recalled from the London embassy for the purpose. The Universities, which had been closed by their ultra-absolutist predecessors, were opened by a decree which dilated in strong terms on 'the ignorance that like a disease had spread so extensively throughout all classes of the nation.' A general amnesty was also proclaimed for past political offences; and the Liberals who had been compelled to flee the country were now allowed to return, and to resume possession of their property as well as the exercise of their professions. And on the last day of the year, Ferdinand issued a decree formally recalling the ordinance by which he had restored the law of Philip V., excluding females from the succession, and declared that it had been extorted from him not only when immediate decease was expected, but by false representations that it was demanded by the whole Spanish nation, and was necessary to preserve the inviolability of the monarchy, whereas it had only been desired by an ambitious and unscrupulous faction, and was opposed to the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The Liberal policy, thus inaugurated through the influence of the queen, gave the utmost satisfaction to the great body of the people, and such stability to the Government that in Madrid itself the Spanish funds rose ten per cent.

While Spain had thus at last obtained at least partial relief from arbitrary and despotic government and priestly thralldom, affairs in Portugal had gone from bad to worse under the sway of Don Miguel. By a series of acts displaying almost incredible folly, injustice, and cruelty, he had rendered himself odious and contemptible in the eyes of all Europe, as well as of the people who were unhappily subjected to his tyranny. In the year 1830 it was asserted that no fewer than 40,000 persons were under arrest in Lisbon for alleged political offences, while 5000 more were in hiding in different parts of the country. The dungeons of the capital

were crowded almost to suffocation by citizens, many of them of good position in society, who had become the objects of the tyrant's suspicion, but against whom no formal charge was made, and whose urgent demands for a trial before the legal tribunals were obstinately refused. The persons confined in the loathsome dungeon of St. Julian, under the charge of a jailer after Don Miguel's own heart, were lodged in dark, damp, subterranean cells, exposed to rain and all weathers. Fresh air was admitted to these dens only through the fissures of the door, to which the wretched inmates in turn applied their mouths. Salt water was repeatedly given them to drink; their provisions, frequently in a state of corruption, had gravel and dirt purposely mingled with them to render them unfit for food. Sick prisoners were subjected by the governor to solitary confinement for twenty-four and sometimes for forty-eight hours in total darkness, in damp dungeons filled with vermin, and without a bed or water or even food. The treatment received by these miserable victims of tyranny was formally brought under the notice of Don Miguel, but without the slightest effect. The death of his mother, who was justly regarded as the instigator of his cruelties, failed to produce any mitigation of the sufferings endured by the inmates of the Lisbon dungeons; and the transportation of others, guiltless of any crime and not even accused of any offence, to the pestilential shores of Africa continued without intermission. Magistrates, members of the Cortes, and other persons of good families and the most respectable character, were shipped off for Angola, chained in company with the most abandoned ruffians, robbers, and assassins; and after enduring the horrors of a slave ship in the middle passage, the survivors were condemned to the same punishment with those criminals.

The impunity with which Don Miguel was allowed to perpetrate such barbarities on his own countrymen emboldened him to commit lawless outrages on British



subjects. Vessels were seized under the pretext that they intended to break the blockade of Terceira, and their crews were subjected to the most cruel and unmanly treatment. The houses of British residents in Lisbon were forcibly entered during the night, and their inmates thrown into prison without any cause assigned, and in one instance ostensibly by the express order of Don Miguel himself. Reparation for these and other similar cases of maltreatment were repeatedly demanded, but in vain. The Portuguese ministers were loud in their expressions of regret for those untoward occurrences; but no punishment was inflicted on the perpetrators, and no means adopted to prevent the repetition of such excesses. At length Mr. Hoppner, the Consul-General at Lisbon, assured the British Ministry that 'so long as the authorities of this country are permitted to entertain the conviction that His Majesty's Government will be appeased by the mere protestations of their regret for acts which are unparalleled among any other people pretending to civilization, neither the persons nor the property of British subjects can be considered as secure in this country, nor must we be surprised if not a week passes without a repetition of similar insults.'

On receiving this communication the Government instructed the Consul-General to demand within ten days the formal dismissal from the public service of the commander of the frigate who had maltreated the crew and passengers of the *St. Helena* packet, and of the magistrates who had violated the privileges and forcibly entered the houses of British residents in Lisbon. He was also to require that adequate compensation should be given to the individuals who had been subjected to these outrages; that the illegal exaction of excessive duties on the importation of articles of British manufacture should immediately cease; that a positive engagement should be given that the rights of British subjects should henceforth be duly

and strictly observed; and that the dismissal of the offending officials, along with the reasons for their disgrace, should be notified in the *Lisbon Gazette*. A squadron of six British ships of war cruised off the mouth of the Tagus while Don Miguel and his ministers were deliberating what reply should be sent to the requirements of the British Government; and they were informed by the Consul-General that if they should refuse to comply with these demands he was directed to quit Lisbon, and the squadron would forthwith carry into execution the instructions of the Lords of the Admiralty to detain and send to England all vessels bearing the Portuguese flag. Don Miguel, bully and ruffian as he had shown himself, was too well aware of the consequences which would follow a refusal of reparation for the outrages he had committed, to decline compliance with the demands of the British Ministry. Before the limited time allowed him for consideration had expired, every one of these demands was acceded to; and the *Lisbon Gazette* announced, on the 2nd of May, the dismissal of the whole of the obnoxious magistrates and officers for having been guilty of illegal and oppressive conduct towards British subjects.

Don Miguel, however, had not yet drained the cup of humiliation which his lawless outrages on the rights of other nations had filled and put to his lips. The French residents in Lisbon had received the same brutal treatment as the British at the hands of the Portuguese authorities. Monsieur Bonhomme, a French student at Coimbra, was accused of behaving in an indecent manner in the cathedral during Passion Week; and though the evidence was quite insufficient to sustain the charge, he was found guilty, condemned to be publicly whipped through the streets of Lisbon, and then transported for ten years to Angola. Monsieur Sauvinet, a French merchant seventy-six years of age, was charged with complicity in a conspiracy to excite an insurrection, the signal for which,



it was said, was to be given by a discharge of sky-rockets. The only evidence adduced in proof of this accusation, was the testimony of a serjeant, who affirmed that he had seen a rocket ascend from M. Sauvinet's garden. Other French subjects had been subjected to arbitrary imprisonment at Lisbon and Oporto. The French Government demanded 'an immediate and peremptory satisfaction' for these outrages. The demand was not only refused, but orders were issued that the sentence pronounced upon Monsieur Bonhomme should be immediately executed, and Don Miguel remarked that 'the French should have him, but with his back well flayed.' At the same time the cruel treatment of Monsieur Sauvinet was studiously and meanly aggravated. 'His food was carried to him in a bowl by a galley-slave, and thrust before him on the ground as if he were a dog; and he was allowed neither knife nor fork to eat it.' On the 15th of May a French squadron, consisting of two frigates and some smaller craft, appeared off the mouth of the Tagus and demanded the immediate liberation of Bonhomme and Sauvinet, the dismissal of the judges who had condemned Bonhomme, and compensation to these and the other French subjects who had suffered cruel and illegal treatment.

These demands were refused, and the French squadron immediately began reprisals on the Portuguese flag. Don Miguel, strange to say, had flattered himself with the hope that the British Government would protect him from the merited punishment which France was about to inflict upon him. He claimed the aid of that Government on the plea that as he was not at war with Britain, she was bound by treaty to defend him against all aggressors. Lord Palmerston, however, promptly rejected the application, and stated that, while perfectly aware of the obligations towards Portugal imposed by treaties, 'His Majesty's Government do not admit that the true meaning of these treaties can compel them blindly to take up any quarrel into which a Portuguese administration may, in its infatuation,

plunge its country, or to defend that administration, right or wrong, against all whom it may choose to injure or affront.' His lordship, however, was of opinion that the British Government would be bound to interpose their good offices according to the stipulations of the treaty, and it was only because they thought Don Miguel very much in the wrong, that they did not do so; and the heavy responsibility of all the calamities that may issue from a contest with a Power with which they are utterly unable to cope must be with those who now govern Portugal, despising all considerations of ordinary prudence, and neglecting and rejecting the counsels given them by their disinterested advisers.

The Portuguese usurper, however, with his characteristic perversity and stupid obstinacy, refused to follow Palmerston's advice to satisfy the French without delay, and persisted in his brutal treatment of Bonhomme and Sauvinet. The French squadron, in consequence, continued their captures of Portuguese vessels; at the same time causing it to be known through the prisoners whom they liberated, that they were making war against Don Miguel, and not against the people of Portugal. As the capture of Portuguese merchantmen, followed by the battering of a fort which had fired upon the French cruisers, produced no redress, the French Government resolved to adopt more energetic measures to enforce their claims. On the 6th of July the French squadron, which had been largely reinforced, and now had on board a considerable body of troops, took up a position at the mouth of the Tagus, and three days later the Commander, Admiral Roussin, sent in a flag of truce repeating the demands of his Government, and requiring in addition a pecuniary indemnity to cover the expenses of the expedition. Don Miguel was now willing to relieve the two French subjects, whom he had so brutally maltreated; but he still refused compliance with the other demands of France, proposing to treat for a settlement of these under the



mediation of England. On receiving this reply, Admiral Roussin, on the 11th of July, forced the entrance of the Tagus with little loss from the cannonading of the Portuguese forts which lined its banks, and anchored his squadron within gunshot of the royal palace. The vessels of Don Miguel at once surrendered without resistance, and were carried as prizes to Brest, and their master was then at last compelled to intimate his compliance with all the demands of the French Government.

This result gave much satisfaction to France and to the Liberal party in Britain, but was exceedingly distasteful to the English Tory party, who professed great indignation, mixed with a feeling of shame, when they learned that 'the tricolor flag was displayed under the walls of Lisbon.' But as Palmerston remarked, 'It would have been the height of injustice if we had turned round upon France and said, "You shall get no reparation for your injured subjects; we are lords paramount of Europe; we have a peculiar right to compel Portugal to satisfy us, and to prevent her from satisfying any one else; we consider Portugal as part of the dominions of England; we will allow her to insult all the rest of Europe but ourselves; and if you think of obtaining redress for your wrongs, you must prepare to meet an English fleet upon the ocean and an English army upon the field."' 'Faith and justice,' as Mackintosh observed, 'were indissolubly bound together' in the treaty between our country and Portugal. 'Were it otherwise, it would be a league between robbers, and not a defensive treaty between nations.'

Don Miguel, thus humbled to the dust by Great Britain and France, revenged himself after his manner by inflicting increased brutalities on the victims of his tyranny at home. A special commission was appointed at Lisbon, consisting of four judges and three military officers, to try all persons accused or suspected of sedition. The proceedings were to be 'summary and merely verbal, without the legal formalities of which

persons guilty of such execrable acts are unworthy,' and the sentences were to be executed within twenty-four hours after they were passed. The treatment which this tribunal meted out to the persons alleged to be guilty of seditious designs was revolting in the extreme. Even after death their bodies were treated with ignominy, and were ultimately burnt, and their ashes thrown into the Tagus. The dungeons were crowded with prisoners, and even on the public streets persons suspected of dissatisfaction with the existing arbitrary domination were attacked and beaten by ruffians who, there was good reason to believe, were in the employment of the police.

While Don Miguel, like other bullies and cowards, was thus cowering before the strong and tyrannizing over the weak, he was threatened by a danger from a new and formidable quarter. His elder brother, Don Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, who had resigned his South American crown in favour of his son, returned to Europe in the end of May, 1831, when the French fleet was blockading the Tagus, bringing with him his daughter, Donna Maria, who was by right Queen of Portugal. Indeed, it was only as Regent during her minority that Don Miguel had first obtained the power which he employed to usurp the government of the country. After issuing from Terceira a decree in favour of his daughter, Don Pedro proceeded to France, where he was received in the most friendly manner by the Government; and though no direct assistance was given him, he was permitted without hindrance to make preparations to vindicate his daughter's claims to the crown of Portugal. The British Government acted in a similar manner, and a great number of officers of both nations, as well as of British seamen, enlisted in Donna Maria's cause.

The news of Don Pedro's arrival in Europe made Don Miguel and his ministers redouble their cruelties, instead of trying to regain the confidence of the nation by



mildness and moderation. A system of espionage and persecution now extended throughout the whole kingdom, and not a few even of the most loyal subjects were consigned to the overcrowded dungeons of the capital on mere suspicion, or the denunciations of common informers or personal enemies. These atrocities, of course, only increased the general dissatisfaction, and at length even the military were alienated from the Government. On the 21st of August, a regiment of the line quartered at Lisbon mutinied, and declared for Donna Maria. A sharp encounter took place between the mutineers and an overpowering force of the royalist troops, which led to a heavy loss of life on both sides, and terminated in the defeat of the insurgents. But this success only renewed and increased the brutal outrages of the Miguelite troops. All who were suspected of adherence to Don Pedro were treated as rebels, and the fortresses and state prisons were crowded with persons guiltless of any crime. The English and French resident merchants, and even the officers of the British ships of war in the Tagus, were attacked by the armed volunteers who were enlisted to support Don Miguel. The British Government insisted that the perpetrators of these unprovoked outrages should not go unpunished. As the Portuguese authorities professed their inability to do so, the commander of the British squadron in the Tagus was obliged to station two of his vessels off the quarters of the city which were threatened by these ruffians, who were encouraged rather than repressed by the police; and the British Ministry, on receiving information respecting the state of anarchy existing in Portugal, sent additional ships of war to the Tagus and the Douro, for the protection of the British residents.

Meanwhile Don Pedro was busily engaged in organizing an expedition on the shores of France; 3000 British volunteers enlisted in his service, including several officers of the royal navy. Four vessels,

laden with troops and warlike stores for his equipment, were permitted to sail from the Thames without hindrance. Captain Sartorius, an officer of the Royal Navy, was appointed commander of the fleet. His name was removed from the Navy List, but the Government exhibited no other indication of their disapproval of the enterprise.

Belleisle, a small island near the mouth of the Loire, was the appointed place of rendezvous. Thence the expedition proceeded to Terceira, which had throughout remained faithful to Donna Maria. The Regency which governed the island in her name had recently captured St. George, another island of the Azores, and had followed up this success by an expedition, commanded by Villa Flor (who, with the Marquis of Palmella and Councillor Guerreiro, constituted the Regency), against St. Michael, which was garrisoned by 3000 men. The Miguelite force made a vigorous resistance, but were completely defeated; and in the course of three days the whole island submitted to the invaders.

Some months elapsed before Don Pedro was prepared to undertake an attack upon his brother's Government in Portugal; but at last he sailed from St. Michael on the 27th of June, 1832. The expedition consisted of two frigates, three corvettes, three armed brigs, and four schooners, besides transports and a number of gunboats to cover the landing. The fleet had on board an army of about 10,000 men, of whom about 1500 consisted of French and British volunteers. They were scantily provided with cavalry and artillery, but appear to have been well equipped in other respects. The point at which a landing was to be attempted was carefully concealed, and in consequence Don Miguel, though fully aware of the intended invasion, could not take any effective measures to prevent the disembarkation of the invading forces.

At length, on the 8th of July, Don Pedro's fleet appeared off the Douro, and a landing was at once effected without oppo-



sition, a little to the northward of that river. Next morning the troops advanced upon Oporto, and took possession of that city, the second in the kingdom, in the course of the day, without the loss of a single man. The small force which Don Miguel had stationed in the neighbourhood was too weak to offer any opposition, and retreated towards Lisbon.

While the invaders were completing their arrangements for maintaining the important position which they had so easily gained, Don Miguel on his part was preparing to attack them. His troops menaced Oporto from two points. An encounter took place on the 18th of July, and another on the 22nd, in both of which the Miguelites were worsted and driven back. The results, however, were not of a decisive character, and the attacks which the Constitutionalists in turn made upon the positions of their opponents failed of success. The country, meanwhile, continued indifferent to the struggle; and either through ignorance and apathy, or the influence of the priesthood, who to a man were the partisans of Don Miguel, the great body of the people showed no desire to promote the interests of Donna Maria.

The operations of the naval squadron were of the same undecided character. Admiral Sartorius, as soon as Oporto had been occupied by the land forces, put to sea with a part of his ships, and on the 3rd of August came in contact with the fleet of Don Miguel, which he discovered to be superior in strength; and after two or three broadsides had been exchanged, having the weather-gage, he sheered off. Another partial engagement took place on the 10th between the two fleets, but no advantage was gained on either side. The hostile fleets encountered a third time shortly after near Vigo. The engagement lasted four hours, and a great deal of damage was inflicted on the vessels in both squadrons, and a considerable number of their crews were killed and wounded. Both sides, as usual, claimed the victory.

Don Pedro remained some months in Oporto, occupying himself in strengthening the fortifications of the city, while Don Miguel was actively engaged in preparations to drive him from that position. He had succeeded in largely increasing both the number of his troops and the strength of his artillery; and on the 8th of September, after a stubborn contest, they made themselves masters of the suburb of Villa Nova, from which they kept up a harassing fire upon the city, and made reiterated, though not successful, assaults on the convent of Serra, which overlooked that suburb. On the other hand, the attempts of the Constitutionalists to drive the Miguelites from Villa Nova were equally unsuccessful. On the 29th of September a general attack was made by the latter on all the works round Oporto, which lasted for seven hours, and was attended with great loss of life on both sides, especially on the part of the French and British battalions. Don Pedro claimed the victory, but his assailants were allowed to retreat without molestation to their former positions. On the 13th of October another furious attack was made upon the Serra, but the Miguelites after suffering heavy losses were forced to retire within their lines. Finding that he was unable to carry Oporto by storm, Don Miguel resolved to cut off all supplies from the city. The positions occupied by his army already prevented the Constitutionalists from receiving provisions and forage from the interior, and a vigorous effort was now made to close the mouth of the Douro by the erection of batteries along the south shore. The attempt was only partially successful, but it had the effect of reducing both the troops and the citizens to great straits. At the close of the year matters remained in this unsatisfactory and unpromising state. Don Pedro had made no progress in persuading the Portuguese nation to take up arms in his daughter's cause, or in ejecting his brother from the throne which he had usurped. He had not only been unable to advance beyond the



position which he had first occupied, but he found himself blockaded by a superior force, and hemmed in by the works which they had erected, his supplies cut off, and his troops diminished in number, badly clothed, and scantily fed—suffering under the deficiency of military equipments, and their pay largely in arrears. There was at this time little prospect that the tide would turn in his favour, and that his enterprise would ultimately be crowned with complete success.

It remains only to notice the results of the revolution of 1830 in France itself, as regards its internal tranquillity and prosperity, and its relations with other countries. For a while the new king and the royal family were popular, and the people apparently contented. But the stagnation of trade, commercial depression, and distress among the working classes, which unfortunately existed at this time, soon began to produce uneasiness and discontent, and led to disturbances and riots in the capital and other large towns. The plots and seditious movements which occurred at brief intervals kept the Government in continual anxiety. The first cabinet of Louis Philippe was formed by a coalition of three parties; the Duke de Broglie being President of the Council, with Dupont de l'Eure, Gerard, Molè, Sebastiani, Louis, Guizot, Lafitte, Pèrier, Dupin, Ainè, and Bignon as his colleagues. His Ministry was soon torn by dissensions, and was dissolved about the end of October, 1830, during the trial of the ex-ministers in consequence of a dispute respecting the dismissal of Odillon Barrot, Prefect of the Seine. Lafitte, the eminent Parisian banker, was made President of the Council in the new Cabinet, Soult became Minister of War, and Sebastiani of Foreign Affairs. The declaration of the Prime Minister that the Cabinet was unanimously of opinion that liberty should be accompanied by order, and that the inflexible execution of the laws was indispensable, made the Parisians aware that no further concessions would be made to the demands

of the revolutionary party. The public finances were in a most unsatisfactory state, and a great fall took place in the funds. At the same time the public expenditure was largely increased, in consequence of the addition which had been made to the national army owing to the hostile attitude of the three northern Powers towards France, and the complication of affairs in Belgium. The Republican party in the Chamber of Deputies clamoured loudly for the immediate union of that country to France; and though the Cabinet, supported by the majority of the Chamber, repudiated the proposal, there can be no doubt that some of the Ministers were inclined to look upon it with favour, and would have actively promoted the scheme, but for the resolute opposition of the British Government.

The budget of 1831 made public the unsatisfactory financial condition of the country. The floating debt, for which it was necessary to provide, amounted to £58,500,000, being an increase of nearly £20,000,000 on the budget of 1815. Taking into account every source of revenue which the country possessed or the Ministry could suggest, there still remained a deficit of £8,450,000 to be provided for by loan, or carried forward as a floating debt. To increase the perplexities of the Government, commerce was at a stand still, manufactures were in the lowest state of depression, and vast numbers of unemployed and starving operatives crowded the streets and clamoured for bread. The populace interrupted a funeral service in memory of the Duke de Berri, held on the 14th of February, the anniversary of his murder; pillaged and demolished the church, the house of the priest, and the palace of the archbishop; and also attacked religious edifices in other towns. When explanations were asked in the Chamber of Deputies respecting these outrages, the Minister of the Interior, the Prefect of the Seine, and the Prefect of Police, indulged in mutual recriminations, which served only to dis-



play the feebleness and want of union in the Ministry, and led to their speedy downfall. It was felt by all the respectable classes of society that a strong Government was necessary in the critical position of the country. The Lafitte Cabinet resigned, and on the 13th of March, 1831, Casimir Pèrier became Prime Minister of France.

The new President of the Council was distinguished both for his firmness and his moderation, and his colleagues were equally determined to resist the dictation of the mob at home and aggressive war abroad. His weak and vacillating predecessor had allowed his intriguing war minister, Sebastiani, to counteract the efforts of Talleyrand to maintain amicable relations with England, and to settle the Belgian question on an equitable and judicious basis. But though that minister was still allowed to retain the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, the policy of the Cabinet underwent an entire change. The new Prime Minister, on his accession to office, publicly declared that he entered the Cabinet as a minister 'of resistance.' 'The revolution of July,' he said, 'was founded on a principle, not of insurrection, but of legitimate resistance to the oppression of power; it had only changed the political system, but had not destroyed social order; it had founded a Government, not inaugurated anarchy. France required from her Government that order be maintained, that the laws be executed, and that authority be respected. Order is the chief of all our wants. The maintenance of tranquillity is the maintenance of liberty. All sedition is a crime, under whatsoever flag it is arrayed; any act of violence is the beginning of anarchy. We shall propose to you laws to repress sedition and violence.' In regard to foreign affairs, he said, 'No Power had a right to interfere by force of arms in the internal affairs of other nations, but France was prepared to interfere wherever that principle was not respected. He was prepared to sustain the principle of non-intervention by negotiation, but the safety or the honour of France ought alone

to call upon them to take up arms. The blood of Frenchmen belongs alone to France. As to the nations of Europe who wished to emancipate themselves from a tyrannical yoke, their destinies were in their own hands; liberty ought always to be a self-created privilege of home growth.

The revolutionary party were, of course, very much dissatisfied with this explicit declaration, that the new Ministry would maintain order at home and non-intervention in the affairs of other countries. But it gave great satisfaction abroad, and especially to the British Ministry, who had been seriously annoyed by the intrigues of Sebastiani, the organ of the aggressive party in France. That Minister found himself placed in a very awkward position when Lafayette questioned him in the Chamber of Deputies whether he had not declared that the French Government would never consent to the Austrian troops suppressing the Italian insurrections. 'Between not consenting and making war,' was his reply, 'there is a great difference.' 'And I,' said Lafayette, 'aver that after an official declaration, such special pleading as this is unworthy the dignity and honour of the French people.'

The Chamber of Deputies was prorogued on the 20th of April, and dissolved on the 3rd of May. On the 23rd of July the session of the new Chamber was opened by the king in a speech which bore the impress of the firmness and good sense of the Prime Minister. The intervention in the case of the French residents in Portugal had contributed somewhat to strengthen the Government; but it was still by no means stable, and a combination of disappointed and dissatisfied deputies threatened its existence. A trial of strength took place on the choice of the President of the new Chamber. The Opposition candidate was Lafitte, the Ministerial, Girod de l'Ain—a somewhat unfortunate choice, as he had hitherto filled only the subordinate office of prefect of the Parisian police. Pèrier staked the existence of his Ministry on the



election of his candidate, and declared that he would resign if Lafitte should be chosen by the Chamber. But notwithstanding, Girod de l'Ain obtained a majority of only four votes. Pèrier was so much mortified at this result, that along with his colleagues, Sebastiani, Louis, and Montalevet, he immediately resigned. The king was thus placed in a state of great perplexity; but while efforts were being made to form a new ministry, intelligence was received that the King of Holland had commenced hostilities against Belgium, and the situation of affairs appeared so critical, that Pèrier and his three colleagues were induced to recall their resignations, and an army of 50,000 men, under Marshal Girard, was despatched with all speed to interpose between the combatants in the Netherlands.

This prompt interposition in behalf of the Belgians contributed not a little to strengthen the Ministry; but they were made aware in a very striking manner, that the Chamber of Deputies did not approve of their refusal to assist the Poles in their death-struggle with the colossal power of Russia. When General Lamarque exclaimed, during the discussion on this subject, 'Let us save Poland,' the whole Assembly rose like one man. The terms employed by Sebastiani to describe the fall of the capital of Poland—'Order reigns at Warsaw'—gave deep offence to the moderate royalists, as well as to the republicans; and a duel, fortunately harmless, which took place between that Minister and General Lamarque, to whom he publicly gave the lie, did not tend to raise him in general estimation. Still, notwithstanding this untoward occurrence, the Ministry continued to gain strength; and while Pèrier's non-intervention policy gained him the confidence of the foreign Governments, the services which France rendered to Belgium in the siege and capture of Antwerp, together with the expedition to Ancona, gave stability to his administration at home. But notwithstanding, a series of plots and street riots kept the Government in a con-

tinual state of apprehension and anxiety. At one time there were risings of workmen, in consequence of the want of employment and the pinchings of hunger. At another the tranquillity of the country was disturbed by the conspiracies of the Bonapartists. The Society of the Friends of the People kept up the general excitement by disseminating publications advocating the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic; then violent collisions took place between the public authorities and the Legitimists at Toulouse, Marseilles, and other towns. Bands of Chouans and Vendéans traversed the western departments, committing all kinds of excesses on the supporters of the existing dynasty; so that it required all the firmness and energy of the Prime Minister to repress disorder at home and to maintain peace abroad.

The most important question of the session, as regarded domestic affairs, was the abolition of a hereditary peerage. At the recent general election, a strong feeling was exhibited against all hereditary privileges of every kind, and a great majority of the Deputies had declared themselves in favour of their abolition. The Prime Minister himself was friendly to a hereditary peerage; but the public feeling was so strong on the other side, that he was forced to yield to its pressure. The Government accordingly submitted to the Lower Chamber a proposal that the hereditary peerage should be abolished, and on the 18th of October the bill was carried by a majority of 316 to 40 votes. It was ascertained, however, that a majority of the members of the Upper Chamber were hostile to the ministerial project, and it was found necessary to make a new creation of peers (20th November, 1831), to the number of thirty-six, in order to carry it. Even after this step had been taken, there was only a majority of thirty-three in its favour. This measure was followed by a bill banishing from France all the members of the elder branch of the Bourbon family and their descendants, and



along with them all the kindred of Napoleon were excluded from the kingdom.

The progress of order and good government in the country was unfortunately arrested by the lamented death of the Prime Minister. The cholera made its appearance in Paris in the month of March, and excited such alarm that, in order to allay the panic, Louis Philippe paid a visit on the 2nd of April to the cholera patients lying in the Hôtel Dieu. He was accompanied by Casimir Pèrier, and four days later the Minister was seized with this fatal malady. His constitution, weakened by the toils and cares of office, and the excitement of the debates in the Chamber, was unable to resist the attack. He lingered, however, for several weeks, but died on the 16th of May, causing an irreparable loss to the Government and the country. He had by his firmness and resolution resisted the progress of anarchy in France, established social order on a firm basis, and preserved peace abroad. He had strictly followed the principles of the Constitution, and had governed the country by the Chambers only, resisting alike the intermeddling of the king and the dictation of the mob. His death created a blank in the Ministry, which it was impossible adequately to fill up.

The enemies of the Government availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the removal of the firm hand of the Premier, to make a vigorous effort for the overthrow, not only of the Ministry, but of the existing monarchy. A conspiracy was formed by a combination of Republicans and Carlists to attack the Tuileries on the 1st of February, when a ball was to be held there; and it was alleged that it was their intention to assassinate the king, as well as to overturn the Government. The plot was fortunately discovered by the police, and the whole body of conspirators were arrested at the moment when they were preparing to rise in arms. A commotion, not arising, however, from political causes, broke out at this time in Grenoble, which the mili-

tary had to be called in to suppress. In the department of La Vendée, and some of the neighbouring districts of the west, bands of the Legitimists traversed the country, collecting money and weapons, declaring in public proclamations that they did not recognize Louis Philippe as their lawful sovereign, and warning the people not to pay taxes to his Government. At this period, too, the Opposition issued the famous manifesto, entitled the 'Compte Rendu,' signed by 140 Deputies. It accused the Ministers of having violated their promises, adopted coercive measures against the liberal party, given way before hostile monarchs, sown division among the National Guards, and fettered the press by their prosecutions, and of having been guilty of many other political crimes and misdemeanours.

In the meantime the movements of the Legitimists in the south and west of the country were becoming more alarming; and preparations were evidently making by them for a general rising. An insurrection broke out prematurely at Marseilles on the 30th of April, but was so badly arranged and managed that it was quelled without difficulty. At this juncture the Duchess de Berri, who had for some time been residing in the states of the Duke of Modena, landed in the bay of Ciotat, between Marseilles and Toulon, accompanied by Marshal Bourmont, and made her way across the country into La Vendée. As soon as her arrival in that district was ascertained, a royal ordinance was issued on the 3rd of June, placing under martial law the four departments of Maine and Loire, La Vendée, Loire Inférieure, and Deux Sevres. Two days later it became necessary, in consequence of a dangerous insurrection, to place Paris itself in a state of siege. General Lamarque, an old soldier of the empire, who on the downfall of Napoleon had become a violent republican, died of cholera, and his funeral obsequies were performed on the 5th of June. The Government had been warned that the



republican party intended to avail themselves of the opportunity to rise in arms, and numerous detachments of troops had been posted on the route which the funeral car was to take. An immense multitude assembled in the streets, and alarming symptoms of an intended outbreak speedily became apparent. On the Place de la Bastille funeral orations of a highly inflammatory nature were delivered. General Lafayette, who was present, earnestly recommended the crowd to return quietly to their homes; but on the conclusion of his address, when he had been carried off in triumph by his friends, the multitude who surrounded the hearse raised the cry, 'To the Pantheon! To the Pantheon!' and at the same time a red flag was displayed bearing the inscription, 'Liberty or Death.' A body of cavalry who were brought up at this instant were fired on by the mob, and several of the men and horses were wounded. They were at length compelled in self-defence to discharge their carbines, and ultimately succeeded in expelling the rabble from the Square. The troops then proceeded by repeated charges to sweep the line of the Boulevards, and the thoroughfare through the Faubourg St. Antoine. But the insurgents had prepared for such a movement by erecting barricades, formed of waggons and other vehicles filled with stones taken from the pavement, across the narrow streets which open on the Boulevards and on the wider thoroughfares. They also succeeded in disarming or driving out the soldiers stationed in the isolated military posts in that neighbourhood. The troops were now compelled to fall back until reinforcements and artillery could be obtained from the barracks in the vicinity of the city, and the National Guard could be called out. An express was also sent to St. Cloud, where the king was residing, to make him aware that his crown was in danger.

The insurgents availed themselves of the temporary withdrawal of the troops from immediate conflict to extend their move-

ments, and to push forward and strengthen their positions on both banks of the Seine. They had in fact obtained possession of one half of the city, and had strongly barricaded the avenues by which their posts could be approached and assailed. About three o'clock in the morning the troops, assisted by the National Guards, having arranged their movements, made a simultaneous attack on the positions held by the insurgents. They offered a stubborn resistance, and the conflict was kept up for four or five hours with great spirit. At length the soldiers succeeded in carrying the barricades, and the insurgents took to flight in all directions. The loss of life in this miserable internecine contest was considerable on both sides. The troops had fifty-five men killed and 240 wounded. Of the National Guard, eighteen were killed and 104 wounded; and of the insurgents it was estimated that ninety-three were killed and 291 wounded; but the full amount of their losses was probably not made known.

On the morning of the 7th a royal ordinance was published proclaiming Paris in a state of siege. Numerous arrests were made, not only of persons charged with taking part in the insurrection, but of editors of the public journals and members of the Chamber of Deputies; and during the night of the 6th the agents of the police seized the printing presses of the republican newspapers in order to prevent the publication of articles hostile to the proceedings of the Government in regard to the insurrection. This was clearly an illegal step, as martial law was not proclaimed till several hours later. A number of the most eminent lawyers, with M. Mauguin at their head, published an opinion declaring that the ordinance itself was illegal, as it proceeded solely on the authority of the executive power; and that even if it were legal, it could have no retrospective effect.

The Government ordered all the persons accused of complicity in the late commotion



to be tried by courts-martial. The greater part of those brought to trial were acquitted; but one of them was sentenced to hard labour for twenty years, another to ten years' imprisonment; while a young painter, who was proved to have had in his possession the flag bearing the inscription, 'Liberty or Death,' and to have supplied the insurgents with ammunition, was condemned to death. But all the prisoners who were convicted appealed against their sentences on the ground that they had not been tried by a competent tribunal; and the Court of Cassation declared the proceedings illegal, and quashed all the sentences. On the following day a royal ordinance appeared in the *Moniteur*, declaring that the siege of Paris was raised and the ordinary law of the country restored. The persons accused were then brought before the Court of Assizes, and a few of them were found guilty and condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted by the king. The editors of the *Journal du Commerce*, the *Messager des Chambres*, and the *National* were prosecuted for publishing seditious articles; but in all the cases the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. A number of the pupils of the Polytechnic School had taken a prominent part in the insurrection, and the school was now closed by a royal ordinance and the scholars disbanded. The Veterinary School of Alfort received similar treatment; and one of the mayors of Paris was deprived of his office.

The presence of the Duchess de Berri in La Vendée kept that department and the adjoining districts in a state of commotion. The most eminent leaders of her party, Chateaubriand, the Duke of Fitz-James, and Hyde de Neuville, recommended her to withdraw from the contest and to quit France; but she persisted in remaining for the purpose of exciting an insurrection on behalf of her son, now a boy of twelve years of age. She had intended that an insurrection of the Legitimist party should take place on the 24th of May, but owing to the

remonstrances of her friends it was countermanded as premature and hopeless. Proclamations, however, were profusely scattered by her as Regent of France, exhorting the people to remain faithful to their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, and promising rewards and decorations to the army. Some partial risings took place in the beginning of June, in spite of the remonstrances of the most influential friends of the cause; but they led to no result, and were easily suppressed. M. Berryer the eminent advocate, the confidential counsel of Charles X. and his family, undertook a difficult and somewhat dangerous journey from Paris to La Vendée on purpose to persuade the Duchess to relinquish her plots and to leave France; but she continued immovable. On his return from this fruitless visit Berryer was very unwisely arrested at Nantes; and shortly after Chateaubriand, Fitz-James, and Hyde de Neuville were arrested in Paris. Berryer was brought to trial at Blois, on the 16th of October, on the charge of having instigated the Vendean conspiracy, tampered with the allegiance of Frenchmen, and endeavoured to enlist superior officers in the cause of Henry V. But the evidence adduced in support of these charges proved to be a mass of contradictions, impossibilities, and falsehoods; and the case not only broke down completely, but was most discreditable to the police and injurious to the Government. The crown counsel threw up the case in mingled shame and disgust, and the court acquitted M. Berryer of the charges brought against him.

Meanwhile the Duchess de Berri continued to lead a wandering and perilous life in the district most devoted to her cause; and in order to elude the vigilance of the police, she changed almost daily her abode and her disguise. There is reason to believe that the Government would gladly have connived at her escape, in order to avoid the embarrassment of not knowing how to deal with her if she were apprehended. But she persisted in remaining



in the country, having apparently become enamoured of the life of adventure which she was now leading. The police and other agents of the Government were on the alert in searching for her in all the districts which she was known to have visited, and she made many hairbreadth escapes from their hands. She at length quitted the rural districts for the town of Nantes, where she had repeatedly found refuge, and took up her residence in the house of two ladies of the name of Duguigny, staunch adherents of her cause. Here she was betrayed to the police on the 6th of November by one of her most trusted agents, a German Jew named Deutz, who while in Rome had been induced to exchange the Jewish for the Romish faith, and had in consequence gained the favour of the Pope and the Jesuits. He had frequently been employed by the Duchess in secret missions, which he had executed faithfully and successfully; but in the beginning of October he offered to the Minister of the Interior to betray his employer into the hands of the police, and was rewarded for his treachery with a large sum of money. The house which he pointed out as the place in which the Duchess was concealed, was surrounded by gendarmes during the whole of the 6th, and subjected to a most minute and careful search; but no person was found, and no place of concealment was discovered in it. In one of the apartments a fire had been kindled during the night by the gendarmes, but had been allowed to go out. It was rekindled in the morning; and at ten o'clock, when the authorities were about to give up the search in despair, voices were heard behind the fire-place, and the inmates of a secret recess who proved to be the Duchess and three companions, unable any longer to endure the heat, came forth from their hiding place and surrendered themselves. They had remained for fifteen hours in this confined hole till they were almost suffocated.

The Duchess was immediately conveyed

by sea to the castle of Blaye on the banks of the Gironde. Some months later, when the Government were considering how to dispose of her case, and were a good deal at a loss what course to take, she was found to be pregnant, and declared that she had been privately married in Italy to Count Hector Lucchesi Palli, a Neapolitan nobleman. On the 10th of May the Duchess was delivered of a daughter; and as soon as she was able to travel, the Government, having no longer any reason to fear her exertions on behalf of Henry V., caused her to be put on board a French frigate along with her infant and attendants, and conveyed to Palermo, where she joined her husband. In this unromantic manner terminated, after many strange adventures, the public career of the Duchess de Berri.

The legality and propriety of the course adopted by the Ministry in their treatment of the Duchess formed the subject of a keen discussion, both in the Chambers and the Press. The same party that had attacked them for detaining her, now censured the Ministers as severely for having released her. Soon after the arrest of the Duchess Chateaubriand published a pamphlet on the alleged illegality of her detention, in which, apostrophizing her, he used the words: 'Your son is our king.' The Ministry were so indignant at his conduct, that they very unwisely ordered the Viscount to be prosecuted for 'exciting hatred and contempt against the Ministry, for attacking the rights which the king holds from the will of the nation,' and for provoking the overthrow of the Government. The editors of no less than six journals were tried, along with Chateaubriand, for reporting a speech which he had made in reply to an address presented to him by the students of the university. They were all unanimously and unhesitatingly acquitted. So also were the two ladies in whose house the Duchess was apprehended. These prosecutions and their results did not tend to strengthen either the Government or the Ministry.

On the death of Casimir Pèrier the office



of President of the Council was for some time left vacant; and as the Ministry, deprived of their chief, were insignificant and weak, it became evident that Louis Philippe was resolved to make a vigorous effort to combine the office of sovereign with that of head of the Administration, and to govern as well as to reign. The attempt of the king to conduct the government by means of men without character or administrative ability, proved a failure, as might have been expected. Events soon revealed the incompetency of the persons whom he had placed at the helm of affairs, and the 'Ministry of transition,' as it was called, succumbed to the difficulties that gathered around it, with which it was manifestly unequal to cope. Marshal Soult became President of the Council, as well as Minister of War; M. de Broglie succeeded General Sebastiani as Minister for Foreign Affairs; Guizot became Minister of Public Instruction; Thiers, of the Interior; and Hermann of Finance. They were cordially supported by the great majority of the Chambers, and M. Dupin, their candidate for the office of President, was elected by a majority of 234 votes to 136 over his opponent Lafitte. Their proceedings in declaring Paris to be in a state of siege, and respecting various other matters, were attacked with great severity by the Opposition; but the Address was carried by a majority of 114—only 119 having supported the amendment, against 233 who voted for its rejection. Emboldened by this decisive victory the Cabinet commenced a series of aggressive measures against the public journals, which were carried on during the whole remainder of Louis Philippe's reign. Within three years of his accession to office the number of prosecutions of the press, on the part of the Government, amounted to 411. Out of this number they were successful in obtaining 143 convictions; but the security of the monarchy, and the peace and prosperity of the country, were certainly not promoted by these proceedings.

The cholera, whose ravages had been

experienced by both parties during the war between Poland and Russia, and had been peculiarly virulent at Vienna and St. Petersburg, and in Hungary, appeared at Paris about the end of March, 1832. It attracted little notice at first; but its ravages speedily became so frightful that the Parisians were seized with a universal panic, which no doubt contributed to spread the disease. The mortality rose to an alarming extent, and increased from an average of twenty deaths daily from the 27th of March till the 1st of April, to 861 on the 9th of that month. By the end of April upward of 17,000 persons had died of the disease in Paris alone, and its ravages throughout the country districts, to which it rapidly spread, were not much less fatal. It not only carried off great multitudes of the poor and needy and dissolute classes, but not a few also of persons in the higher ranks:—peers, members of the Chamber of Deputies, of the courts of justice, and of the diplomatic body—were amongst its victims. The Prime Minister himself, Casimir Pèrier, as we have seen, was stricken down by it, though his illness was more protracted than in ordinary cases. The alarm was universal, and Paris was deserted to such an extent that it was with difficulty a sufficient number of the members of the two Chambers could be collected to form a House and wind up the necessary business of the session. The populace in Paris, as in Hungary, took up the notion that the poisoning of their water and their wine was the cause of the pestilence; and under that impression they imitated the example of the Hungarians in perpetrating the most frightful excesses, and murdering in the streets obnoxious persons whom they chose to suspect to be poisoners.

This terrible disease made its appearance in Sunderland, as has been already mentioned, on the 26th of October, 1831, and had thence spread over the north of England, until it penetrated into Scotland about the close of the year. At Haddington, where it first broke out, nearly one half of the cases proved fatal, and at Musselburgh, within six miles



of Edinburgh, its ravages were peculiarly extensive and malignant. It did not reach the capital until about the end of January; but proper precautions on the most ample scale had been taken by the authorities, with the advice and active assistance of the whole medical school of that city, to ward off the disease and to lessen the virulence of its attacks. So effectual were the measures thus skilfully and energetically employed that in no place in the United Kingdom, taking into account the extent of the population, did the visitation pass off with fewer fatal results. Passing over the whole intervening district, cholera appeared all at once at the village of Kirkintilloch, about seven miles from Glasgow, from which it speedily penetrated to that great seat of manufacturing and commercial industry. Its attacks were naturally the object of great dread to the citizens of a town swarming with hordes of Irish, and other poor, squalid, and dissolute inhabitants; but though the cases were very numerous, the mortality was smaller than in many other places, amounting to only one in three. The disease was much more fatal in the manufacturing villages in the vicinity of Glasgow, and even in the Highland counties of Caithness and Sutherland. In no part of Scotland was it more virulent than in Dumfries, where, according to the official reports, out of 837 persons attacked by the pestilence, 421 died. But the real number of fatal cases was considerably larger than those reported to the authorities, and there is good reason to believe that the total amount was not less than 550.

In the beginning of February, 1832, this scourge showed itself in London; and as the whole country intervening between Newcastle or Sunderland and the capital remained unaffected, and the disease first appeared among the crews of vessels lying in the Thames, the probability is that the infection was carried by sea. As might have been expected from the character and condition of a large proportion of the inhabitants, and the state of their dwellings,

the mortality was very great in London—more than one half of the cases having terminated fatally. The Parliament, now that the plague was at their own doors, hastened to intrust the Privy Council with large powers to make regulations for arresting its progress. A central Board of Health was instituted in London, and similar boards and hospitals for the reception of the sick were authoritatively established in other parts of the country, and supported by local assessments.

Notwithstanding these judicious precautions, the pestilence soon extended itself to almost every part of the kingdom, and as might have been foreseen, it proved very fatal among the ill-fed, ill-clothed, and squalid population of Ireland. The ignorant and superstitious peasantry of that country had more faith in magical charms than in medical skill, and fancied that they had found a sovereign remedy for the disease in a holy turf, which was set on fire no one knew how. In the month of June, throughout the whole of the central counties of Ireland, messengers were seen running and riding, leaving a small piece of partially burned turf at every cabin, with the following recommendation—‘The plague has broken out; take this, and while it burns offer up seven Paters, three Aves, and a Credo in the name of God and of holy St. John, that the plague may be stopped.’ The messenger laid each house under an ‘obligation,’ as it was called, to kindle his piece of turf, set fire to seven other pieces, quench them, and run through the country to seven other houses where no turf had as yet been left, and to repeat in each the same injunction, under a penalty of falling a victim to the cholera himself. Men, women, and children were seen traversing the country in every direction, carrying pieces of this charmed turf, each contending for priority in reaching houses not yet visited. One peasant, residing in the Bog of Allen, had to run thirty miles in one day before he could finish his task. Various contradictory stories were



told respecting the origin of this 'holy turf,' but all agree that one piece was blessed by a priest and sent through its round in this manner among the peasantry. The extraordinary state of excitement thus produced, together with the belief that the charm would prove effectual, may not improbably have contributed somewhat to diminish the violence of the disease in the central districts of Ireland. But on the whole, the ravages of the plague were much less severe in the United Kingdom than in any other country which it had visited, and it gradually disappeared in the course of the autumn.

Apart from the ravages of the cholera, the year 1832 witnessed an extraordinary mortality among men of the highest standing in literature, science, law, divinity, and politics. Casimir Pèrier Prime Minister of France, Baron Cuvier the eminent naturalist, Sir James Mackintosh the historian and philosopher, Charles Butler the Roman Catholic controversialist, Miss Porter the novelist, the Duke of Reichstadt the ill-starred son of the first Napoleon, Dr. Adam Clarke the learned commentator, Sir John Leslie the distinguished author of the Essay on Heat and various other original scientific works, Lord Tenderden the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Spurzheim the celebrated phrenologist, and numerous other persons eminent for their rank, ability, or learning, passed away in the course of this year. But there were two men of transcendent genius, whose decease at this time attracted the notice of the whole world—Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Walter Scott. The former, who had attained the great age of eighty-three, is the object of almost idolatrous veneration among his countrymen. The Germans declare broadly and unequivocally, that Goethe created their literature and their speech, and that before him both were without value in the world-mart of the nations of Europe. 'There is a crowd of people in Germany,' says a distinguished French writer, 'who would discover genius in the

address of a letter directed by him.' The admiration for Goethe is a kind of freemasonry, the adepts in which are known to each other by catchwords. At the Shakespeare tri-centenary at Stratford, the spokesman of a German deputation said that he and his friends had come to do honour to 'the *second* greatest poet that ever lived; Goethe being the first.' Though no impartial person can concur in the extravagant eulogiums of his countrymen on Goethe's genius, it cannot be denied that he exercised a great influence on the age in which he lived, and that he occupies a high place, though not the highest, in the ranks of the immortals. He was a chief among the giants of literature; 'but he attained not to the first three.' The worshippers of the poet, in their blind admiration for his genius, have even attempted to conceal or extenuate his moral delinquencies, and the heartlessness and selfishness which characterized Goethe's intercourse through life with the female sex. He appears to have been constitutionally cold-hearted; and this defect in his character was increased by the injudicious coddling of his family in his youth, and the adulation and flattery of his admirers in his after years. He said of Balzac, that each of his best novels seemed dug out of a suffering woman's heart. Balzac might have returned the compliment. In reference to his early fondness for natural history, Goethe says, 'I remember that when a child I pulled flowers to pieces to see how the petals were inserted into the calyx, or even plucked birds to observe how the feathers were inserted into the wings.' Bettina remarked to Lord Houghton that Goethe treated women much in the same fashion. All his lovers, high and low, were subjected to this kind of vivisection. His powers of fascination were very remarkable, but were exercised purely for his own gratification; and when his passion cooled, or another object attracted his capricious fancy, he whistled the old love down the wind without the slightest scruple or compunction. Verily he had his reward, and might have



read his sin in his punishment through the domestic discomfort and discredit which he brought upon himself in his mature manhood and old age.

With at least equal genius, Sir Walter Scott's personal character, and especially his domestic life, presented a marked contrast to that of his great German contemporary. The 'Waverley Novels,' as they were called, have thrown Scott's poetry, fresh and picturesque as it is, somewhat into the shade. The fame of these immortal fictions rests not so much on their plots, which are frequently unskilful and defective, as on the creative and graphic power which they display in the invention and delineation of character, the life and vigour of the narrative, the unequalled brilliancy, ease, force, and felicity of the descriptions, and the deep and large insight into human nature exhibited by the author. The novels of Scott far surpass the literary productions even of his most eminent contemporaries, and are rivalled only by the dramas of Shakspeare in the endless variety of the original characters, scenes, historical incidents, and adventures which they present; though it must be admitted that Scott's historical portraits want the deep and subtle traits by which Shakspeare so wonderfully individualizes his characters. On the other hand, the *created* characters of Scott, which owe their existence to his own powerful imagination acting on his vast stores of accumulated knowledge, are drawn with at least equal vigour and distinctness, and

seem equally familiar to his readers—the highest triumph of genius to give to the fictitious the reality of the true.

The noble character of the great poet and novelist shone out with special lustre amid the clouds and darkness which overshadowed his closing years. Mainly through his over-trustful disposition rather than any fault of his own, he was involved in pecuniary embarrassments which would have crushed almost any other man. The case seemed to others desperate; not so to Scott himself. He would listen to no offers of composition with his creditors, though his obligations were incurred largely, not on his own account—he asked no discharge from them, but determined that they should be paid to the last farthing. His only demand was for time. He pledged himself to devote the whole labour of his subsequent life to the payment of their claims, and he fulfilled his pledge, though the effort cost him his life. Advanced in years and with failing health, lonely, deprived of his family all but his youngest daughter, bereaved by death of the sharer of his thoughts and counsels, this glorious old man kept firmly to his self-imposed task until it was completed. Every claim made upon him was paid in full; but when the goal was in sight his health gave way under the pressure of his Herculean labours. On the 21st of September he entered into his rest, and five days later was laid in the sepulchre of his ancestors in the old abbey of Dryburgh.



## CHAPTER IV.

Results of the New Elections—Opening of Parliament—Election of Speaker—Parties in the New Parliament—Unreasonable expectations from the Reform Bill—The Debate on the Address—State of Ireland—The Coercion Act—Stanley's vindication of the Measure—Bill for Reforming the Irish Church—Mr. Stanley appointed Colonial Secretary—The Question of Irish Tithes—Government defeated on the Malt Tax—The Assessed Taxes—Hobhouse defeated at Westminster—The Bank Charter—East India Company's Charter.

THE last unreformed Parliament was dissolved on the 3rd of December, 1832, and a new election speedily followed as the writs were to be returned on the 29th of January, 1833. It was admitted, even by the most strenuous opponents of the Reform Act, that the machinery of the measure worked much more smoothly than they had anticipated. The new plan of taking the votes at several polling places instead of only one, and the diminution of the time over which the polling might extend from fourteen days to two, greatly lessened the amount of rioting and drunkenness which used to prevail; and though there were tumults and riots in some populous places, such as Sheffield, Huddersfield, and Walsall, on the whole the elections were conducted in such a manner as showed that the great body of the new electors were well qualified to discharge the duties now for the first time intrusted to them. The result was pretty much what might have been anticipated. In by far the greater number of instances the contests terminated in favour of the Ministerial candidates, or of Reformers who were inclined to carry their principles further than the Government were at that time disposed to recommend. But most of the leaders of the Opposition retained their seats; or, in the cases where they had represented disfranchised burghs, were elected by other much more important constituencies. Mr. Alex. Baring, one of the most uncompromising opponents of the Reform Bill, who was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer if the Duke of Wellington had succeeded in forming a Government, was returned for the county of Essex, defeating Mr. Western, a zealous supporter of the Reform Act. Sir Richard Vyvian, one of the most extreme members of the Tory party, who had represented the disfranchised burgh of Okehampton, was placed at the head of the poll by the populous city of Bristol. Lord Sandon was re-elected as one of the members for Liverpool, at that time the second city in England. Lord Mahon, the historian, and Lord Ingestre, by the aid of Lord Salisbury's long purse Greville said, replaced Tom Duncombe, with his Liberal colleague, as representatives of Hertford; Sir Robert Peel was re-elected for Tamworth; Herries for Harwich; Hardinge for Launceston; Charles Wynn for Montgomeryshire; and Goulbourn for the University of Cambridge. The Universities of Oxford and Dublin also continued firm in their adherence to the Tory party. Sir John Walsh, who had written several pamphlets against the Reform Bill, was returned for the notoriously venal burgh of Sudbury. In the counties the influence of the great Tory nobles and landed proprietors secured a good many seats for their party. The Lowther interest, for example, was still supreme in Westmoreland, and gained one of the seats in West Cumberland. Two of the three members for Dorsetshire belonged to the Tory party, and generally the Chandos clause conferring the franchise on fifty pounds tenants at will, as might have been foreseen, greatly strengthened the influence of the Conservative landed proprietors. On the other hand Sir Charles Wetherell,



one of the most effective and amusing speakers of the Ultra-tory party, was defeated at Oxford. Sir Edward Sugden lost his seat at Cambridge. Sir George Murray, who had been Colonial Minister in the Duke of Wellington's administration, was defeated by Lord Ormelie in Perthshire; and Mr. Croker, Under-secretary to the Admiralty, was so disgusted at the passing of the Reform Bill that he refused to sit again in the House of Commons, and retired from public life.

As might have been expected, the leading members of the Government had no difficulty in retaining their seats. Lord Althorp was elected for South Northamptonshire, but with Mr. Cartwright, a staunch old Tory, for his colleague; Sir James Graham was returned for East Cumberland, and Lord John Russell for South Devonshire; Charles Grant for Inverness-shire; Lord Palmerston for Hampshire; and Mr. Stanley exchanged the burgh of Windsor for the northern division of Lancashire; Poulett Thomson, the new President of the Board of Trade, was chosen by the new constituency of Manchester. Thomas Attwood, the founder of the Political Union found an appropriate seat at Birmingham; Cobbett was defeated at Manchester, but he found a seat at Oldham; Hunt, the notorious demagogue, was rejected by Preston; Macaulay, after a severe contest, defeated Sadler at Leeds; and Lord-Advocate Jeffrey carried his election by a great majority for his native city of Edinburgh, with Mr. Abercromby as his colleague. The Radicals were especially successful in the metropolitan burghs, but several of the victorious candidates were men of high standing. Grote, the historian of Greece, headed the poll in London; Burdett and Hobhouse, in Westminster; Sir William Home, the Attorney General, obtained a seat in Marylebone; and William Brougham, the Chancellor's brother, was elected by Southwark; Mr. Joseph Pease, a member of the Society of Friends, was returned as one of the representatives of

South Durham. No member of that religious body had ever sat in the House of Commons; and it was referred to a committee to report on the laws and precedents bearing on the question whether a Quaker could be allowed to take his seat without taking the usual oath but on making his solemn affirmation. The committee reported in the affirmative, and on the motion of Mr. Charles Wynn, who acted as its chairman, the House unanimously agreed to admit Mr. Pease in the manner proposed by him. In Scotland out of fifty-three representatives, only ten belonged to the Tory party; but in Ireland, though there were few Tories returned, a considerable number of the members were by no means friendly to the Government. O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Union and his fierce denunciation of the Irish policy of the Ministry, had the effect of greatly increasing the number of his retainers. He himself carried his election for Dublin, and other four O'Connells were returned by Irish constituencies.

The new Parliament consisted of three parties. First the Ministerialists, who composed a large majority of the members, and had in their ranks politicians of a greatly diversified character, from Whigs who were almost Tories, and Liberals who were almost Radicals. Then came the Tories, who now for the first time assumed the designation of Conservatives; though greatly outnumbered by their opponents, they were still powerful from their large possessions, their rank, and their hereditary influence. The third party consisted of Radicals and Repealers, who were prepared to go great lengths at once in overturning or carrying through a radical reform of almost every existing institution civil or ecclesiastical, and who very speedily became a thorn in the side of the Ministry, annoying and thwarting them at every turn because Earl Grey and his colleagues declared their unwillingness to make a revolution every year. The most unreasonable and extravagant expectations



were formed as to the immediate effect of the bill which had just become law. It was regarded as a necessary consequence, that every grievance would be at once redressed and every evil cured. Another and much more extensive reform of the representative system was demanded. Church rates, tithes, and church establishments were to be immediately abolished; taxes reduced, food cheapened, and the wages of labour increased; public offices of all kinds diminished in number and in emoluments; the poor laws reformed; corn laws and game laws swept away; the House of Lords either demolished or its powers greatly modified. In short, every national institution was to be put upon its trial, and remodelled or destroyed as the popular feeling might dictate; and all this was to be done with the utmost possible expedition. The unreasonable hopes and wishes of the extreme party at this time were exposed and ridiculed by Sydney Smith in his usual felicitous style. 'All young ladies,' the witty Canon said, 'will imagine that they will be instantly married; school-boys believe that gerunds and supines will be abolished, and that currant tarts must ultimately come down in price; the corporal and sergeant are sure of double pay; bad poets will expect a demand for their epics; fools will be disappointed as they always are; reasonable men, who know what to expect, will find that a very serious good has been obtained.'

It is noteworthy that the great Tory leader in the House of Commons at once recognized and publicly acknowledged the change which the Reform Bill had made in the position of his party, and the necessity of their accommodating their policy to this altered state of affairs. 'He was for reforming every institution,' he said, 'that really required reform; but he was for doing it gradually, dispassionately, and deliberately, in order that the reform might be lasting. There were no means of governing this country but through the House of Commons; and

therefore he was determined to take his stand in defence of law and order from motives as truly independent as those by which any member of the most liberal opinions, and representing the largest constituency in the kingdom, was actuated.' This declaration, though not relished by the Tories of the Eldon and Wetherell school, gave great satisfaction to all moderate and cautious Reformers, while at the same time it intimated resolute opposition to the schemes of the Radicals and Repealers.

The Parliament was opened by commission on the 29th of January, and the first business of the new House of Commons was the election of a Speaker. Mr. Manners Sutton, eldest son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, had filled that office since the retirement of Abbot in 1817; but towards the close of the session of 1832 he had intimated his intention to retire from the chair, no doubt under the feeling that he could not be in sympathy with a House containing a great majority of members whose political opinions differed widely from his own. On receiving this announcement the House awarded Sutton, in return for his long service, a pension of £4000 a year; and it was expected that, as a matter of course, he would be raised to the peerage. This mark of royal favour, however, was withheld, and at the general election the late Speaker was returned as one of the members for the University of Cambridge, which he had for a good many years represented in Parliament. It soon after became known that the Ministry had not conferred a peerage on him, because they had obtained his consent to put him in nomination for the Speakership. They felt that in a House composed to so large an extent of new members, it would be of great importance to place in the chair a person of his long experience, and intimate knowledge of parliamentary forms and rules.

This proposal afforded the Radicals an opportunity of displaying their dissatisfaction with the policy of the Whigs, as well



as with the appointment of a Tory Speaker to preside over a reformed House of Commons. Joseph Hume, anticipating the nomination of Manners Sutton, at once proposed that Littleton, one of the members for Staffordshire, should be raised to the chair, on the ground that the political opinions of the Speaker should be in harmony with those of the majority who were to elect him. O'Connell, who seconded Hume's motion, in his characteristic manner denounced the proposal to appoint Sutton as 'another instance of the paltry truckling of the present Administration.' Although well aware that the contest was hopeless, they pressed the matter to a division in spite of Littleton's remonstrances; but they were only able to muster thirty-one votes for him, while 241 were given for Manners Sutton.

After the members had been sworn in, the king opened the session in person on the 5th of February. His speech showed that the Ministry were well aware of the laborious work that awaited them, and of the difficulties they would have to encounter. 'The approaching termination,' he said, 'of the charters of the Bank of England and of the East India Company will require a revision of these establishments.' Attention would also have to be given to the temporalities of the church, especially with regard to the collection of tithes, which had caused such bitter disputes as to show that a change of system had become necessary. The correction of the abuses of the Church, and a more equitable and judicious distribution of her revenues was also suggested; and a commutation of tithes in Ireland was earnestly recommended. The administration of justice and the local taxation of that country also required consideration. Particular attention was directed to the increased disturbances in Ireland; 'the spirit of insubordination and violence which had risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, and defying the authority of the law.' Additional powers were therefore to

be asked by the Government for 'controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries,' which was declared to be 'indissolubly connected with the peace, security, and welfare of the people.'

The address in reply to this speech led to a discussion in the House of Lords on Holland and Portugal, but no remarks appear to have been made there respecting Irish affairs. It was otherwise in the Commons. As soon as the address had been moved by Lord Ormelie, member for Perthshire, and seconded by Mr. Marshall, one of the members for the new borough of Leeds, O'Connell rose in great fury and denounced it as 'bloody, brutal, and unconstitutional.' The increase of crime in Ireland, he said, had been occasioned, not by agitation, but by misgovernment. Increase of crime had always followed increase of force. Never had there been such a persecuting government as the present. They had persecuted the press, the people, and even the priests; but they had done nothing to restore tranquillity to the country. He proceeded to complain bitterly of the magistracy, of the administration of justice by the bench, of the mode of appointing juries, of the grand jury system, of the bigotry and intolerance of the municipal corporations, and especially of the payment of tithes; and after denouncing the present Irish Secretary as the worst enemy of Ireland, O'Connell concluded his violent and acrimonious speech by moving an amendment that 'the House do now resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider of the address to His Majesty.'

Mr. Stanley replied to the furious attack of the Irish agitator with his usual ability and acerbity. He taunted O'Connell with shrinking from the discussion of that measure—repeal of the Union—which he had held out as the grand panacea for all the miseries of Ireland, and contended that the state of that country showed the necessity for some stronger measure than the



ordinary administration of the law. The record of the crimes perpetrated in Ireland at this time almost exceeded belief. In Kilkenny there had been during the last twelvemonths thirty-two murders and attempts at murder, thirty-four burnings of houses, 519 burglaries, thirty-six houghings of cattle, and 178 assaults of such a nature as to be attended with danger of loss of life. In Queen's County during the same period the number of murders was still greater—namely, sixty; of burglaries and nightly attacks on houses there had been 626, of malicious injuries to property 115, and of serious assaults on individuals 209. This list, formidable as it was, contained only the crimes of which notice had been given to the police, and these in fact constituted only a small portion of the offences really committed. So complete was the system of organization established by the midnight murderers and disturbers of the public peace, that their victims dared not complain. He had been willing to try the unaided powers of the law; the experiment had been tried, and it had proved to a demonstration that the law was inadequate. It was in point of fact a dead letter, inasmuch as no reliance could be placed on the moral courage of juries. It was almost impossible to find a jury who dared to convict a criminal connected with popular associations. If they did discharge their duty honestly, they did so under the threats of popular vengeance; their persons were marked, their houses perhaps burned, and their crops destroyed. At a trial at Kilkenny the jury were unable to agree on a verdict, and were in consequence dismissed. The names of the members who voted for a conviction were immediately printed in red on a placard headed 'Blood! Blood! Blood!' and they were forced to leave the country in order to save their lives. Even when juries were willing to do their duty and to convict the midnight incendiary or murderer, witnesses could not be induced to give the necessary evidence for the jury to act upon, though the guilt of the culprit

were as manifest as the sun at noon-day. In these circumstances, as Mr. Stanley argued with unanswerable force, it was hopeless to attempt to remedy grievances, unless the majesty of the law was in the first instance asserted. A Government to be loved must first be feared, and no Government could be said to be feared unless it possessed the means of protecting the lives and properties of the king's subjects.

The debate, which lasted for four nights, was continued by Colonel Davis, Roebuck, Althorp, Hume, Cobbett, Lytton Bulwer, Macaulay, Shiel, Sir Robert Peel, and others. Stanley, who had been the main object of the attacks of the Irish brigade, had some reason to complain of the want of support from his colleagues; but his official procedure was generously defended by Sir Robert Peel, who, as Greville said, made a most dexterous and judicious speech. 'I am afraid,' he said, 'of saying what I think of his conduct; for however impartial my testimony as a public man may be, I am afraid that my testimony might only increase the efforts to ruin his reputation. Mine, however, is the independent testimony of an independent public man; and I only withhold the eulogy, which I should otherwise bestow as his due upon the right hon. gentleman, lest it should increase the number of his enemies. I have heard the right hon. Secretary often taunted with his aristocratical bearing and demeanour. I rather think that I should hear fewer complaints on that head, if the right hon. gentleman were a less powerful opponent in debate.'

Supported by Peel and the great body of his followers, the Ministry carried their address by a majority of 428 votes to 40 over O'Connell's amendment—thirty-four of the minority being Irish Repealers. Another amendment proposed by Tennyson, the member for Lambeth, which promised to combine coercion with 'a close and deliberate investigation into the causes of the discontent, with the view of applying an effectual remedy,' was opposed by the



Government, because it did not declare an opinion upon the subject of the Union; and was rejected by 393 to 60. A third amendment, proposed by Cobbett, was supported by only 23 votes against 323.

It was evident to all candid and reflecting men, that no time must be lost in dealing with the reign of terror which was rapidly reducing Ireland to a state of anarchy and barbarism; and a bill for the suppression of disturbances in that unhappy country was introduced into the House of Lords by Earl Grey, and read a first time on the 15th of February. The statement of the Premier on bringing forward the bill was even more appalling than that of the Irish Secretary, and might indeed have been almost supposed to have been made to describe the outrages perpetrated at the instigation of the Land League in 1880 and 1881. The Whitefeet Pacifists and other emissaries of secret societies did not, as had been pretended, merely proceed against tithes; 'they prescribed the terms on which land should be let, and any who disobeyed these orders were subject to have their property destroyed or to be put to death. They dictated what persons should be employed; forbidding labourers to work for obnoxious masters, and preventing a master from employing such as were not obedient to their orders. They enforced their commands by acts of cruelty and outrage, by spoliation, murder, attacks on houses at dead of night, by dragging the inmates from their beds, and so maltreating them that death often ensued, or by inflicting evils scarcely less than death. The ordinary tribunals had been rendered almost powerless, for witnesses and jurors were equally terrified into silence. The son-in-law of a gentleman who had been murdered in sight of his own gate, refused to give evidence against the supposed murderers. 'He would submit,' he said, 'to any penalty the crown or the law might impose upon him; but he would not appear at this trial, because he knew that if he should come forward as a witness on

the occasion his life would inevitably be forfeited.' A poor old man, seventy years of age, had been ordered by the Regulators to give up a piece of ground which he rented, but disobeyed the mandate. He was dragged out of his house by four armed men and shot. His son, who was believed to have been an eye-witness of his father's murder, refused to disclose the names of the perpetrators. Assassination, in short, was the order of the day, and the habitual practice of those who made robbery their occupation. No wonder that outrage and anarchy had become triumphant. The catalogue of Irish crimes between the 1st of January and the 31st of December, 1832, contained 242 homicides, 1179 robberies, 401 burglaries, 568 arsons, 290 cases of houghing cattle, 161 serious assaults, 203 riots, 353 illegal reviews, 2094 illegal notices, 427 illegal meetings, 796 malicious injuries to property, 753 attacks on houses, 328 instances of firing with intent to kill, 117 of robbery of arms, 163 of administering unlawful oaths, &c., making altogether a total of 9002 crimes committed in one year, and all crimes connected with and growing out of the distracted state of the country.' 'Unfortunately this system,' the Premier added, 'is in a state of progress, and is increasing rather than diminishing.' The total number of crimes committed in July, August, and September, was 1279; the total number committed in October, November, and December, was 1646.

The bill submitted to Parliament for the purpose of repressing and punishing these outrages was, as Greville termed it, 'a *consommé* of insurrection-gagging Acts, suspension of Habeas Corpus, martial law, and one or two other bands and straps.' Strong measures were necessary, and the Ministry had the courage to bring forward an adequate remedy for the lawless and barbarous proceedings of the Irish agitators and their emissaries. The bill proposed to give the Lord-Lieutenant power to proclaim disturbed districts, to substitute courts-martial for the ordinary courts of justice, which had



been rendered powerless to convict offenders. These courts were to consist of not less than four or more than nine officers, and they were to be assisted by a king's counsel or serjeant-at-law, who was to sit as judge-advocate. It was penal for persons to be absent from their own houses, in a disturbed district, between sunset and sunrise. Powers were given to enter houses in search of arms and ammunition. The distribution of seditious papers was a punishable offence. But the courts-martial were not, without the express authority of the Lord-Lieutenant, to try any offence to which the penalty of death was attached or to inflict a severer punishment than transportation for seven years.

In the Upper House the bill, severe as were its provisions, met with a highly favourable reception; the Conservative peers merely expressing their regret, as they did in regard to a similar measure in 1881, that the Government had not sooner had recourse to coercive measures. In the course of a single week it went through the various stages, and passed on the 22nd of February. Ominous indications had already been given that the bill would meet with the most violent opposition in the House of Commons, and apprehensions were entertained and expressed that it would not be possible to pass it unaltered. The Government, however, resolved to stake their existence on the success of the measure; and Stanley made an explicit declaration to the effect that, if it was rejected, they could not continue to conduct the affairs of the country. 'Ministers,' he said, 'were ready to stake their responsibility as a Government and their continuance in the offices which they had the honour to hold; they were ready to stake their political character as members of the Legislature, and their honour as gentlemen on this measure; and if they did not vindicate the position and absolute necessity of it, he was willing to acknowledge that they would be unworthy of the public confidence, whether they were regarded as men or as ministers.'

The bill came down from the House of Lords on the 22nd of February; but the first reading was postponed till the 27th, when, on the motion of O'Connell, there was a call of the House. On that evening the first reading was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. 'But,' says Lord John Russell, 'While Althorp was as fully persuaded as any member of the Cabinet of the necessity for this bill, he was little fitted to persuade a Liberal House of Commons to acquiesce in a proposal repugnant to their dispositions, and at variance with their settled opinions. It was thought right, however, that he, as the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, should introduce the Coercion Bill. He did so in a manner tame and ineffective. His detail of the outrages committed in Ireland was like reading a few of the blackest pages of the Newgate Calendar. The Liberal majority were disappointed, sullen, and ready to break out into mutiny against their chief. Mr. Stanley, who was sitting next to me, greatly annoyed at the aspect of the House, said to me—"I meant not to have spoken till to-morrow night, but I find I must speak to-night." He took Lord Althorp's box of official papers, and went upstairs to a room where he could look over them quietly.' Tennyson, the member for Lambeth, expressed the general feeling of the House at this moment when he said the Government had failed to prove that the ordinary laws of the land would not be sufficient to put an end to the disturbances, and proposed that the bill should be postponed for a fortnight in order that the House might receive full and authentic information respecting the state of Ireland. The amendment was supported by Mr. Lytton Bulwer, Mr. George Grote, and other influential members.

'After the debate had proceeded for two or three hours longer, with no change of temper in the House,' continues Lord John, 'Stanley rose. He explained with admirable clearness the insecure and alarming state of Ireland. He then went



over, case by case, the more dreadful of the outrages which had been committed. He detailed with striking effect the circumstances attending the murder of a clergyman, and the agony of his widow, who, after seeing her husband murdered, had to bear the terror of running knocks at the door, kept on all night by the miscreants who had committed the crime. The House became appalled and agitated at the dreadful picture which he placed before their eyes; they felt for the sorrows of the innocent; they were shocked at the dominion of assassins and robbers. When he had produced a thrilling effect by these descriptions, he turned upon O'Connell, who led the opposition to the measure, and who seemed a short time before about to achieve a triumph in favour of sedition and anarchy. He recalled to the recollection of the House of Commons that at a recent public meeting O'Connell had spoken of the House of Commons as 658 scoundrels. In a tempest of scorn and indignation, he excited the anger of the men thus designated against the author of the calumny. The House, which two hours before seemed about to yield to the great agitator, was now almost ready to tear him in pieces. In the midst of the storm which his eloquence had raised Stanley sat down, having achieved one of the greatest triumphs ever won in a popular assembly by the powers of oratory.\*

The Coercion Act was followed by another bill, which also received the sanction of Parliament. By this measure the Court of King's Bench was empowered to change the venue from the county in which the offence had been committed to an adjoining county, or even to Dublin, in cases where intimidation had been used towards prosecutors, witnesses, or jurors. The passing of these two Acts was attended with very satisfactory results, as has always been the case when Irish outrages are treated with a firm hand. The Coercion Act was at once put in force in Kilkenny,

where the Whitefeet had been peculiarly active in carrying out their lawless proceedings. The Lord-Lieutenant lost no time in proclaiming both the town and county; and such was the terror which this step inspired that it was not found necessary to hold a single court-martial. There was an immediate and large diminution in the number of offences committed in that district. The total number of offences perpetrated there during March, the month preceding the passing of the Act, was 476; but during May, the month that followed the bill becoming law, the number diminished to 162. The Association of Irish Volunteers, a body that had contributed largely to the murders and robberies which prevailed in the country, was dissolved by proclamation, and disbanded without any attempt at resistance, contenting themselves with passing a resolution 'that all the acts and functions of the Association shall be confided to one individual—the parent of his country—Daniel O'Connell.'

The Ministry had promised that coercion should be accompanied by conciliatory measures; and in fulfilment of this pledge Lord Althorp, on the 12th of February, introduced a bill for reforming the Irish Church establishment, which was regarded by the Liberal party as 'the greatest grievance of Ireland.' There were hundreds of parishes in that country which did not contain a single Protestant, and out of a population of 8,000,000 there were not more than 800,000 who were adherents of the Irish Episcopal Church. For the religious instruction of this comparatively small number of people the State provided and supported 1400 parochial incumbents, who divided among them at least £600,000 a year. They were superintended and ruled by twenty-two bishops, whose aggregate incomes amounted to £150,000 a-year. The revenues of the deans and chapters were estimated at £25,000, exclusive of the livings held by them as prebends. The incomes of the bishops and the capitular establishments were derived mainly from

\* *Recollections*, &c., by Earl Russell, p. 112.



landed estates, which yielded a gross rental of £600,000 a year; but owing to the mode in which they were let, little more than one-sixth part of that sum was received by these dignitaries. The church rate or cess, imposed for the purpose of maintaining the ecclesiastical buildings and meeting the expenses connected with religious services, yielded about £70,000 a year, and was regarded as a great grievance by the Roman Catholic population. Altogether, in one way or another, the revenues of the Irish Church establishment amounted to upwards of £800,000 a year. The Government proposed to lighten somewhat the burden of this costly institution by imposing a graduated tax, varying from five to fifteen per cent., on incumbents whose benefices yielded upwards of £200 a year, in lieu of the first fruits which they had hitherto paid. Similar deductions were to be made from the incomes of the bishops and chapters. The sum thus saved, amounting to at least £60,000 a year, was to be placed under the charge of commissioners, who were to expend it in the repair of churches, and the erection of glebe houses and new churches where these might be required; and thus render it unnecessary to levy any longer the obnoxious church rate. It was at first proposed that this assessment should be levied on the present incumbents, but it was subsequently resolved that the provision should only apply to their successors. It was evidently preposterous to maintain twenty-two bishops to superintend 1400 clergymen, and the religious interests of 800,000 persons; and it was resolved to reduce their number to twelve, and to abolish two of the four archbishoprics. By this arrangement a saving of £60,000 a year would be effected, which the Government expressed their willingness to devote to any purpose the Legislature might think fit to appoint.

The bill met with a most favourable reception from the House of Commons. Lord Althorp, who introduced it, was heard throughout his speech with frequent marks

of approval, and he sat down amidst loud cheers. The Irish Protestants and high Tories were the only persons who raised their voices against the measure; and its reception by the country was equally favourable. A large proportion even of the Conservative party regarded it as moderate and equitable. 'The House,' says Greville, 'received the plan of Irish Church reform with almost unanimous applause, nobody opposing but Inglis and Goulbourn; and Peel in a very feeble speech, which scarcely deserves the name of opposition. It will be of great service to the Government. O'Connell lauded the measure up to the skies; but Shiel said he would bite his tongue off with vexation the next morning for having done so, after he had slept upon it. It was clear that Peel, who is courting the House and exerting all his dexterity to bring men's minds round to him, saw the stream was too strong for him to go against it; so he made a sort of temporizing, moderate, unmeaning speech, which will give him time to determine on his best course, and did not commit him.' Shiel was, however, quite mistaken in supposing that O'Connell would regret having expressed approval of the bill. On the contrary, he continued to praise it warmly both in public and private; and spoke with confidence of the happy change that might be expected from it in Ireland. It is probable, as was conjectured at the time, that he regarded the bill as the first step towards the disestablishment of the Protestant church in Ireland. This is the more likely because the bill, as at first introduced, provided that the revenues of the suppressed bishoprics might be appropriated by Parliament to whatever purposes it thought proper.

Althorp somewhat ungraciously declined to accede to the request of Peel, that some little delay should be granted before the second reading, and fixed it for the 14th of March; but he speedily found the truth of the proverbial remark, 'The more haste, the less speed.' When the second reading was proposed on the day appointed, it was



objected by Charles Wynn, a high authority on such matters, that as the bill imposed a tax on Irish benefices, it required to originate in a committee of the whole House. This objection proved to be well founded; and it was not until the 1st of April that the House went into committee on the resolutions embodying the principles on which the bill was based. The second reading was moved on the 6th of May, and was carried by 317 votes to 78. Several important amendments extending the scope of the measure were proposed by the Radicals and Repealers in committee, but were all opposed by the Government, and rejected by the House. But on the motion of Lord Stanley, it was agreed to omit the appropriation clause which enabled the Legislature to apply the surplus revenue of the Church to secular purposes. This was done avowedly for the purpose of conciliating the Lords, by whom it would without doubt have been rejected; but its omission infuriated the Repealers, who regarded the provision in question as the most valuable part of the bill. O'Connell denounced this step as 'the basest act which a national assembly ever perpetrated.' His followers were furious, and talked of breach of faith and the necessity of the repeal of the Union; and Mr. Hume and other Radical members were equally violent in their denunciations. 'No person,' says Le Marchant, 'was more distressed than Lord Althorp; but he complained with some justice, that when he dwelt on the appropriation clause in bringing forward the bill, it was not treated as of any importance, nor did the Irish seem to regard it as such in discussing the measure.' 'I strongly suspect,' he adds, 'that O'Connell, in common with his Irish supporters, was very glad to have an additional pretence for opposition to English rule. It was afterwards known that the whole proceeding caused much discontent and discussion in the Cabinet.'

Even after this concession, the fate of the Irish Church Bill in the Lords was quite uncertain, and Lord Althorp expected

that it would be thrown out. It was violently resisted by the extreme Tories, and Lord Eldon declared that he 'would oppose the sad bill to the last of his life and the utmost of his power. He thought it adverse to every established principle of government, and full of spoliation.' The ex-Chancellor was, of course, zealously supported by the Duke of Cumberland, who was particularly active, and by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Winchelsea, and other peers of that school. But the Duke of Wellington recommended that the bill should be allowed to go into committee, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 157 votes to 98. At one time a collision seemed about to take place while the bill was in committee, in consequence of the Archbishop of Canterbury having carried, by a majority of two, an amendment limiting to ecclesiastical purposes within the parish the revenues of suspended benefices. But after some hesitation, the Ministry resolved to go on with the bill, and on the 30th of June the third reading was carried by a majority of 135 votes to 81.

The Ministry had thus, after a hard struggle, succeeded in carrying the two Irish measures on which they had staked their existence. Both measures had been prepared in the office of the Irish Secretary, and it was universally admitted that it was mainly owing to his firmness and eloquence that the Coercion Bill had been forced through the House of Commons; while his influence and zeal had greatly contributed to the success of the Irish Church Reform Bill. In consequence of the skill, readiness, and ability which he had displayed in conducting these and other important measures through Parliament, this year was, in Lord John Russell's opinion, 'the most distinguished and the most memorable' of Mr. Stanley's career; and clearly marked him out as the future leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. But he was both dreaded and hated by the Irish Repeal members, and for that and other reasons it was considered most desirable



that he should be removed to another office. As far back as December, 1832, Lord Brougham had earnestly recommended that this change should be made, and Stanley himself quite approved of the proposal. The Premier and the other members of the Cabinet, however, were of opinion that the transference of the Irish Secretary to another and higher office could not conveniently or safely be made at that time, and it was found impracticable to create a vacancy in the Ministry which could be offered for his acceptance. A few months later, however, facilities for effecting the desired change somewhat unexpectedly presented themselves. Lord Durham, who was in bad health, and had never co-operated comfortably with the other members of the Cabinet, resigned the office of Privy Seal, and obtained the earldom, which, according to Lord Brougham, had long been the object of his ambition. Goderich was induced very reluctantly to accept the vacant office, and thus open the Colonial Secretaryship to Stanley.\* But, as Lord John Russell remarks, 'he was not thereby freed from the responsibility of mastering and defending the details of the Irish Church Temporalities Bill, and therefore, besides the Irish Coercion Bill, which he had carried by the force of his eloquence,

he had to conduct through Parliament, and defend clause by clause, the Irish Church Temporalities Bill and the Colonial Slavery Abolition Bill—two of the largest and most important measures that were ever prepared for the consideration of Parliament.'

The question of Irish tithe had also to be dealt with at once, for throughout the greater part of Ireland the collection of tithes had become an impossibility. In the preceding session the Government had been empowered to advance to each incumbent a sum not exceeding the amount due to him as tithes for the year 1831, and was also authorized to buy the arrears of tithes and reimburse itself for its advances out of the sum which it thus succeeded in recovering. But it was soon found that this expedient had aggravated the evil which it was intended to remove, and by turning the Viceroy into Tithe-Proctor-General for Ireland, as O'Connell remarked, had thrown additional odium upon the Government. The new law had not been suffered to remain a dead letter. Between 9000 or 10,000 processes for tithes had been instituted, but with very little effect. All the efforts of the Government to collect the tithes proved unavailing. The police having entirely failed to overcome the resistance of the peasantry, the soldiers were called out to their assistance; but with no better result. It was asserted in the House of Commons that on one occasion a company of Lancers, two pieces of artillery, and two companies of the 92nd Highlanders, were called out to protect the sale of a single cow. Almost every case of an attempt to compel the payment of the obnoxious impost led to a riot, and not unfrequently to bloodshed. The cost of this harassing and expensive process greatly exceeded the sum collected. The arrears due for 1831 amounted to £104,000; but the Government, with great difficulty and some loss of life, only succeeded in obtaining £12,100.

It had clearly become necessary to adopt a different plan, if the tithes were in future

\* Greville says Palmerston was charged with the office of breaking the proposed arrangement to Goderich, with the offer of an earldom by way of gilding the pill; but Goderich would not hear of it; said it would look like running away from the Slave question, and on that flatly refused. Stanley threatened to resign, if he was not promoted; and in this dilemma the Duke of Richmond (who was going to Windsor) persuaded Lord Grey to let him lay the case before the king, and inform him that if this arrangement was not made, the Government must be broken up. He did so; and the king acquiesced, and at the same time a similar representation was made to Goderich, who, after a desperate resistance, knocked under, and said that if it must be so he would yield, but *only* to the king's command. 'Prosperity Robinson' and 'Goody Goderich,' as he was called, became Earl of Ripon, and obtained also a promise of the Garter. He at first refused an earldom, but ultimately accepted it in order, as he thought, to qualify himself for the Garter. But this was a mistaken notion, as it is well-known, that the Garter has frequently been bestowed upon Barons and even on Commoners.



to be collected at all. The arrears for 1831 and 1832 amounted to upwards of £412,000; and if to this sum was added the amount of tithes due for the current year, the gross amount of ecclesiastical tithes due and unpaid during these three years was upwards of £1,000,000 sterling. The Ministry proposed that exchequer bills should be issued for a sum of £1,000,000, to be paid by the tithe-owners on the security of these arrears, which the Irish Government was to be empowered to collect, subject to a deduction of 25 per cent. on the arrears due for 1831 and 1832, and of 15 per cent. on the value of the tithes for 1833; to be repaid by half-yearly instalments in the course of four years. The proposal met with strenuous opposition, and it was confidently predicted that the sum would never be repaid; that the so-called loan would be converted into a gift; and that England, besides paying its own tithes, would have to pay those of Ireland also. The prediction was in due time fulfilled, as the great majority of the Parliament probably expected. But the bill was allowed to pass, mainly because otherwise no provision would have been made for the support of the clergy, who were reduced to a state of great privation and distress.

The financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though carped at by the Radicals, gave satisfaction to moderate and reasonable men of all parties, and showed that the administration had made considerable progress in redeeming the pledge of economy which they had made on taking office. The total number of places they had abolished was 1387, with salaries amounting to £231,406. The diplomatic expenses had been lessened by £91,735; the reduction of expenditure in 1831-33 was altogether about £3,000,000. After liquidating the deficit in the preceding year, a surplus of £1,500,000 remained, which Lord Althorp proposed to devote to the reduction of those taxes which pressed most injuriously on the industry of the country, such as the tax on soap,

the duties on marine insurance and advertisements, and several assessed taxes.

The Radicals, however, were not satisfied, and complained that the reductions proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been carried further. The agricultural party insisted that they were entitled to relief from at least a part of the duties on malt; and on the 26th of April Sir William Ingilby, a Whig baronet, one of the members for Lincolnshire, moved that the duty should be reduced from 20s. 8d. to 10s. a quarter. Owing to the negligence of the Treasury Whip, the silence of Graham, Grant, and other Cabinet ministers, and the reluctance of the Liberal agricultural members to vote against the wishes of their constituents, the motion was carried, in a House of 314 members, by a majority of ten.

Lord Grey was naturally very angry at this humiliating defeat. In a hurried note to the Chancellor he stated that 'the consequences of the vote were so infinitely serious,' that he had immediately summoned a meeting of the Cabinet, and added, 'I can see but one course to be taken, at least for myself.' If his friends, he said, would not take the trouble of waiting a few hours in the House to carry his measures, they had no right to expect him to sacrifice all his comforts by remaining in office. The king, in great alarm, urged him strongly not to quit his post at a time when his retirement would prove most injurious to the public welfare, and his colleagues united in entreating him to remain. It was evident, however, that the proposed reduction of the malt tax, which would have deranged the whole budget, must in some way be set aside; and the motion of Sir John Key, one of the members for the City of London, for the repeal of the assessed taxes afforded the desired opportunity. These taxes were exceedingly unpopular, and numerous petitions for their repeal had been presented from the large towns, and especially from the metropolitan boroughs. The house tax was especially obnoxious, owing to the unequal and unjust manner in which it



was imposed. The smaller houses, and especially the tradesmen's shops, were always assessed at their full value. The premises of the Bank of England, which the governors valued at £40,000 a year, were rated at only £2500 a year. Sir John Key stated that there were only four houses in Bedfordshire assessed at more than £70 a year, and yet Bedfordshire contained the princely mansions of Woburn Abbey, Wrest, Oakley, Ampthill, Haines, Coplee, Hannes, Bletsoe, Melchbourn, and other seats of the nobility and gentry. Eaton Hall, the seat of the Marquis of Westminster in Cheshire, and Blenheim, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough, were assessed at £300 a year each; Lowther Castle, in Westmoreland, the mansion of the Earl of Lonsdale, at less than £200; Raby, the seat of the Duke of Cleveland, and Lambton, the mansion of Earl Durham, and many others of the same class, were rated at less than £100. It was not at all uncommon to find a shopkeeper in Cheapside or the Strand paying double the house tax exacted from these wealthy territorial magnates. The window tax, besides being liable to the objections urged against the house tax, was injurious to the health and comfort of the people.

These facts were undeniable, and Lord Althorp made no attempt to defend those taxes as being either equal or just; he could only plead that the repeal either of the malt tax or the assessed taxes alone would be a most partial preference of the interests thus favoured, and that the repeal of both would be incompatible with the maintenance of the public credit. When, therefore, Sir John Key, on the 3rd of April, proposed the motion of which he had given notice, Lord Althorp moved an amendment coupling together the two hostile proposals, to the effect that the deficiency in the revenue occasioned by the reduction of the tax on malt to ten shillings a quarter, and by the repeal of the tax on houses and windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax on property and income, and an exten-

sive change in our whole financial system, which at the present moment would be inexpedient. The Ministry took care on this occasion to muster their supporters; and some even of those who had supported Ingilby's motion, afraid to bring on a crisis, reversed their votes, and Althorp's amendment was carried by the large majority of 355 to 157.

The course which the Ministry had followed in resisting the repeal of the assessed taxes was exceedingly unpopular in the large towns and especially in London, and the feeling which had been excited against them speedily displayed itself in a very annoying manner. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the friend of Byron and an able and accomplished man, who had filled the office of Secretary at War since the dismissal of Sir Henry Parnell, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland on the elevation of Stanley to the Colonial Secretaryship. At the time of his election for Westminster he had expressed himself strongly in favour of the abolition of the house and window taxes; but as a member of the Government he could not vote against Althorp's motion declaring their repeal inexpedient at the present time. He was in consequence vehemently abused by the Westminster tradesmen; and he chivalrously resigned both his office and his seat, but offered himself for re-election. He was opposed by Colonel De Lacy Evans, an extreme Radical, whose cause was so zealously espoused by the mob that they pelted Hobhouse and his friends, on the hustings in Covent Garden, with carrots and cabbages, and refused to hear him speak. The contest terminated in the return of Evans, and the Ministry had to select another Secretary for Ireland. Dr. Lushington and Mr. William Brougham were called on also to resign their seats, but declined to comply with the demand.

Meetings were held in almost every parish in London, at which resolutions were passed pledging those present not to pay the assessed taxes. The Birmingham Political Union petitioned the king to



dismiss from his counsels 'men who had proved themselves either utterly unable or unwilling to extricate the country from the difficulties and dangers with which it is surrounded.' A meeting was also summoned to be held in Coldbath Fields 'for the purpose of adopting preparatory measures for holding a national convention, as the only means of obtaining and securing the rights of the people.' As the movement was fraught with danger to the public peace, a proclamation was issued by the Home Office forbidding the meeting. In spite of this proclamation a considerable number of persons assembled at the appointed time with banners displayed. The police were ordered to disperse the meeting, and, it was alleged, charged the people with their staves with unnecessary violence. One of them was stabbed with a dagger and killed, and other members of the force were wounded. The coroner's jury that sat on the body of the murdered policeman returned a verdict of justifiable homicide, which was quashed by the Court of King's Bench as being utterly unwarranted by the evidence. But when the person accused of the murder was brought to trial he was acquitted, though the clearest proofs of his guilt were adduced by the counsel.

These proceedings raised a loud outcry against the Government in the metropolis and other large towns in England, and their unpopularity was increased by their refusal to adopt the sweeping measures against pensions and sinecures proposed by the Radical members of the House of Commons. In opposition to a motion of Mr. Hume, declaring that sinecure offices and offices held by deputy are unnecessary, Lord Althorp proposed and carried the previous question. But the Ministry were obliged to agree to two resolutions proposed by the economical member for Middlesex, declaring that no new appointments should be made to sinecure offices which fell vacant, and that no person should be appointed to any situation the duties of which are to be discharged by deputy. Another motion,

proposed by one of the members for Dublin, that 'all sinecure places should be abolished throughout the British empire,' was carried against Ministers by a majority of nine.

Though harassed by these and other motions in favour of reforms, which though in themselves desirable were yet premature, the Government succeeded in carrying through in the course of this session a number of very important measures. One of these was the renewal of the Bank Charter, which had been announced in the king's speech. After careful negotiations with the governors of the Bank, Lord Althorp intimated to the House of Commons, on the 31st of May, the terms on which the Government had resolved to propose the renewal of the Charter for twenty-one years, with power to the Government at the end of the tenth year to give twelve months notice to the Bank, in which case the Charter would expire with the eleventh year:—

1. That its promissory notes were to be made a legal tender for sums of £5 and upwards, everywhere but at the Bank and its branches.

2. That one-fourth part of the debt of £14,000,000, at present due by the public to the Bank, should be repaid during the present session of Parliament.

3. That the allowances hitherto made to the Bank for the management of the national debt and other public business should be continued, subject to a deduction of £120,000 a year.

4. That the laws restricting the interest of money to five per cent., commonly called the 'usury laws,' should be repealed so far as concerned bills not having more than three months to run before they became due.

5. That royal charters should be granted for the establishment of joint-stock banks within a distance of five miles from London; it being, however, understood that Government was at liberty to withhold such charter if it should in any case deem it advisable to reject the application for it.

6. That all banks should enter into a composition in lieu of stamp duties, at present chargeable at the rate of 7s. for every £100 issued in notes.

7. That a bill should be introduced into Parliament to regulate country banks, the provisions of which should be such as to encourage joint-stock banking companies in the country to issue the notes of the Bank of England.



It was found that great opposition would be made to the establishment of joint-stock banks, and that part of the plan was withdrawn for the present by the Government; but the other resolutions were embodied in a bill which readily passed both Houses, with the addition of a provision requiring weekly returns of bullion, and of the notes in circulation, to be sent in to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to publication in the *London Gazette*. Provision was also made for the quarterly publication of the Bank accounts—an arrangement which proved of the highest value and importance, as it enabled financiers and the public generally to obtain an accurate knowledge of the monetary operations of the country.

A measure of much greater importance, which had to be decided at this time, was the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, which terminated in 1833. For nearly two centuries and a half that powerful association of merchant princes had been sovereigns as well as traders, and at this period their rule extended over 200,000,000 of people, inhabiting a territory comprising 1,500,000 square miles. It had long enjoyed a monopoly of the trade with China and India; but at the renewal of its charter in 1813 certain restrictions were made upon its trading privileges, and it was required to publish its commercial accounts separately from its territorial accounts. This regulation brought to light the fact, that the trade with India could not be conducted except at a loss, and the Company had in consequence abandoned it entirely. The traffic with China had also greatly diminished in value; but the Company still retained a monopoly of the trade, and had imposed a duty of 96 per cent. upon all teas sold under 2s., and 100 per cent. on all teas sold over 2s. per lb. Notwithstanding the advantages derived from this monopoly, the trade of the Company had decreased. In 1813 the value of their exports and imports to and from China amounted to £13,500,000. In 1830 they

had fallen to £11,000,000. The extent of the transactions carried on by private traders had meanwhile vastly increased. In 1814 the value of their exports and imports amounted to £9,000,000. In 1830 it had increased to £31,000,000. In these circumstances it was evident that the trading privileges of the Company ought to be entirely withdrawn; and no one doubted that if the trade with India and China were thrown open, the demand for the manufactures of our country would be vastly increased.

It was proposed by the Government that the Charter of the Company should be renewed for twenty years, but that it should henceforth be restricted to the duty of governing India under the control of the British Government. Their trading privileges were now to cease, and their commercial property was to be sold. In return for the surrender of these rights and privileges the proprietors were to receive an annuity of £630,000 a year for forty years, charged on the revenue of India—a sum equal to the amount of the dividends at present paid to them. At the termination of the stipulated period it should be at the option of Parliament to redeem the annuity at the rate of £100 for every £5 5s. of annual payment. The restrictions on the admission of Europeans to India were at the same time abolished, and so were the distinctions based on differences of race, colour, and religion; and the offices under the Government were thrown open to natives and Europeans alike. The measure was very favourably received by both political parties, and became law with little opposition. The results were highly satisfactory. In ten years the trade with China had doubled, and the value of the British exports to India and Ceylon had nearly trebled. But there can be little doubt that an unreformed Parliament would not have undertaken the task of making this important change; and even if it had, it would not have been able to effect it.



## CHAPTER V.

Anti-slavery Agitation—Mr. Buxton's Motion on the state of Slavery in the British Colonies—Mr. Canning's Amendments—Opposition of the Planters—Insurrection in Demerara—Shocking treatment of the Negroes—Illegal and cruel persecution of the Rev. John Smith, a missionary—Brougham brings his case before Parliament—Regulations for the protection of Slaves—Slave trade in the Mauritius exposed—Its Abolition—Anti-slavery feeling rising in the Country—The Planters refuse to comply with the Regulations—Cruelties inflicted on the Slaves in Jamaica—Privileges granted to the Free People of Colour—Oppression of the Hottentots by the Boers—The Hottentots set free—Diminution of the Slave Population—The Abolitionists advocate immediate and total Emancipation—Brougham's Great Speech against Slavery—The case of Bridges and of the Mosses—Interference of the Government—Anger of the Planters—Insurrection in Jamaica—Hesitation of the Ministry how to settle the Question—Ministerial Measure for the Total Abolition of Slavery—Grant of Twenty Millions to the Planters—The Apprenticeship System—Conduct of the Negroes on the Day of Freedom.

THE British slave trade, after a protracted and violent contest, had been declared illegal in 1807, mainly by the efforts of Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Stephen, and other philanthropists, who had struggled for twenty years against the system; but slavery itself still flourished in the British West India colonies.

Mr. Wilberforce, the veteran leader of the anti-slavery party, was now, owing to the infirmities of advancing years, unable to continue with his wonted vigour his arduous exertions in behalf of the negroes; and in 1821 he induced Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton to form 'a partnership' with him in what he justly termed 'his holy enterprise.' Buxton was a partner in Trueman's brewery in London. This position necessarily brought him into daily contact with the misery that prevailed in the east of the metropolis, and he zealously co-operated with his sister-in-law, Mrs. Fry, in her efforts to ameliorate the distress which was chronic among the weavers in Spitalfields. He was returned to Parliament in 1818, and immediately began to take a warm interest in the mitigation of the penal code, the improvement of prison discipline, and other benevolent schemes. He became an active member of the African Institution, a society which had been formed to watch over the law that had abolished the slave trade; and he was thus naturally led to concur in the opinion expressed by his brother-in-law, Mr. Forster, that 'it is certainly time to turn the mind of the British public towards

the situation of those in actual slavery.' In May, 1821, Mr. Wilberforce wrote to him that he had for some time been waiting, with no little solicitude, for a member of Parliament who, if he himself were to be laid aside, would be an eligible leader in the crusade against slavery. Such a man he believed Buxton to be, and he therefore earnestly conjured him to devote himself to this 'blessed service.' After long and mature deliberation, encouraged by his brothers-in-law the well-known Quakers, Samuel and John Joseph Gurney, and other friends, Buxton accepted in the autumn of 1822 the weighty charge involved in Mr. Wilberforce's proposal. In January, 1823, a meeting was held by him on the subject with that veteran philanthropist Mr. Zachary Macaulay, and 'long and deep were their deliberations how best to shape those measures which were to change the structure of society throughout the Western World.'

Early in March Mr. Wilberforce published his well-known 'Appeal in behalf of the Slaves.' An Anti-slavery Society was formed, of which Mr. Buxton was appointed Vice-president, and the committee proceeded at once, with great energy and activity, to diffuse information on the subject throughout the country. The lead, as usual, was taken by the Society of Friends, always foremost in 'works of faith and labours of love;' and it was resolved that Mr. Wilberforce should open the Parliamentary campaign with their petition in favour of



the abolition of slavery. He introduced it by saying that 'a similar petition, which he had the honour of presenting thirty years before, had been the first effort against the kindred iniquity of the slave trade,' and that in presenting this one 'he considered that the first stone was laid of an edifice which would stand at some future period an ornament to the land.'

Mr. Buxton then gave notice that on the 15th of May 'he would submit a motion that the House should take into consideration the state of slavery in the British colonies.' On that memorable day took place the first debate in the British Parliament on the subject of negro slavery. Buxton, in his opening speech, declared 'the object at which we aim is the *extinction of slavery*—nothing less than the extinction of slavery, in nothing less than the whole of the British dominions; not, however, the rapid termination of that state, not the sudden emancipation of the negro, but such preparatory steps, such measures of precaution as by slow degrees, and in a course of years, first fitting and qualifying the slaves for the enjoyment of freedom, shall gently conduct us to the annihilation of slavery.' The facts which Buxton stated in support of his motion had been collected for his use by the unwearied industry of Zachary Macaulay, and were enough to make the blood run cold and the heart sicken of every man with a spark of humanity in his breast. A pregnant woman receiving 175 lashes at once for complaining that her child had been punished; a young negress bound hand and foot with a stick passed above her elbows and under her knees, and a chain fastened to her neck, flogged at intervals throughout a day, and left between the floggings with her wounds festering under a tropical sun; a negro slave compelled to flog his own sons for some trumpery fault, and their two sisters receiving twenty lashes each because they cried at the sight; a slave flogged for attending an Independent meeting-house, and his sister, for sighing at her brother's sufferings, punished with

thirty-nine lashes; a negro boy, who ran away to his mother, hanged for endeavouring to rob his owner of his person, and his mother imprisoned for life for receiving stolen goods, in other words, for sheltering her own son; brandings, even of women, on the breast—were all incidents of common occurrence, and hundreds of slaves bore on their bodies the marks of the brutalities inflicted on them. Such were the horrors which Buxton described as the results of the slave system in the British colonies—a system of 'rank, naked, flagrant, undisguised injustice'—on which he based and justified the resolution moved by him, 'That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and the Christian religion; and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned.'

The plan which Buxton proposed for the abolition of this shocking system was moderate and reasonable. He suggested that all children born after a certain date should be declared free; pointing out how surely, and yet silently, the curse of slavery would thus die away; and he urged that meanwhile steps should be taken to alleviate the hardships to which the slaves were subjected, and to prepare them for emancipation—that they should be attached to the island, and, under modifications, to the soil; that they should cease to be chattels in the eye of the law; that their testimony should be received in courts of justice; that obstructions to manumission should be removed, effectual provision made for the religious instruction of the slaves, marriages sanctioned and enforced, the Sunday devoted to rest and religious instruction; and that no governor, judge, or attorney-general should be a slaveowner.

The West India interest was too powerful in the House of Commons at this time to allow these proposals, moderate though they were, to be carried into effect; and



Mr. Canning moved the following amendments to Buxton's resolution:—

1. 'That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population in His Majesty's colonies.

2. 'That through a determined and persevering, but at the same time judicious and temperate impressment of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects.

3. 'That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.'

The Abolitionists, though they saw that Canning's remedy contemplated rather the amelioration of the condition of the slaves than the extinction of slavery, wisely acquiesced in the plan of the Government, and Canning's resolutions were unanimously adopted. Copies of these resolutions were at once forwarded to all the West Indian Governments by Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Minister. His Lordship at the same time earnestly recommended the colonists to make a beginning in meeting the wishes of the Legislature, by abolishing the flogging of females and the use of the whip in the field, providing the means of religious instruction and Christian education for the slave population, protecting the slaves by law in the acquisition and possession of property, the legalizing their marriages, preventing the separation of families, admitting the testimony of slaves in courts of justice, removing all existing restrictions to manumission, and granting to the slave the power of redeeming himself and his wife and children at a fair price.

The mode in which these recommendations were received showed at once the demoralized condition of the planters,\* and the little hope there was that they would

voluntarily take steps to elevate the character and condition of their slaves. The House of Assembly in Jamaica were furious at this interference on the part of the British Legislature with the internal affairs of the island. One member proposed that they should address the king to remove Lord Bathurst from the Ministry; others advocated their separation from the British empire; and the Assembly itself unanimously agreed to a protest against 'a decree whereby the inhabitants of this once valuable colony (hitherto esteemed the brightest jewel in the British crown) are destined to be offered a propitiatory sacrifice at the altar of fanaticism.' The indignation of those colonies that were under the direct administration of the Colonial Office was not less violent, though exhibited in a different way; and the Home Government, not much to their credit, recoiled at the outburst of anger which their very mild recommendations had provoked. Canning said, 'Parliament had obviously three courses before it. It might crush the planters by the application of direct force; it might harass them by fiscal charges; or it might pursue the slow, silent course of temperate but authoritative admonition. Others might press compulsion; for his own part, he was in favour of leaving the planter to meditate on the consequences of his own folly.' 'I would leave him,' he added, 'to found his insurrection, if insurrection he will have, on an abstract admiration of the cart whip, and on a resolute claim of his freeborn right to use that instrument at his pleasure.' Canning's biting sarcasm was entirely lost on men who authorized the flogging of women, and kept their slaves at work by means of the cart whip. They were quite well aware that the exhortations addressed to them might be summed up in the words of the Constable to the Clown in 'Measure for Measure':—'Thou seest, thou wicked varlet, now what's come upon thee; thou art to continue now, thou varlet; thou art to continue.' And continue they did in their old ways. In Trinidad there was

\* The islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Christopher's did not join in the violent outcry raised by the other West Indian islands.



a proposal that the white inhabitants should refuse to pay taxes until the Order in Council was rescinded. In Barbadoes a Wesleyan missionary, who was suspected of having sent home an account of the treatment to which the slaves were subjected, was attacked by a furious mob, his meeting-house destroyed, and he himself compelled to flee from the island. But the proceedings of the planters in the crown colony of Demerara threw these riotous proceedings completely into the shade.

When the circular despatch had been sent to every colony from the Home Government, General Murray, the Governor of that island, shared the feverish anxiety which the news excited among the planters, and resolved to withhold all knowledge of it from the negroes. Some vague rumours of it had, however, reached the ears of the slaves, and the mysterious silence of their masters led them to believe that orders had come from 'the great King of England' that they should be set at liberty. In consequence a portion of them refused to work, and troops were at once called in to suppress what the infuriated planters termed an insurrection. This was easily accomplished, for the wretched slaves were incapable of resistance, and in the course of a couple of days even the very appearance of insubordination had vanished. Though not a single soldier was killed, upwards of a hundred of the insurgents fell on the field, and a good many of those taken prisoners were put to death on the spot. Forty-seven of the insurgent negroes were tried by a court-martial, and at once hanged; but five of them were put to death in a much more horrible manner. They were torn to pieces by a thousand lashes each, of which inhuman torture one received the whole, and two almost the whole, at once. Other four were condemned to receive six or seven hundred lashes each.

The vengeance of the planters was, however, still unsated. The Rev. John Smith, a missionary sent out by the London Missionary Society, had resided since

1816 on a plantation which had been the headquarters of the revolt. It was admitted on all hands that he was a zealous, amiable, and pious man, who, by the force of his high character and consistent conduct, had gained the respect of all who resided in his neighbourhood, and had acquired great influence among the slaves, which he had always employed in persuading them to live quiet and peaceable lives. The planters, however, in their blind fury, chose to imagine that he had in some way helped to excite the revolt, which had been caused solely by their own illegal and unwise proceedings. The insurrection broke out on the 18th of August. Next day Governor Murray proclaimed martial law, and by the evening of the 20th all disturbance was at an end. On the following day, after order had been completely restored, Mr. Smith was dragged from his house with such haste that he was not even allowed to take with him a change of clothes; and at a time when he was in a state of health that made any imprisonment dangerous, he was thrust into the prison—a small, unwholesome, fetid room, exposed to the scorching heat of a tropical sun. He was subsequently removed to a damp dungeon, where the crazy floor was laid loosely on stagnant water, visible through the wide crevices of the boards. In this wretched apartment the unfortunate missionary was detained for nearly two months.

On the 13th of October Smith was brought to trial; and though there was not the shadow of a pretence for continuing martial law, it was determined that he should be tried before a court-martial. In the composition of the court, and the mode in which the trial was conducted, as Brougham stated in the House of Commons, a series of errors was committed 'so gross as to mock belief, and of oppressions which are unexampled in the dispensation of English justice.' The President of the Court, Lieutenant-Colonel Goodman, was Vendue Master of the Colony, who had a commission on the sale of every slave; and



at the time the insurrection broke out between seventy and eighty slaves were advertised for sale with his name attached to each advertisement. The Chief-Justice of the colony was one of the members of this court-martial, having a few days before been appointed a lieutenant-colonel of the militia for this purpose, in order to prevent any appeal to him against the abuses of which the court might be guilty; the Colonial Fiscal was employed to conduct the prosecution, and the Judge-Advocate displayed unexampled zeal in pressing for a conviction. The hearsay evidence of the slaves was readily admitted against the missionary; but evidence of the same kind, when tendered in his defence, was at once rejected by the court. 'Hearsay evidence,' they decided, after the case for the prosecution was closed, 'will not in *future* be received.'\* The opening speech of the Judge-Advocate, given *verbatim*, occupies only half a page in the minutes of the trial, but the speech delivered by him after Mr. Smith had closed his defence occupies eighteen pages. 'In this reply,' said Brougham, 'the utmost subtlety is exhibited. Topic is urged after topic, with the greatest art and contrivance. Everything is twisted for the purpose of obtaining a conviction; and, which is the most monstrous thing of all, when the prisoner can no longer reply, new facts are detailed, new dates specified, and new persons introduced, which were never mentioned or even hinted at on any one of the preceding twenty-seven days of the trial.' To crown all, Smith's persecutors had seized his papers, among which was his private journal, intended for no eye but his own, in which he had expressed his opinions and feelings respecting the scenes he was compelled to witness daily and hourly. The planters were guilty of the base act of using the statements in this secret journal, to help out their case against the missionary. It was justly said by Sir James Mackintosh, 'that nothing

like Smith's journal had been used in evidence since Jeffrey's trial of Sidney.'

That nothing might be wanting to crown the villany of their conduct, it was clearly proved that the minutes of the trial had been tampered with and garbled. In spite of the scandalous efforts made by the Judge-Advocate and the court to prevent Smith from adducing exculpatory evidence, it was clearly proved that he had remonstrated with one of the leaders of the insurgent negroes for threatening to use force. Even the overseers were compelled to admit that, in the midst of the insurrection, the slaves had carefully refrained from bloodshed, when there was no force present to resist them, because their pastor had taught them not to take that which they could not give—a peculiarity which occurred in no other case of negro warfare within the West Indies, and which drew from the lips of a minister of the Established Church (the Rev. Mr. Austin) the exclamation that 'He shuddered to write that they were seeking the life of the man whose teaching had saved theirs.'

The result of the trial might have been foreseen from the first, and there can be no doubt that the Governor and the members of this flagitious tribunal had fully made up their minds beforehand respecting the decision they were to give. Smith was found guilty of exciting the slaves to revolt, and sentenced to death, accompanied by a recommendation to mercy if he would ask for it, which, however, he firmly refused to do, standing on his innocence. The court well knew that, hardened as they were, they durst not carry this iniquitous sentence into execution; but indirectly their end was gained. The poor missionary, who was worn out by his long labours in an unhealthy climate, had no strength to sustain the hardships of his long confinement in a pestiferous dungeon, and the anxieties of his protracted trial, and he soon after died, 'expiating,' as Brougham said, 'with his guiltless blood the sin of which there is no remission in the West Indies—the sin of having taught the slaves

\* This rule, thus laid down, was subsequently violated in receiving evidence *against* the missionary.



the religion of peace, and consoled them for the cruel lot inflicted by the crimes of this world with the hopes of mercy in another.' His vindictive persecutors carried their malice and barbarity so far as to forbid his widow to follow his body to the grave, and they caused the railings which were placed around his grave to be torn up.\*

The men by whom these atrocious deeds were perpetrated had no idea of the effect which their cruelties would produce on the minds of the British people. As soon as the news reached England, the whole country was in a flame. The London Missionary Society, as in duty bound, took the lead in exposing the shocking treatment which their agent had received at the hands of the authorities and planters of Demerara. A great number of petitions was presented to Parliament for the punishment of the wrong-doers. The Ministers were compelled by the force of public opinion to quash the proceedings of the court-martial; but it was felt that something more was necessary to satisfy the claims of justice. The case was brought before the House of Commons by Brougham, who in a speech of extraordinary eloquence and power moved that, 'a humble address be presented to His Majesty setting forth that the House, having taken into their most serious consideration the proceedings which had taken place in the trial of the Reverend John Smith at Demerara, contemplated with the most serious alarm the violation of law and justice which had there been committed; and they did earnestly pray that His Majesty would be most graciously pleased to give orders for such an impartial

\* While Smith was dying in his prison, he was compelled by his persecutors to draw a bill upon the funds of the London Missionary Society, in order to defray the expenses of his so-called trial. Many years afterwards, the Secretary of the Society, in arranging some old papers, accidentally came on this bill. On examining it carefully, he found written in a minute hand the words, 2 Corinthians iv. 8, 9. The text referred to by the poor missionary in these trying circumstances is, 'We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.'

and humane administration of the law of that colony as may secure the rights, not only of the negroes, but of the planters themselves.'

Brougham was supported by Mr. Denman (afterwards Lord Chief-Justice), Mr. Williams (who became a judge), Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, and other eminent members of the Liberal party. It was in this memorable debate that Mr. Wilberforce, who felt an intense interest in the subject, spoke for the last time in Parliament. The Ministers made a miserable defence, or rather apology, for the proceedings of the court-martial and the Demerara authorities. They seemed at first inclined to resist the motion, and Mr. Wilmot Horton, the Colonial Under-Secretary, said he would meet it with a direct negative. But the feeling of the House and of the country was so strong that the Government saw they were in peril of a defeat. Mr. Canning, who did not very creditably distinguish himself on this occasion, in these circumstances shifted his ground, and had recourse to the shabby expedient of moving the previous question. Even this attempt to evade a distinct decision on the case was not very successful, for Canning's motion was carried, after an adjourned debate, only by a majority of 193 votes to 146.

The substantial success in this contest, however, rested with the minority. Before it took place the Government had become afraid that they had gone too far in their efforts to induce the slaveholders to ameliorate the condition of the negroes; and, alarmed at the outburst of anger on the part of the colonists, the Ministry had resolved to forfeit the pledge which Mr. Canning had given, that if obedience were not voluntarily rendered by the colonial legislatures it would not be enforced. At a meeting held in February, 1824, with Mr. Buxton and other leaders of the anti-slavery party, Canning told them that the Government had determined to yield to the West Indian clamour, and to do nothing except in Trinidad, where there



is no Colonial Assembly. There was at that time hardly more than half a dozen staunch friends to the cause in the House of Commons, while the supporters of the West India slave-holders were both numerous and influential; and if the Government were now to be swayed by the tide of colonial opinion, and abandon its schemes for the benefit of the negroes, the small unaided band of Abolitionists would, it seemed, be powerless. But the debate on Smith's case opened the eyes of the nation to the intolerable and incurable evils of slavery, and its demoralizing effects upon the masters as well as upon the slaves, and excited such a storm of indignation that the Government were compelled to resume their original intention to issue regulations for the treatment of slaves, not only in Trinidad, but in Demerara, Berbice, and St. Louis. In these islands the flogging of women was abolished, and the overseers were forbidden to carry the driving whip in the field, either as an emblem of authority or as a stimulus to labour. No punishment was to be inflicted until at least twenty-four hours after the offence, and no slave was to receive more than twenty-five lashes in one day. Every punishment was to be entered in a written record; and a person was appointed in each colony, whose office it was to protect the slaves from illegal treatment. Sunday markets and Sunday trading were also prohibited. Married slaves were to be protected in the enjoyment of their conjugal rights, and were not to be separated from their children. Slaves were to be permitted to acquire and bequeath property, to purchase their freedom and the freedom of their families; and their evidence was to be admissible in courts of justice. Religious instruction was also to be provided for the slave population, and two bishops were to be sent to the West Indies to superintend it, in order that the interests of the Church of England might be protected.

Encouraged by this success the Aboli-

tionists, headed by Buxton, William Smith, Denman, Mackintosh, and Dr. Lushington within the walls of St. Stephen's, and by Zachary Macaulay, Stephen, and others in the community, resolutely persevered in their efforts to expose the horrid cruelties of the planters, and the dreadful sufferings to which the slaves were still subjected. They were assisted by the opportune publication of the Berbice papers—the official statement by the Fiscal of the revolting barbarities inflicted on the slaves in that island. On the 1st of March, 1826, the London petition against slavery, signed by 72,000 persons, was presented to the House, and a debate took place in which Canning, still unwilling to offend the colonial interest, said he preferred to give the West Indians another year, and then to legislate. Two days later Denman brought forward the case of the negroes who had been executed after the Jamaica insurrection of 1823. He described the treatment of these poor creatures, and portrayed in vivid colours the utter disregard of law and justice in the mode in which they had been sentenced and murdered, and demanded a vote of censure on the planters and officials who had been concerned in these atrocities. The illegal character of the proceedings, and the utter worthlessness of the evidence on which they had been condemned, was strikingly pointed out by Mr. Buxton. 'Next,' he said, 'came the evidence of the constable. He was asked whether he had not found guns among the insurgents? His answer was that he had not, but he was *shown a place where he was told some guns had been.* Then he was asked if he had not found large quantities of ammunition. And he answered that he had not. Had he not found a number of bayonets? No, said the constable, "but I was shown a *basket, in which I was told a great number of bayonets had been.*" Such was the evidence on which these men were hanged.'

The House, as Buxton said, 'was made up of West Indians, Government men, a few partisans, and a few sturdy Aboli-



tionists.' It was therefore quite natural that the Commons should resolve that it would be inexpedient to impeach the sentences that had been passed; but so infamous had been the conduct of these Jamaica planters and officials, that they were constrained to add 'that further proof had been afforded by them of the evils inseparably attendant upon a state of slavery.'

At this period the Abolitionists discovered that though the slave trade had been declared illegal by the British Government in 1807, it was still carried on by British subjects in the Mauritius, which had not been ceded to England by France till 1810. Partly owing to this circumstance, and partly to the facilities afforded by the proximity of the African coast, the vile traffic in slaves, in all its horrors, had never ceased in this island except during the brief administration of General Hall, who had suffered severely in consequence of his activity in suppressing this infamous trade. This fact was brought to the knowledge of Mr. Buxton by Mr. Byers, who had been deprived of his office as Commissary-General of Police on account of his exertions for the same object. That gentleman asserted that the slave trade was still prevailing on that island to a frightful extent; that the inhabitants and the authorities were alike implicated; and that the labouring slaves were treated with atrocious cruelty, the greater because their loss could be so easily supplied. Further investigation showed that these statements were true to the very letter; that slave trading to an enormous extent had for fourteen years been openly carried on; and a Colonial Secretary admitted that over 25,000 negroes had been brought over from the African coast to the Mauritius—in other words, as Brougham said, that 25,000 capital felonies had been committed under the eye, if not with the encouragement, of the Government.

Mr. Buxton brought this flagrant violation of British law before Parliament on the 9th of May, 1826, and proved the extent to

which this infamous traffic had been carried on, by the evidence of one admiral and four naval captains, one general and three military officers, five high civil officers and two out of the three governors of the island. By a return of the number of the black population in the Seychelles he showed that there was only one alternative—either the slave trade had been carried on to a large extent, or every female in that group of islands must have been the mother of 180 children. He concluded by sketching with a powerful hand the features of the trade which he was attacking. After describing the system of capture, &c., he said, 'The fourth step is the voyage, the horrors of which are beyond description. For example, the mode of packing. The hold of a slave vessel is from two to four feet high. It is filled with as many human beings as it will contain. They are made to sit down with their heads between their knees: first, a line is packed close to the side of the vessel, then another; and then the packer, armed with a heavy club, strikes at the feet of the last line, in order to make them press as closely as possible against those behind. And so the packing goes on, until, to use the expression of an eye-witness, they are wedged together in one mass of living corruption. Then the stench is so dreadful, that I am assured by an officer that holding his head for a few moments over the air-hole was almost fatal to his life. Thus it is that, suffocating for want of air, starving for want of food, parched with thirst for want of water, these poor creatures were compelled to perform a voyage of 1400 miles. No wonder the mortality is dreadful.'

Mr. Buxton's statements produced a deep impression upon the House, and he obtained a select committee to inquire whether the slave trade had or had not existed in the Mauritius. Mainly through the laborious exertions of Mr. Stephen, the testimony of 320 witnesses of good character was obtained to attest from their personal knowledge the existence of the traffic in slaves in the



Mauritius. In consequence, first of the excitement of the general election of 1826, and next of a sharp attack of illness due to overwork and excitement, Buxton was compelled to discontinue for a time his exertions for the suppression of the traffic in slaves and the improvement of the condition of the negroes. Meanwhile, however, the Jamaica Assembly, in order to avert further interference with their 'property,' made a pretence of passing an Act to alter and amend the laws in the island, but left untouched the whole of the radical evils of the system. Mr. Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary, declined to sanction an Act which was nearly worthless, and recommended the Assembly to adopt measures which would really make some improvement in the condition of their slaves; but, as a matter of course, they turned a deaf ear to his suggestion, and nothing was done.

On Buxton's recovery the attack on the slave trade at the Mauritius was resumed. Sir George Murray, who in 1828 had replaced Huskisson at the Colonial Office, agreed to send out a Commission to make inquiry on the spot as to the truth of the allegations made by the Abolitionists. Every possible obstruction was placed in the way of the Commission, and the inhabitants banded themselves together in a kind of conspiracy to prevent any evidence from being laid before them. But in spite of the great difficulties they had to encounter, the Commissioners both clearly proved the existence of the slave trade in the Mauritius, and ascertained the large extent to which it had been carried since 1810, except during the brief administration of General Hall. On their return, Sir George Murray admitted in the most unequivocal terms that slave-trading to a vast extent prevailed in the Mauritius, and that all the statements of the Abolitionists on this subject had been well founded. He also promised that he would take measures to liberate all slaves illegally imported. Sir George had agreed to the proposition that every slave in the Mauritius should be set free whose master

could not prove a title to his possession. Unfortunately, before this resolution could be carried out, Lord Goderich, who had been appointed Colonial Secretary, had been induced with his usual weakness and facility to lay the *onus probandi*, not upon the master, but on the slave—a difference and a hardship of no small magnitude. Notwithstanding, a considerable number of slaves were able to prove that they had been stolen or forcibly carried off from their native country, and accordingly obtained their freedom. The efforts of the Abolitionists were thus crowned with complete success, and the accursed system, which, owing to the negligence or connivance of the Government at home, and the dishonesty and rapacity of the local authorities, had for fourteen years flourished in rank luxuriance at the Mauritius, was expelled from its last asylum in the British dominions.

The Anti-slavery feeling was now steadily rising in the country; but the planters, utterly blind to the signs of the times, obstinately refused to make any concessions to public opinion, or to take any steps to diminish the evils of slavery. By their invincible obstinacy and their barbarous treatment of the negroes, they had alienated even those who had been inclined to sympathize with their position. The Government were anxious to leave them to carry out for themselves the much-needed reforms in the system, but they had treated the suggestions of the Government with defiance and contempt. 'They had punished the rebel negroes with a severity which had shocked every feeling of humanity; they had condemned Smith to the gallows, and thus turned the Independents against them; they forced Shrewsbury to fly for his life, and the Wesleyans were aroused; the Baptist chapels were burned to the ground, and the Baptists became their enemies.' Buxton might well say to the perverse, wrong-headed slave-owners who were thus exasperating one class after another—'Proceed then faster and faster;



you are doing our work ; you are accelerating the downfall of slavery. A few more such speaking testimonies to the merits of your system, and the people of England with one heart will abhor it, and with one voice will dissolve it.'

Arguments and appeals, however, were entirely thrown away upon the planters, who were utterly impervious to both. Of all the recommendations made by Canning for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, not one had been adopted by any colony except Nevis. That statesman had declared in 1823 that 'the first step towards emancipation would be the abolition of the practice of flogging females;' but even this first step had not been taken in 1830. The House of Assembly in Jamaica indeed, in defiance of Canning's advice, decided by a large majority that women should continue to be flogged indecently. In like manner all the other flagrant abuses which the Government in 1823 earnestly recommended the colonists to mitigate, were still upheld unchecked and unaltered. The slaves still suffered bitterly from the scanty supply of food and clothing. No regard was paid to their domestic ties. Families were still broken up and dispersed, according as the need or the caprice of the owner might dictate. Their religious teachers were persecuted and thwarted at every turn, the day of rest filched from them, and every hindrance thrown in the way of their education. Their masters, indeed, did not hesitate to declare that religious instruction 'is incompatible with slavery.' The slightest offences subjected them to the severest punishments—to the stocks, to the prison, and to the whip ; and no matter how grievous might be the injuries inflicted on them, it was almost impossible for them to obtain redress.

The severity of their toil may be judged of by the fact that in Jamaica, where by far the greatest number of slaves were located, the amount of field labour allotted by law and performed under an almost vertical sun, was seventeen hours a day during the

crop time, and fourteen and a half during the remainder of the year. The weak and even diseased slaves were compelled by the whip of a brutal driver to keep up to the pace of their stronger comrades. The prohibition of the use of the whip in the field made their sufferings more severe by adding largely to the number of the regular floggings administered subsequently in private. In the Crown colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, which were under the direct control of the Colonial Office, the ameliorations were carried into effect, which Jamaica and the other islands governed by assemblies rejected with scorn and contempt. And yet even in these four colonies, upon the oaths of the planters themselves, there were registered in the two years 1828-29 no fewer than 68,921 punishments by flogging, of which 25,094 were registered as inflicted upon females. It was estimated that the total amount of stripes inflicted during these two years, in the four colonies mentioned, could not have been short of 1,350,000. In Demerara, which contained 69,000 slaves, 200,000 stripes were inflicted on them annually. Thirty-nine lashes with the cart whip used in flogging slaves were estimated as equal to 300 with the cat. This state of matters in the colonies where slavery existed in its mildest form, after the public had for years demanded a reform of the system, and the Government had tried every method of moral suasion and of earnest recommendation, fully warranted Mr. Stanley's statement that it was not 'till all means had been exhausted ; till every suggestion had been made ; till every warning had been given ; and had not only been given in vain, but had been met by the Colonial Legislatures with the most determined opposition—that England took the work of reconstructing West Indian society into her own hands.'

A presage of the success which was to attend the efforts of the enemies of slavery was afforded in the session of 1828, by the satisfactory result of Dr. Lushington's exertions on behalf of the free people of colour,



who had long suffered the most unwarranted and cruel treatment at the hands of the planters and their subordinates. An Order in Council was issued, by which they were at once placed on the same footing in every respect as their white fellow-citizens—a measure fraught with momentous consequences to the welfare of the West Indies. In the same session Mr Buxton's exertions, made at the instance of Dr. Philip of the Cape of Good Hope, on behalf of the Hottentots were crowned with easy and complete success. These poor creatures had long been shamefully robbed and oppressed by the inhabitants of Cape Colony, and especially by the Dutch Boers; and had sunk even to a lower depth of misery than the negroes. 'Their rich lands and vast herds of cattle had long since become the spoiler's prey. At the caprice of the Dutch Boers they were subjected to the heaviest labours, to every species of harassing annoyance, and to every kind of revolting punishment. Beneath this grinding misery their numbers had dwindled, their persons had become dwarfed, and their minds brutalized till the very negro slaves looked down on them as lower and baser drudges, far below the level of mankind.' In 1820 Dr. Philip had been sent out by the London Missionary Society on a deputation appointed to inquire into the state of their missions in South Africa. On his return to England in 1822, he made known the information which he had obtained respecting the wretched and degraded condition of the Hottentots; and Dr. Lushington moved in the House of Commons for a committee of inquiry to proceed to the Cape, which was granted; and the reports of the commissioners, and especially the publication in 1826 of Dr. Philip's 'Researches in South Africa,' excited much attention. Mr. Buxton brought forward a motion for an address to the king on behalf of the natives of South Africa. It was at once acceded to by the Government, and Sir George Murray, Secretary to the Colonies, issued an Order

in Council giving entire emancipation to the Hottentots. These poor, down-trodden creatures were thus at once raised to the level of their white oppressors; 'they were protected by the same laws, they could own property, they could demand wages in return for their labour, they could no longer be seized "like stray cattle" if they left their village bounds; in short, they were become a free people; and since that day civilization and Christianity, with all their retinue of blessings, have flourished among them.'

These victories gained on behalf of 'the rights of man and the laws of God' were encouraging omens of a complete triumph over the system of slavery, with all its attendant sufferings, in every part of the British empire. The clouds were breaking away, and light began to dawn; but years of great anxiety and toil still intervened before the slaves reached the promised land. The views of the Abolitionists had been slowly expanding; in 1830 they suddenly assumed a new and more definite form. They had at first coincided in the notion that emancipation would be a disastrous boon to the slaves themselves, unless they were previously trained to enjoy it. Their object, therefore, as Mr. Buxton said, was not the sudden emancipation of the negro, but such preparatory steps, such precautionary measures, as by slow degrees and in the course of years—first fitting and qualifying the slave for the enjoyment of freedom—shall gently conduct us to the annihilation of slavery. But after seven years' unremitting labour to promote these ends, the Abolitionists now came to the conclusion that 'all attempts at gradual abolition were utterly wild and visionary.' The plausible maxim, that no people ought to be free till they are fit for their freedom, Macaulay said 'is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever.' It was clearly impossible that the



slaves could be instructed, trained, and made fit for liberty without the hearty co-operation of the planters; and they had doggedly refused to co-operate in any such undertaking. Even if the case had been otherwise, it is exceedingly doubtful whether, from the inherent nature of the system, success could have been attained. Labour must either be extorted by compulsion, with all its attendant evils, or gained by the natural and wholesome inducement of wages. 'A motive there must be,' said Buxton; 'and it comes at last to this: inducement or compulsion; wages or the whip.'

The conviction that there was no hope of the negroes being made fit for liberty while they were still slaves, was necessarily followed by a total change in the policy of the Abolitionists. They had hitherto been merely lopping the branches of the deadly moral upas tree; they now resolved to strike at the root. Not only had all the most degrading features of the system been obstinately maintained by the slave-holders and the colonial legislatures, but the condition of the negroes had undergone a change for the worse. The large and rapid diminution in the yearly amount of colonial produce had placed not a few of the planters in straitened circumstances, and made them try to avert impending ruin by exacting harder work from their slaves. Many of the proprietors, too, were non-resident, and their estates were managed by agents; and the agents employed drivers, whose interest it was to wring the utmost possible amount of work out of the slaves, and to spend as little as possible upon them. Captain S. Hodgson of the 19th Infantry, in his work entitled 'Truths from the West Indies,' published at this time, says, 'There are few *bona fide* proprietors resident on the spot; the greater part of the estates are mortgaged to nearly their full value, and are superintended by some of the mortgagees or their agents. These people have no idea beyond grinding out of the property the largest possible sum in the shortest possible period,

perfectly indifferent to the eventual ruin they must entail by the overworking of the soil; and having no sympathy for the slaves, whom they literally regard as cattle, they think alone of the present gain to themselves. Where the proprietor resides, I have generally observed him kind, and his people happy and contented.'

It need excite no surprise that in these circumstances the slave population had decreased, and was still rapidly decreasing. The free black population in Demerara had increased by one-half in fourteen years, and in Hayti the number of the free negroes had more than doubled in twenty years. On the other hand, in the British West Indies the bond negroes had decreased in the same period from 800,000 to 700,000. In Demerara the slave population had diminished by 12,000, and in Trinidad by 6000 within twelve years. In Tobago within ten years one-sixth of the slave population had perished. If the blacks in slavery, said Buxton, had increased as the free blacks increased, the slave population should have added in the last ten years 200,000 to its numbers, whereas it had diminished by 45,000. To have kept pace with the free blacks, the blacks in slavery should have increased 20,000 a year, whereas they had decreased by 4000 a year. They should have increased fifty a day, whereas they had decreased by ten. In Demerara, Essequibo, Jamaica, St. Christopher's, and St. Vincent, the official returns showed that the loss of life had been greatest in the last three of the twelve years during which those returns of population had been made. It was proved beyond a doubt that this result was produced by forced labour in the sugar colonies, and by nothing else; and the decrease was proceeding at such a rapid rate, that the depopulation of the West India Islands was within a measurable distance. The planters, it was tersely said, were themselves terminating slavery by destroying the slaves.

It was in these circumstances that the Abolitionists raised the banner of total and



immediate emancipation; and they soon found that they had struck a chord which vibrated through every part of the kingdom. In May, 1830, a crowded meeting was held in Freemasons' Tavern, London, to promote the great cause of the abolition of slavery. Mr. Wilberforce, the veteran leader of the party, emerged from his retirement for the last time to take the chair. Mr. Buxton proposed and Lord Milton seconded the resolution, that 'no proper or practicable means should be left unattempted for effecting at the earliest period the entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions.' Another of the speakers declared, in words which roused the utmost enthusiasm in the large audience, that the time had come when they should speak out, and speak out boldly, their determination *that slavery shall exist no longer*. This resolution was re-echoed in another great meeting held shortly after in Edinburgh, at which Dr. Andrew Thomson, amid the most enthusiastic applause, vehemently protested against any further pretexts for delay, and exclaimed, 'We ought to tell the Legislature plainly and strongly that no man has a right of property in man; that there are 800,000 individuals sighing in bondage under the intolerable evils of West Indian slavery, who have as good a right to be free as we ourselves have; that they ought to be free, and that they must be made free.' At an adjourned meeting of the citizens a petition for immediate emancipation was adopted, to which 22,000 signatures were subscribed in a very few days.

But though the Abolitionists had thus taken a large stride forwards, the Government were quite resolved not to mend their pace. Indeed, it had become painfully evident that an unreformed Parliament, in which the West India interest could without difficulty, simply by the power of the purse, always command at least eighty seats, was not likely ever to carry out the total, much less immediate, emancipation of the negroes. Though the

colonial legislatures had persistently and contemptuously rejected its recommendations, the Government still cherished the most simple-minded faith in the good intentions of the planters, and was as desirous as ever to leave them to the freedom of their own will in their mode of treating their slaves. The friends of the negro, however, were not inclined to put confidence in the good intentions of those slave-drivers who flogged women and caused refractory slaves to be torn to pieces by the lash; and on the 13th of July, 1830, Mr. Brougham brought the question before the House of Commons in a speech of extraordinary power and thrilling interest. He described in vivid terms the shocking outrages which the colonists had inflicted on the clergymen and missionaries who gave religious instruction to the slaves—their chapels attacked, and their houses fired into by a party of the militia; and the ministers themselves, on the most frivolous pretexts and in an utterly illegal manner, thrown into a filthy and loathsome dungeon, where one of them died. The great orator then proceeded to give a description of two cases of horrid cruelty, which must have made the blood even of the most hardened West Indian advocate run cold and his flesh creep.

A slave girl, belonging to an Episcopal clergyman named Thomas Wilson Bridges, had been ordered to dress a turkey for dinner; and the order having been disobeyed her master struck her a violent blow which caused her nose and mouth to flow with blood, applying to her at the same time an oath and a peculiarly coarse epithet highly unbecoming in a clergyman, and indeed in any man, as it is the name most offensive to all womankind. He then commanded two men to cut bamboo rods and point them for her punishment. She was stripped of every article of dress, and flogged till the back part of her, from the shoulders to the calves of the legs, was one mass of lacerated flesh. She made her escape, and went to a magistrate. The



matter was brought before what is called a Council of Protection appointed to protect slaves against harsh and unjust treatment, where, by a majority of fourteen to four, it was resolved that no further proceedings should take place. This cruel and shocking treatment of the poor slave girl was brought under the notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who directed the evidence to be laid before the Attorney-General; but nothing was done to bring Mr. Bridges to justice.\*

Brougham then proceeded to relate a much more atrocious story, which he had found in a despatch of Mr. Huskisson, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

A Mr. and Mrs. Moss, a lady and gentleman of good position, had a slave girl whom they suspected of theft; but some disobedience in refusing to mend the clothes was the more immediate cause of her punishment. They placed her in the stocks from the 22nd of July till the 8th of August, 1826—a period of seventeen days. The stocks were so constructed, that she could neither sit up nor lie down in an easy posture; and she remained in them night and day. During this time she was flogged six times; and lest sleep should somewhat mitigate her sufferings, her master and mistress rubbed red pepper upon her eyes. After she was taken out of the stocks tasks were assigned her which, even in the opinion of the overseer, she was unable to perform—sometimes because they were beyond her power, at other times because she could not see to do them on account of the pepper having been rubbed on her eyes; and she was flogged for failing to accomplish these tasks. A violent distemper had been prevalent on the plantation during the summer. On one of the days of her confinement in the stocks she complained of

fever, and one of the floggings which she received was the day after she made this complaint. When she was taken out of the stocks she was cramped and stiff with her confinement, and she was again flogged and sent to work in the fields, though she had heretofore been a house servant. On the evening of the third day the wretched victim complained of being ill with fever, and the driver brought her to her inhuman master and mistress, alleging that she was ill and refused to work. She again complained that she had fever. They were of a contrary opinion, but directed the driver to take her to the negro house, and if she should prove to be ill, to bring her to them for medicines in the morning. The only medicine she received was another flogging. She was taken to work in the field at seven o'clock in the morning. Exhausted nature sank under the treatment she had received, and she died there at noon. The verdict was that she had died by the 'visitation of God!'

The Mosses, however, had been cruel overmuch; even the Jamaica colonists felt that they had gone too far. They were tried for their atrocious behaviour, and were sentenced to a small fine and to five months' imprisonment.

The public indignation, as Brougham said, followed the transaction; but it was indignation against the punishment, not the crime, and against the severity, not the lenity of the infliction. General Grant, the Governor, states in his despatch that he had been applied to by the most respectable inhabitants to remit the sentence—that he loses no time in applying to Lord Bathurst to authorize the remission. He speaks of 'the unfortunate Henry and Helen Moss;' says 'they are rather to be pitied for the untoward melancholy occurrence;' and that 'he hastens to prevent the impression which the mention of the case might make on his Lordship's mind.' In a second despatch he earnestly renews the application, describes 'the respectability of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, their general kindness to

\* This clerical scoundrel had before this time earned an unenviable notoriety by his scurrilous and libellous attacks on the venerable Mr. Wilberforce, for publishing one of which a bookseller was convicted of libel by a jury. But probably on that very account Bridges was held in good repute by the Jamaica slave-owners.



their slaves, the high estimation in which they were held by all who have partaken of their hospitality;' asserts that 'they have always been favourably spoken of in every respect, including that of slave management;' states his own anxiety that 'persons of their respectability should be spared from imprisonment; and that at any rate 'the verdict should be relinquished, lest they should be thought cruel and oppressive beyond others, and also to remove in some degree the impression of their being habitually and studiously cruel.'

It was justly said by Mr. Fox, that when some grievous crime is perpetrated in a civilized community we are consoled by finding in all hearts a sympathy with the victim, and an approval of the punishment by which the wrong-doer expiates his offence. But in the West Indies there is no such solace to the mind; there all the feelings flow on a wrong course—perverse, preposterous, unnatural. The hatred is for the victim, the sympathy for the tormentor.

When the imprisonment of the Mosses terminated, their release was celebrated by a public procession of the slave-holders and their retainers; and they were welcomed to their home with congratulations and shouts of applause, as if they had suffered for some great and noble cause. To crown this demonstration of public feeling in the colony, the Governor, who had warmly sympathized with the respectable persons that had in such a brutal manner murdered the poor slave girl, was promoted to the Governorship of Trinidad, which, according to Mr. Canning, was about to be made the model by the Crown for all slave colonies.

Brougham concluded his magnificent speech with the motion, 'That this House do resolve at the earliest practicable period of the next session to take into serious consideration the state of the slaves in the colonies of Great Britain, in order to the mitigation and final abolition of their slavery, and more especially in order to the amendment of the administration of justice within the same.' It was, of course, opposed

by the Ministry, and was rejected by the House by a majority of twenty-nine; but Brougham's speech produced a great impression on the country, and mainly contributed to his election a few months after as member for the great county of York.

The House of Lords, however, even more than the Commons, was the stronghold of the West India interest. A considerable number of the leading Tory peers had estates in the colonies, and cordially re-echoed the exclamation of Lord Wynford, who had been Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas—'God forbid that there should be anything like a forcing of the master to abandon his property in the slave! Once adopt this principle, and there would be an end of all property.' At this critical juncture the Duke of Wellington's Ministry resigned, and were replaced by Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, and other zealous advocates of the abolition of slavery. Lord Althorp stated, that he thought it was time 'to adopt other measures with the colonists than those of mere recommendations.' As an inducement to them to comply with the wishes of Parliament, he proposed that a distinction in the rate of duties should be made in favour of those colonies which should ameliorate the condition of their slaves. The Ministry resolved that the slaves which were the property of the Crown should be at once manumitted; and Lord Goderich, the new Colonial Secretary, issued a circular despatch to all the colonies, announcing the intention of the Government to arrange measures of substantial relief to the West Indian interests—the relief, however, to be dependent on the colonial legislatures' declaring the Order in Council, already in force in the crown colonies, to possess the force of law. But the colonists were as impracticable as ever. They expressed great indignation at the despatch of Lord Goderich, and at Lord Althorp's declaration that he would 'insist on the enforcement' of ameliorating measures, which they stigmatized as 'unjust and inhuman.' An insurrection, unhappily,



broke out at this time among the negroes in Jamaica, who, from hearing the indignant expressions of their masters respecting the manumission of the Crown slaves, imagined that all the slaves were to be emancipated. 'The great King of England,' it was reported, had ordered that they should all be set free on Christmas-day, 1831, that the 'free paper' had come, but had been fraudulently suppressed by the planters. They consequently held a meeting on the 21st of December, and refused to resume work. The insurrection, which commenced in the parishes of Trelawney, Portland, and St. James, spread rapidly among the negroes in the west of the island. These men assembled together in large bodies, supplied themselves with arms, and marched over the country, burning the plantations and buildings, and spreading devastation wherever they came. Martial law was proclaimed on the 30th of December, the militia were called out, and a body of troops, commanded by Sir Willoughby Cotton, were marched into the disturbed districts. But the revolt was not suppressed until many hundreds of lives had been lost, property to the amount of £1,000,000 destroyed, and the atrocities usually attending a servile war perpetrated on both sides.

The spirit displayed by the planters and their subordinates was quite as bad, and much less excusable, than the revolt of the slaves. They had always cherished a strong dislike to the missionaries, and had shown the greatest reluctance to permit religious instruction to be given to the negroes; and they availed themselves of the excitement caused by the insurrection, to inflict on the pastors and their flocks every species of cruelty and insult. 'I stake my character,' said Buxton, 'on the accuracy of the fact that negroes have been scourged to the very borders of the grave, uncharged with any crime save that of worshipping their God.' The planters now chose to imagine that the insurrection had been excited by the teaching of the Baptist

missionaries, and that some even of the Episcopal clergy were implicated in it. The Baptist chapels at Montego Bay, Falmouth, Lucia, and Savannah—seventeen in number—were razed to the ground by a white mob, encouraged by the magistrates and gentry of the island; and two of the missionaries, Messrs. Gardner and Knibb, were arrested on the charge of complicity in the rebellion, and indictments were made out against them. But there was not a tittle of evidence to support the accusation. The case against the former completely broke down, and the case against the other was abandoned by the Attorney-General. Charges of a similar kind were preferred against a Moravian minister, and he was tried by a court-martial, but acquitted.

The colonists were extremely irritated against the Home Government, and denounced the Order in Council as an unnecessary and mischievous interference with their rights and property, and even with their political privileges. The Jamaica Assembly declared that the 'primary and most powerful cause of the rebellion was the increasing and unconstitutional interference of his Majesty's Ministers with our local Legislature,' and they had the effrontery to tell the Governor, Earl Mulgrave, that all measures for the further amelioration of the slave population must emanate from themselves. At a great meeting of the planters in Trinidad it was agreed to protest against the Order in Council, and to petition the king and both Houses of Parliament for its repeal. The West India merchants in London presented a similar protest to the Colonial Secretary against the order, which they asserted to be 'unjust and oppressive, inconsistent with the Parliamentary resolutions of 1823, and destructive of the rights of property.'

The Government seemed to have been to some extent impressed by these clamorous complaints, for they voted a large sum of money to compensate the planters for the losses they had sustained by the insurrec-



tion. They also assented to a proposal made by Lord Harewood, the owner of a large estate in the West Indies, for the appointment of a committee of the Upper House to inquire into the state of the colonies, and the condition of the slaves. 'This committee,' said Mr. Buxton, 'is a pretext for delay and nothing else; I look upon it as a calamity to our cause.' The report of the committee was of course indecisive, but the effect of its investigations was to diffuse more knowledge and sounder principles. The influence of the West Indian party in Parliament was so great that the Government was exceedingly unwilling to bring the question to a decisive issue, and wished to avoid committing themselves to either party. The friends of the negro, on the other hand, were strongly of opinion that a hesitating, undecided policy was attended with great danger; and that it would be both useless and mischievous to defer emancipation till 'a progressive improvement should have been made in the character of the slave population by the temperate enforcement of ameliorating measures.' They therefore resolved to bring the question to an immediate issue. Mr. Buxton, on the 24th of May, moved 'that a select committee be appointed to consider and report upon the measures expedient to be adopted for properly effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest period, compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies.' Lord Althorp proposed to add 'in conformity with the resolutions of 15th May, 1823.' But Mr. Buxton refused to accede to this proposal, for he was of opinion that these resolutions had been the real cause of the long delay that had taken place in the emancipation of the slaves. The strongest efforts were made to induce him not to press his motion to a division. But though 'cruelly beset,' and acutely alive to the pain of refusing the entreaties of personal friends and political allies, he stood firm. Ninety members supported him; and though Lord Althorp's amendment

was carried by a majority of 176, 'the cause made a seven-leagued stride.' The investigations of the committees of both Houses were published together, and the general impression was that they had established two points—First, that slavery was an evil for which there was no remedy but extirpation; secondly, that its extirpation would be safe.

It was generally understood that Earl Grey's Government was now at last about to undertake the settlement of the question; but to the great surprise and disappointment of the friends of the negroes, there was no allusion to the subject in the king's speech at the opening of the session of 1833. The king, like all his family, was hostile to the emancipation of the slaves; Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, was weak and irresolute; and the subordinates in the Colonial Office were decidedly unfavourable to any interference with existing institutions. In these circumstances, as there were other important and pressing matters to be settled, the Ministry had resolved to defer for the present the consideration of this difficult and embarrassing question. But the Abolitionists were determined that there should be no longer delay in striking off the fetters of the slave. As soon as the speech from the throne was delivered Buxton hastened to the House of Commons, and gave notice of a motion on the subject for the 19th of March. The Government felt that they had committed a mistake, that it was impossible to avoid dealing at once with this question, and next day they intimated their intention to bring in 'a safe and satisfactory measure.'

The Ministry were greatly at a loss how to settle this question by a measure which would give satisfaction to the country, and yet be fair to the planters. Week after week passed away and nothing was done, and even a specific day for the discussion of the subject was not named. Buxton threatened to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice. Public meetings were held throughout the country, at which



strong resolutions were passed in favour of immediate emancipation, and many hundreds of petitions were poured in from every quarter. One from the females of Great Britain had no less than 187,000 signatures attached to it. Delegates from all the large towns in the three kingdoms assembled in London, and waited in a body on the heads of the Government, and at length Lord Althorp named a day on which their views would be explained. Goderich was 'kicked upstairs' into an earldom and the office of the Privy Seal, and on the 14th of May Mr. Stanley, his successor, laid before the House, in a speech of remarkable ability and eloquence, the leading features of the measure which the Government had resolved to introduce for the purpose of abolishing slavery throughout the British dominions.

Mr. Stanley had been Colonial Secretary little more than a month; but he showed that, short as the time was which he had had for preparation, he had completely mastered the subject, and was thoroughly conversant both with its principles and its details. He began by noticing the extent and depth of public feeling upon the question of slavery, which rendered it impossible to delay longer its settlement. 'There is,' he said, 'throughout the country, from one end of it to the other, a determination—a determination the more absolute and irresistible, because it is founded on that deep religious feeling, or that solemn conviction of principle which admits of no palliative or compromise, and which has declared itself in a voice to which no Minister can be deaf, and which no man who watches the signs of the times can misunderstand.'

He then gave a history of the question from the great debate in 1823 downwards, pointing out the efforts the Government had made to induce the colonists to co-operate in ameliorating the condition of the slaves, how confidently the Parliament had counted on the co-operation of the colonial legislatures, and how grievously the country had been disappointed in these expectations.

'The voice of friendly warning, the voice of authority, had been found to be in vain. Not a single step had been taken by any one of the colonial legislatures with a view to the extinction of negro slavery.' He then stated in most forcible terms the arguments for the total abolition of the system founded on the rapid decrease of the population, and on the shocking facts brought to light by the Abolitionists respecting the immense amount of punishment inflicted by the whip, pointing out the pregnant and dreadful fact that as the population diminished the number of stripes increased. 'We are told,' he said, 'that the slaves at the present moment are unfitted for the enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; that they have no domestic ties and no habits of industry; that they do not provide for their wants and would not provide for their families; that they have no forethought, no discretion; and that, in short, they would be utterly ruined were you to throw them loose upon the world. Sir, it is slavery which debars them from acquiring industrious habits; it is slavery which prevents them from exercising the virtues of foresight and prudence; it is slavery which leaves them nothing to labour for; it is slavery which takes away from them all the incentives to industrious labour, which debars them from all the ties of social intercourse; and then you declare them to be ignorant of the duties of social life—that they have no foresight, no industry, no prudence, no discretion, and therefore they must continue in a state of slavery!'

The Colonial Secretary then proceeded to unfold the plan which the Ministry had resolved to submit to Parliament for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, and moved the following resolutions in which that plan was embodied:—

1. 'That it is the opinion of the committee that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.'



2. 'That it is expedient, that all children born after the passing of any Act, or who shall be under the age of six years at the time of passing any Act of Parliament for this purpose, be declared free; subject, nevertheless, to such temporary restrictions as may be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.

3. 'That all persons now slaves be entitled to be registered as apprenticed labourers, and to acquire thereby all the rights and privileges of freemen, subject to the restriction of labouring under conditions, and, for a time to be fixed by Parliament, for their present owners.

4. 'That to provide against the risk of loss which proprietors in His Majesty's colonial possessions might sustain by the abolition of slavery, His Majesty be enabled to advance, by way of loan, to be raised from time to time, a sum not exceeding in the whole £15,000,000, to be repaid in such manner and at such rate of interest as shall be prescribed by Parliament.

5. 'That His Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the colonies, in aiding the local legislature in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.'

The discussion of these resolutions was adjourned to the 30th of May. The two main features of the scheme—apprenticeship for the negro and compensation to the planter—were extremely obnoxious to the more vehement Abolitionists, and were violently assailed by them. On the other hand, the West India body refused to listen to the proposal of a loan, and complained bitterly of the injustice inflicted upon them by the proposal to deprive them of their property without any real compensation. The Abolitionists, on their side, declared that the planters had no claim to any compensation for being deprived of that which, from its very nature, never could have been lawful property, and which consequently they ought never to have possessed. Buxton, who voted for the grant, 'as giving the best chance and the fairest prospect of a peaceful termination of slavery,' was violently assailed by his coadjutors of this class. 'If you had stood firm,' said Joseph Sturge the Quaker to him, 'the planters would have got no compensation.' 'Perhaps so,' was the reply; 'they no compen-

sation, and we no extinction of slavery; or rather, it would have been extinguished by a rebellion.' In the end the planters offered to accept a free gift of £20,000,000; and the Parliament voted that sum, in order to conciliate them, with a readiness highly creditable alike to the Legislature and to the country, and which has caused moralists of other countries to declare that 'the British Act of Emancipation stands alone for moral grandeur in the history of the world.'

It was against the apprenticeship system, however, that the chief opposition was made. Mr. Buxton thought it pregnant with mischief, and believed that it would prove wholly unworkable. He therefore moved an amendment limiting it to the shortest period necessary for establishing free labour, and suggested the term of one year; 'for,' said he, 'if we are to have neither wages nor the whip, neither hope nor fear, neither inducement nor compulsion, how anyone can suppose that we shall be able to obtain the labour of the negroes is to me unintelligible.' He was vigorously supported by Lord Howick, the eldest son of the Prime Minister, who had resigned his office of Under-Secretary to the Colonies on account of his objection to the proposal for apprenticing the slaves; and by Mr. Macaulay, who had also for the same reason sent in his resignation of the Secretaryship of the Board of Control. He, at some length, exposed the defects of the Government proposal. 'In free countries the master has a choice of labourers, and the labourer has a choice of masters; but in slavery it is always necessary to give despotic power to the master. The bill leaves it to the magistrate to keep peace between master and slave. Every time that the slave takes twenty minutes to do that which the master thinks he should do in fifteen, recourse must be had to the magistrate. Society would day and night be in a constant state of litigation, and all differences and difficulties must be solved by judicial interference. My apprehension



is, that the result of continuing for twelve years this dead slavery—this state of society destitute of any vital principle—will be that the whole negro population will sink into weak and drawing inefficacy, and will be much less fit for liberty at the end of the period than at the commencement. My hope is, that the system will die a natural death; that the experience of a few months will so establish its utter inefficiency as to induce the planters to abandon it, and to substitute for it a state of freedom.\*

Buxton's motion was lost, though only by seven votes; but as Lord Howick observed, the first fruits of the discussion were gathered the next day. The Ministers found that, if they persisted in pressing their proposal, they would inevitably be beaten; and Mr. Stanley intimated that, in deference to the wishes of the House, they had agreed to reduce the apprenticeship to seven years for the agricultural labourers, and to five years for the skilled labourers. The concession thus made to the Abolitionists on the one hand, and to the planters on the other, in regard to the proposed loan, insured the success of this glorious measure. It passed the House of Commons on the 7th of August; a fortnight afterwards it was read a third time in the House of Lords; and on the 28th the bill for the total abolition of slavery in the British dominions received the royal assent.

The delight with which this event was hailed, not only by the men who had borne the burden and heat of the day in this great struggle, but by the whole nation, was tempered by the death of Mr. Wilberforce, the apostle of slave emancipation, who entered into his rest on the 29th of July. Shortly before his death he exclaimed with fervour, 'Thank God that I should have lived to witness a day in which

England is willing to give £20,000,000 sterling for the abolition of slavery.' 'Would that Mr. Wilberforce had lived one fortnight longer,' wrote Miss Buxton to Mr. Macaulay, 'that my father might have taken back to him *fulfilled* the task he gave him ten years ago!'

The 1st of August, 1834, was the day on which the emancipation of the slaves was to take place throughout the British colonies. It was looked forward to with considerable anxiety. The West Indians had given utterance to the most gloomy predictions, and declared that rioting, drunkenness, confusion, and bloodshed would be the result. Happily these forebodings of evil were not fulfilled. The 1st of August fell on a Friday, and it was arranged that there should be a holiday from the Thursday night till Monday. The missionaries exerted all their influence successfully, to induce their congregations to celebrate their emancipation in a manner worthy of the great deliverance that had been wrought for them. On the evening of the 31st of July all the churches and chapels throughout the West Indian colonies were crowded with congregations of slaves. As the hour of midnight approached they fell upon their knees; and all hushed in silent prayer, awaited the solemn moment which proclaimed that the voice of the oppressor should be no more heard, and the servant should be free from his master. When the chapel bells sounded the hour of twelve, the kneeling crowd sprang to their feet and gave expression to their passionate emotions, and through every island rang the glad sound of thanksgiving to the God and Father of all, bond and free.

The Moravian poet, James Montgomery, appropriately celebrated this glorious event in some beautiful verses:—

'Hie to the mountain afar,  
All in the cool of the even,  
Led by yon beautiful star,  
First of the daughters of heaven.

Sweet to the slave is the season of rest,  
Scmething far sweeter he looks for to-night;

\* Macaulay's resignation was in the hands of Althorp when he delivered this speech; but a few days later he was informed that the Ministry declined to accept his resignation of his office.



His heart is awake in the depths of his breast,  
And listens till God shall say, "Let there be Light!"

Hear and hail it; the call  
Island to island prolong—  
Liberty! liberty! all

Join in that jubilee song.  
Hark, 'tis the children's hosannahs that ring!  
Hark, they are freemen whose voices unite!  
While England, the Indies, and Africa sing  
Amen! hallelujah! to "Let there be Light!"

The rest of the holiday was spent in cheerfull and innocent amusements, and on Monday morning the negroes all returned to work.

Much to the credit of the planters in Antigua, they at once surrendered the right of apprenticeship, and set their slaves wholly free on the 1st of August, 1834, and the results were most satisfactory. The Bishop of Barbadoes reported that, immediately on their emancipation, husbands and wives, hitherto living on different estates, began to live together. The number of marriages greatly increased. So did the attendance at the schools, and the planters complained that their whole weeding gang, instead of going to work, went to school. All the young women ceased to work in the fields, and began to learn female employments. Friendly societies for mutual relief increased. And lastly, the work of

the clergy was doubled, in consequence of the great increase in the number of the members of their congregations. The utmost desire was expressed by the negroes for religious instruction. The most intelligent and influential of the Antigua planters informed the bishop, that the experiment was answering to his entire satisfaction.

The reports were equally favourable from the other West India islands. Crime had rapidly diminished; marriages had considerably increased; education and religious instruction were making steady progress. Unfortunately the planters in some of these islands, especially in Jamaica, could not divest themselves of the evil habits formed under the system of slavery, and harassed the negroes by vexatious by-laws and cruel punishments, and in some respects their lot as apprentices was even worse than their lot as slaves. The apprehensions of those who predicted that the apprenticeship system would be productive of serious evils, and would utterly fail in preparing the slaves for entire freedom, were more than fulfilled; and long before the period fixed for its termination, the Legislature was compelled to interpose for the protection of the apprentices, and in 1838 the system was entirely abolished.



## CHAPTER VI.

The Factory System—Cruel Treatment of Apprentices—Bills restricting the hours of labour in Cotton Mills—Efforts of the first Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Sadler to protect juvenile workers—Lord Ashley's Bill altered by the Government—Opposition of the Millowners—Bribery and Corruption in English and Irish boroughs—Lord Warwick accused of Bribery—Motion for vote by Ballot, and for Triennial Parliaments—Work of the Session—Unpopularity of the Ministry—The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—Second Session of the Reformed Parliament—Agitation in Ireland—The Tithe Bill—Lord John Russell's Declaration respecting the Irish Church—Mr. Ward's motion—Resignation of four members of the Cabinet—Their successors—Foolish speech of the King—Commission on the Irish Church—Coercion Bill—Littleton's imprudent communication to O'Connell—Its result—Resignation of Lord Althorp and of Earl Grey—The King proposes a Coalition Ministry—Reconstruction of the Government—Melbourne Premier—Coercion Bill modified—Abortive measures—Church-rates—The English Poor Laws—Their injurious influence—Poor Law Commission—Poor Law Amendment Bill—Favourably received by the Lords and Commons—Opposed by the *Times*—Amendments by the Lords—Receives the Royal Assent—Lord Brougham's Tour in Scotland—Lord Althorp's elevation to the Upper House—Dismissal of the Melbourne Government.

THE interests of the negro had for some time so completely absorbed the attention of the philanthropists both in Parliament and throughout the country, that the hardships inflicted on the white labourers at home had to a considerable extent been overlooked. Children employed in factories and workshops were up to this time wholly unprotected by any statute law. Parents and the masters of apprentices might indeed be punished at common law for neglect or cruelty; but no provision was made for taking action even in such cases, and there was no public prosecutor empowered to put the law in operation, even against the most heinous offenders. At this period the parochial authorities were empowered by law to apprentice the children of poor parents to any trade, and the master was bound to receive the apprentices. These poor unfortunate creatures might be separated from their parents, and sent to the most distant parts of the kingdom. The London poor-law guardians were in the habit at this time of relieving themselves from the support of their pauper children, by sending them in hundreds at a time into the manufacturing districts. 'It is a very common practice,' wrote Romilly in 1811, 'with the great populous parishes in London to bind children in large numbers to the proprietors of cotton mills in Lancashire and Yorkshire, at a distance of 200 miles.

The children, who are sent off by waggon loads at a time, are as much lost for ever to their parents as if they were shipped off for the West Indies. The parishes that bind them, by procuring a settlement for the children at the end of forty days, get rid of them for ever; and the poor children have not a human being in the world to whom they can look up for redress against the wrongs they may be exposed to from those wholesale dealers in them, whose object it is to get anything that they can possibly wring from their excessive labour and fatigue.' 'Instances,' he goes on to say, 'and not very few, have occurred in our criminal tribunals, of wretches who have murdered their parish apprentices that they might get fresh premiums with new apprentices.' The shocking fact was publicly stated in the House of Commons, that the London local authorities made the manufacturers agree to take one idiot for every nineteen sane children. The sufferings which these poor, unprotected, worse than orphan children endured at a time when there were no laws to regulate their hours of toil, or to secure that they should be well treated and educated, must have been dreadful. As the supply was always quite equal to the demand, harsh and cruel masters and overseers had no motive to care for the health and comfort of the white slaves, whom they used up without scruple or remorse.



‘Little children,’ said the first Sir Robert Peel in 1816, ‘torn from their beds, were compelled to work at the age of six years from early morn till late at night, a space of perhaps fifteen to sixteen hours.’ It is a striking and lamentable proof of the prevailing inhumanity at that period, and the extent to which the demand for cheap labour and the ‘greed of filthy lucre’ had blinded men’s minds to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, that the continuance of this system of infant labour and misery should have been publicly advocated by men of high character and position. An influential member of the House of Commons asserted, that ‘it would be too highly injurious to the public to put a stop to the binding so many apprentices to the cotton manufactories, as it must necessarily raise the price of labour and enhance the price of cotton manufactured goods.’

The hardships of the factory system at this period no doubt fell with special severity on the pauper children, deprived, as they were, of a parent’s protection and care. But the children of the working classes throughout the manufacturing districts were habitually subjected to the bondage of premature toil and the most brutal treatment; and under the combined influence of the greed of gain on the part of the masters, and the wasteful dissipated habits of the parents, the wretched creatures were thrust into the factories at the age of eight or seven, and in many instances even of six years, and compelled to toil twelve and not unfrequently thirteen hours a day in an unwholesome atmosphere, rarely able to relieve their wearied bones by sitting down. They were subjected to the most grievous hardships; kicked and beaten by the adult operators, two short intervals of half an hour only allowed them for meals, mixing constantly with vicious and degraded society, it is no wonder that their health was permanently injured and their morals ruined, that many of them perished in childhood, and that the survivors grew up weak, sickly, and deformed, grossly ignorant and depraved.

Sir Robert Peel, the father of the great statesman, appears to have been the first to direct attention to the sufferings of the children employed in factories; and at his instance a select committee was appointed in 1816, which presented a report containing a great amount of important evidence, but made no recommendation. Two years later Sir Robert brought in a bill forbidding the employment of children under nine years of age, restricting their labours to ten hours a day, which was supported by Wilberforce and other eminent philanthropists. But the Lords, as usual at that time, preferred class interests to the claims of humanity, and confined the operation of the bill to cotton factories, at the same time extending the hours of work to twelve daily. In 1825 Sir John Hobhouse introduced a measure for the regulation of cotton factories, and succeeded in obtaining for children employed in these establishments a quarter of a holiday on each Saturday. That a child of ten years of age should not be compelled to toil in a cotton factory more than sixty-nine hours in one week seemed to the legislators of that day quite a sufficient restriction on infant labour. But in the other textile industries, such as the woollen and silk mills, in which many thousands of children were employed, they were left without any legal protection, and were entirely at the mercy of their masters.

No further efforts, however, were made to mitigate the toils and the sufferings of the factory children until 1832, when Mr. Sadler, the member for Newark (the Duke of Newcastle’s borough), an extreme Tory, but a highly honourable and able man, brought in a bill to regulate infant labour in factories, and to protect the juvenile workers from the maltreatment to which they were subjected. He proposed that no child under nine years of age should be employed for more than ten hours a day. It met with a somewhat cold reception from both sides of the House, and the second reading was agreed to only on condition that the bill should be referred to a



select committee. The result, however, was different from what the opponents of the measure expected. The inquiry occupied the whole of the remainder of the session. No less than eighty witnesses were examined, of whom twenty-one belonged to the medical profession; and their evidence disclosed a state of brutal treatment and suffering utterly appalling. It showed that in consequence of early and heavy work in ill-ventilated factories, protracted to sixteen and seventeen hours a day, the operatives of Yorkshire and Lancashire, formerly noted for their stalwart frames, were becoming a dwarfed, stunted, and deformed race. The committee merely reported the evidence without making any recommendation, and the session was by this time too far advanced to admit of any action being taken upon it.

Mr. Sadler unfortunately did not succeed in obtaining a seat in the first Reformed Parliament, and the measure which he had originated passed into the hands of Lord Ashley, the eldest son of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who now entered upon that philanthropic career which he has pursued with unwearied assiduity for the period of well-nigh fifty years. Not a few of the most influential supporters of the Government, however, were extensive manufacturers; and other members of the Whig and Radical party, along with the political economists, strongly deprecated any interference with the employment of labour and the transactions of trade and commerce. Influenced by the urgent representations of his constituents, Mr. Wilson Patten (afterwards Lord Winmarleigh), one of the members for the northern division of Lancashire, a moderate Conservative, proposed that the bill should be referred to a special commission to make further investigations into the subject. The operatives alone, he alleged, had been allowed to give evidence before Mr. Sadler's committee, and it was only just that the masters should have an opportunity of stating their case. The appointment of a Commission was carried

by a majority of only one. No time, however, was lost in nominating the members; and they immediately entered upon their duties. The various seats of the textile industries in the west and north of England, and in the manufacturing districts of Scotland, were visited by the Commissioners. Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary, who was resolved that no delay should take place in thoroughly investigating the state of matters, made them aware that 'the king's commandment required haste,' and, two months after their appointment, insisted on their reporting to him in a week. A body of authentic evidence was thus obtained, which placed the magnitude of the abuse beyond all controversy. When the Factory Bill came again before the House, Lord Althorp, acting under the influence of the manufacturers, moved that the bill be referred to a select committee, with the instruction that no child under fourteen should be allowed to work more than eight hours a day; that care should be taken of their education; and that inspection of the mills should take place in order to secure that these provisions should be carried into effect. He expressed his apprehensions that if the bill were passed in its present form, it would have a most injurious effect on the manufacturing interest of the country. The House, however, did not appear to share these apprehensions, for his motion was rejected by a majority of 164 to 141, and the bill was submitted to a committee of the whole House.

The Government were still so hard pressed by the manufacturing interest, that they returned to the charge. Lord Ashley's bill prohibited the employment of children under nine years of age, and the employment of young persons under eighteen years old for more than ten hours a day. The Government succeeded in substituting in committee a provision limiting the labour of persons under thirteen years of age to eight hours a day on the old plea, that to prevent all persons under eighteen years of age from working longer than ten hours a



day would have the effect of diminishing the manufacturing industry of the country when our rival manufacturers in other countries were unfettered in the mode of conducting their business. Lord Ashley, on this defeat, gave up his bill into the hands of the Ministry. Lord Althorp said he was desirous to protect those who could not protect themselves, and therefore resolved that the employment of children under nine years of age should be declared to be illegal; that children under thirteen should not work more than eight hours a day; and that the employment of young persons above thirteen and under eighteen should be restricted to twelve hours a day, or sixty-nine in the week. The bill also provided for the attendance of the children at school, and for the appointment of inspectors to see that its provisions were duly enforced.

The bill, even after it had been thus remodelled, was very keenly opposed in its progress through Parliament by a combination of the Tories and Radicals and the manufacturing interest. According to the arguments employed by this heterogeneous opposition, the Parliament had no right to interfere with industrial arrangements, and the mode in which capital was laid out, so as to make the most of its opportunities. Parents, too, were the only persons entitled to judge how their children ought to be employed; and any interference on the part of the legislature with this alleged parental right was denounced as unwarrantable and mischievous. Trade and commerce too, it was alleged, would be seriously injured by this attempt to enhance the price of labour; and 'foreign rivals would be enriched by Britain's sentimental folly.' The Home Secretary was waited on by deputations of millowners, who predicted that this ill-starred bill would bring ruin on them in their own particular trade, and on the whole country. Lord Melbourne, however, in his characteristic manner stated that in his opinion the country was by no means in danger from this measure, and

that it 'took a deal of ruining.' If the experiment of limiting the hours of labour should prove injurious, it could be discontinued; but he was resolved that it should be tried. The bill, as amended by the Government, passed both Houses of Parliament, and after the experience of nearly half a century must be admitted to have been most successful in its operation; though much still required to be done before factory legislation could be regarded as final or complete.

While the Parliament was thus engaged in philanthropic efforts to strike off the fetters of the slave and to ameliorate the sufferings and toil of the factory operatives, the Commons were unpleasantly reminded of their duty to carry out the projected improvements in the constitution of their own body, and to suppress and punish the bribery and corruption which had so long disgraced their election. The Reform Bill had put an end to the sale of boroughs; but it unfortunately had not by any means put an end to the sale of votes. Indeed, at no previous election had bribery, corruption, and intimidation so extensively prevailed as at the election of the first Reformed Parliament. Petitions were presented respecting the elections at Liverpool, Stafford, Warwick, Londonderry, and many other places, where bribery and corruption had prevailed to a scandalous extent. In each case the committee appointed to try the election found that corrupt practices had largely prevailed; but, as usual, that these practices had not been carried out with the authority of the candidates. In the case of Warwick the committee reported that, not only had gross bribery, treating, and intimidation extensively prevailed, but that the Earl of Warwick, Lord-Lieutenant of the county and Recorder of the borough, 'in violation of the resolutions and standing orders of the House, did unconstitutionally apply by his agent and steward £3000 and upwards towards the election expenditure and promotion of the political interest of Sir Charles J. Greville.' It was also reported



that the Earl's steward had caused numerous persons to be fictitiously rated to the poor for the sole purpose of creating fraudulent votes. On the last day of the session Colonel De Lacy Evans, one of the members for Westminster, called the attention of the House of Commons to the conduct of Lord Warwick; but the discussion was brought to an abrupt termination by the prorogation of Parliament. The bribery and corruption practised at Stafford—long a notoriously venal borough—was so extensive and flagrant, that a bill was brought in to disfranchise it, but the measure had to be postponed on account of the approaching termination of the session. Hertford, of which Lord Salisbury was the patron, merited a similar fate; but for the same reason, a bill for the better prevention of bribery there, was delayed till the following year. The elections in Londonderry, Carrickfergus, Newry, and other Irish boroughs, were disgraced by the same corrupt practices. But, as we shall see afterwards, the attempt of the Government to purify the constituencies and to punish the offenders was resisted and defeated by the Upper House.

Mr. Grote, one of the members for the city of London, and the author of an able and learned History of Greece, was of opinion that the most effectual remedy for these flagrant evils was to take the votes of electors by ballot; and on the 25th of April he brought in a bill for the substitution of secret for open voting in all Parliamentary elections. It was opposed, however, both by the Government and the Conservatives; and was rejected by 211 votes against 106 in its favour. A motion in favour of triennial parliaments, made by Mr. Tennyson, member for Lambeth, was also rejected though by a majority of only 49. There was an evident disinclination, both in Parliament and in the country, to introduce any further changes in the constitution until the Reform Bill had been tested, and its results made clearly manifest. A bill to relieve the Jews from all civil disabilities was introduced by Mr. Grant, and passed

the House of Commons; but on the second reading it was rejected by the Lords.

The session, which was prolonged until the 29th of August, was closed by the king in person. After briefly recapitulating the measures which the Parliament had passed, His Majesty intimated that a Commission had been issued for digesting into one body the enactments of the criminal law, and inquiring how far and by what means a similar process may be extended to the other branches of our jurisprudence. Another Commission had been appointed for investigating the state of the municipal corporations throughout the United Kingdom, in order to prepare the way for placing the internal government of corporate cities and towns upon a solid foundation. His Majesty had also the satisfaction to announce the complete success of the measure which had been enacted 'to control and punish the disturbers of the public peace in Ireland.' It had not, he said, been found necessary to use the powers which that measure conferred, except to a very limited degree; but 'the spirit of insubordination and violence which had prevailed to an alarming extent had been in a great measure subdued.'

The session, which was thus brought to a termination, had been one of unprecedented labour and of the greatest importance. The House of Commons had found it necessary to devote to the discharge of its onerous duties no less than 142 days, or 1270 hours. The reforms which the Ministry had effected during that time had been of unusual magnitude and value. They had remodelled the Irish Church, abolished slavery, opened the East India monopoly, settled the bank question, regulated factory labour, and greatly improved the whole administration of the law. And yet, said Brougham, on recounting its achievements, 'if this Government were to break up at the end of the present session, it would go out with far less credit than the feeblest Government that ever ruled—at least for a while.' This confession of



the unpopularity of the Ministry was a good deal overstated; but still the fact was undeniable that they had lost weight both in the eyes of the country, and even in the House of Commons itself. This, as Brougham remarked, was 'in part unavoidable; because the Government had been extravagantly popular; because absurd expectations, impossible to be realized, had been formed; and because all Governments, after being a little while in office, have to contend with the selfishness of disappointed individuals, and the fickleness of an unreasonable public.'

The Chancellor, who delighted in debate, and was ever ready to encounter an antagonist, thought that the unpopularity of the Government was owing to the supineness, or indifference, or timidity of the Cabinet Ministers in the House of Commons, especially Grant and Graham, who would not take the trouble to reply to the attacks which the Radicals and the Tories systematically made on the measures of the Government, and thus allowed these attacks to go forth to the country unanswered. There were other and more potent causes, however, at work to account for the decreasing popularity of the Ministry. The very measures which they had carried, and which were of inestimable value to the country, had raised up a host of bitter enemies in the persons of the West Indian proprietors, the Irish clergy, the Lancashire and Yorkshire manufacturers, the Repealers, and the Radicals. 'The Radicals are confident and sanguine,' said Greville, 'the Whigs uneasy, the Tories desponding, moderate men, who belong to no party but support Government, serious and not without alarm. There is, in fact, enough to justify alarm, for the Government has evidently no power over the House of Commons; and though it is probable that they will scramble through the session without sustaining any serious defeat, or being reduced to the necessity of any great sacrifice or compromise, they are conscious of their own want of authority and of that

sort of command without which no Government has been hitherto deemed secure.

The divisions in the Government, which had now become matter of notoriety, contributed still further to weaken its influence; while, on the other hand, the two great leaders of the Tory party—the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—had recovered a large measure of their popularity. Only two years before, the Duke of Wellington was assailed by the Londoners with hisses and reproaches, and was repeatedly in danger from the mob; but Mr. Greville mentions that now, in riding with the Duke through St. James' Park, he was 'marvellously struck with the profound respect with which the Duke was treated, everybody they met taking off their hats to him, everybody in the park rising as he went by, and every appearance of his inspiring great reverence'—'a sentiment,' he adds, 'in a great degree produced by the justice which is due to his political character, sometimes mistaken, but always high-minded and patriotic, and never mean, false, or selfish.' With regard to Peel, Greville, who did not like him, goes on to say that 'Peel gains every day more authority and influence in the House of Commons.' Poulett Thomson, one of the members of the Government, said that 'Peel's superiority over everybody in the House was so evident, his talent for debate and thorough knowledge of Parliamentary tactics, gained by twenty years of experience, so commanding, that he must draw men's minds to him, and that he was evidently playing that game, throwing over the Ultra-Tories and ingratiating himself with the House and the country.' To those who could discern the signs of the times, it was evident that the great Conservative party, comprising as it did a large majority of the Peers, the landed proprietors, and the clergy, along with a considerable part of the mercantile classes and the ignorant mob, had already recovered a large portion of their power in the country, and that they might expect to be again in office at no distant day.



The second session of the Reformed Parliament opened on the 4th of February, 1834, with a speech from the king in person, of which Sir Robert Peel sarcastically remarked that, experienced as he was in speech-making, he could not but admire the great skill with which the framers of the king's speech had avoided saying anything at all. It did, however, intimate in very decided terms, that the Government intended to introduce a measure for the final settlement of the tithe question in Ireland, and that they were determined to maintain the legislative union between the two countries. At the outset the time of the Parliament was wasted in an undignified squabble respecting an Irish member who was alleged to have privately expressed an opinion in favour of the Coercion Bill, though he had voted against it in the House; and in the discussion of a motion by O'Connell to refer certain charges against Baron Smith, one of the Irish judges, to a select committee—which was first agreed to and then rescinded. The great Agitator, on the 22nd of April, moved for the appointment of 'a select committee to inquire and report on the means by which the dissolution of the Irish Parliament was effected, on the effects of that measure in Ireland and upon the labourers in industry and the operatives in manufactures in England, and on the probable consequences of continuing the legislative union between the two countries.' It was generally believed that O'Connell brought forward this motion, which he well knew would meet with no support from the English and Scottish members, solely from apprehension that some of his followers in the House might take the question out of his hands, and from a desire to stimulate the flagging zeal of his followers in Ireland, and increase the amount of the 'rent' contributed by the Irish peasantry. The motion was feebly supported by Fergus O'Connor, Barron, Ruthven, Grattan, Shiel, and other Irish Home Rulers, who were only half-hearted in the contest; and it was vigorously opposed by Spring Rice,

Emerson Tennant, Sir Robert Peel, Sergeant Perrin, and other members both of the Ministerial and Conservative party, and was rejected by a majority of 485 votes. Only thirty-eight members voted for O'Connell's motion, and these, with one exception, consisted of Irish representatives, of whom, however, fifty-seven voted in the majority. The amendment proposed by Mr. Spring Rice, declaring the importance of maintaining the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, was followed up by an address to the Crown embodying the declaration. The address was unanimously adopted by the Peers, and was presented as the joint address of both Houses to the king, from whom it elicited an expression of the greatest satisfaction.

Ireland, however, continued to be the main difficulty of the Government, and it was impossible to bring forward any measure for the pacification of that unhappy country which was not certain to meet with strenuous opposition from at least one party, and frequently from two. The Act of the previous session for the compulsory composition of tithes had transferred the obligation to pay that obnoxious impost from the cottier tenant to the last lessor, and had thus given relief to the poor cottiers, and greatly reduced the number of tithe-payers; but in other respects it had not proved satisfactory. It was still found impossible to collect the tithes, either by military force or by civil process. The number of the troops employed in Ireland had been largely increased, and last year it had cost the country a million of money, besides £300,000 expended annually in maintaining the police force; but this large expenditure had failed to gain the end in view. The present arrangement, by which the Government had taken the collection of the tithes into their own hands, would expire on the 1st of November, and it was most unlikely that the Parliament would consent again to pay the tithes of the church out of the revenues of the state.

In these circumstances the Government



proposed to reduce the amount of the tithes by one-fifth, to commute the remainder into a land tax payable to the Treasury, and to allow it to be redeemed on favourable terms after the expiry of five years. This proposal was scouted by O'Connell and the Repealers as simply renewing the tithes under the name of a tax; while the High Churchmen and Tories regarded it with suspicion, as involving a diminution of the revenues of the church. The second reading of the Tithe Bill was moved by Littleton, the new Irish Secretary, on the 2nd of May. An angry debate ensued, which was ultimately adjourned till the 6th. It was well known that there was a decided difference of opinion in the Cabinet respecting the Irish Church, and that, while one section wished to transfer a portion of its revenues to the general purposes of education, another, headed by the Colonial Secretary, were strongly opposed to any such step. During the course of the adjourned debate on the Tithe Bill, Stanley, in answering O'Connell, was supposed by Lord John Russell to have avowed his adherence to the opinion which he had frequently expressed, that the Irish Church should be maintained in all its integrity. There is reason to believe that this was a mistake, and no such declaration is to be found in the report of Stanley's speech given in Hansard. But Lord John, under the impression that some such statement had been made, and afraid that, if it were received in silence by the other members of the Cabinet, they would all be considered pledged to the maintenance of the revenues of the Irish Church undiminished, thought it necessary to state his own views on the subject. 'The object of the bill,' he said, 'was to ascertain and secure the amount of the tithe. The question of appropriation was to be kept entirely distinct. If the State should find out that the revenue of the Church was not appropriated justly to the purposes of religious and moral instruction, for which such revenues were intended when given to any Church Establishment,

it would then be the duty of Parliament to consider of a different appropriation. His opinion upon that subject was, that the revenues of the Church of Ireland were larger than necessary for the religious and moral instruction of the persons belonging to that Church, and for the stability of the Church itself. He did not think it would be advisable or wise to mix the question of appropriation with the question of the amount of the revenues; but when Parliament had vindicated the property in tithes, he should then be prepared to assert his opinion with regard to their appropriation, and if, when the revenue was once secured, the assertion of that opinion should lead him to differ and to separate from those with whom he was united by political connection, and for whom he entertained the deepest private affection, he should feel much regret. Yet considering himself pledged, not only by his general duty as a member of that House, but by the resolution which had been passed the other day to attend to the just complaints of the people of Ireland, and considering that, if ever there was a just ground of complaint on the part of any people against any grievance, it was the complaint of the people of Ireland against the present appropriation of tithes, he should, at whatever cost and sacrifice, do what he should consider his bounden duty; namely, do justice to Ireland.'

This memorable declaration on the part of the Paymaster of the Forces was uncalled for and premature; but it made a great impression, and was received with loud and general cheering. Its effect upon the Ministry was expressed by Stanley in a well-known note to Graham, 'Johnny has upset the coach.' Lord John says, 'When the Cabinet next met, much dissatisfaction was expressed; some wished me to retract what I had said, but that I positively refused to do.'

The question of the Irish Church was evidently advancing to a crisis, and the threatened disruption of the Ministry could



not be much longer averted. On the 27th of May Mr. Henry Ward, member for St. Albans, moved a resolution on the subject of that Church, which brought matters to a crisis. Ward's motion seemed at first to excite little interest. He was a new member, had neither personal influence nor connection with Ireland, says Le Marchant, and hardly the Parliamentary experience to justify his bringing forward a motion of such importance. Lord Palmerston alleged that Ward's motion was planned and directed by Durham, who wished to return to the Government, which he could not do while Stanley and Graham and their associates were connected with it. The motion was certainly well fitted to produce a division in the Cabinet. It asserted that the revenues of the Irish Church exceeded the spiritual wants of the Protestant population, and the justice and necessity of immediately applying a portion of them to other purposes. The mover entered at some length into a consideration of the position of that Church, and affirmed that the attempt to collect the tithes for its support was the real cause of the disturbances that prevailed in Ireland. Resistance to it had become almost universal. The great majority of those who paid tithes were Roman Catholics, while the money was applied to exclusively Protestant purposes. Only about 800,000 persons, or not one-fourteenth of the population of Ireland, adhered to the Established Church there. He endeavoured to prove that the annual revenues of the Church amounted to nearly £1,000,000, and dwelt largely on the great inequality of the revenues of the clergy, and the extent to which non-residence prevailed. In 1819, he said, there were 758 residents and 531 non-residents, many of whom were in the receipt of large incomes, which they spent at Bath and Brighton and other fashionable places of residence in England. He professed that he did not mean to abolish the Establishment altogether, but to do away with the glaring disparity that existed between the scales of duties and of compensations. He would not give £800

or £1000 a year to the rector of a parish containing only ten or twelve Protestants, and even these forming, as in many cases they did, merely the family of the rector or vicar, brought into the parish for that very purpose.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Grote. At the close of his speech Lord Althorp rose and requested the House to adjourn, in consequence of circumstances which had come to his knowledge since the debate commenced. He could not at present state the nature of those circumstances; but he trusted that the House would believe that he would not make such a proposition without being convinced of its propriety. The motion was, of course, at once agreed to, and the members dispersed, under the conviction that the downfall of the Ministry was at hand.

The news which Lord Althorp received was the resignation of the minority of the Cabinet who were opposed to the appropriation of the funds of the Irish Church to other than ecclesiastical purposes. This step had been for some time threatened, but the Chancellor thought that he had averted it by proposing the appointment of a commission to inquire into the revenues of the Irish Church. This plan he believed would remove the scruples of Mr. Stanley, and restore harmony to the Administration. It is alleged that the Colonial Secretary would have yielded, but for the interference of Sir James Graham, who had gained great influence over him. The Earl of Ripon, Privy Seal, and the Duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General, shared the feelings and apprehensions of their two colleagues, and followed their example. The retirement of these four members inflicted a heavy blow on the Government. Stanley was undoubtedly their ablest debater; Graham, though timid and hesitating in council, and supposed to be somewhat intriguing, was an excellent administrator. Brougham says that all admitted that his administration of the Admiralty was as good as possible. Ripon



was a person of moderate abilities, and deficient in firmness and nerve; but he was an upright, honourable, and amiable man, and was possessed of excellent business habits. The Duke of Richmond had been a high Tory of the old school, a hot Orangeman, and an ultra-Protestant. Hence he could not forgive the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for the Emancipation Act, and joined with the Whigs in turning the Tory leaders out of office. He was in consequence taken into the Grey Ministry as the representative of his party. Brougham says, 'Richmond was an admirable colleague, full of courage, clear-headed, very good-humoured, very quick, very candid, uneducated, except as a soldier. He was an excellent speaker—few better that did not possess the art. In the Cabinet he was frank, open, and honest, despising all intrigue: we were always sure of him.'

The Prime Minister was anxious to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded him to retire from a situation which he had repeatedly expressed his wish to quit. At the beginning of the year 'a resigning fit,' as the Chancellor termed it, had attacked him with more than usual violence; and he was only induced to remain at his post by an urgent letter drawn up by Brougham, and signed by all his colleagues, assuring him that 'the entire and immediate dissolution of the present Government' would be 'the inevitable consequence' of his resignation. The energetic remonstrances of the Chancellor once more prevailed on him to lay aside his intention to retire. 'As to *not* going on after all that has passed,' Brougham said, 'it is absolutely ridiculous. *Nothing can* justify it, either to king, Parliament, or country.' The king said, 'As long as Grey and Brougham remained, he would give the Government his firm and hearty support.' It was no easy matter, however, to fill up the vacancies in the Cabinet caused by the retirement of the four members; but after a good deal of negotiation and several abortive proposals,

Spring Rice, who had been an excellent Secretary of the Treasury and was a ready speaker, was selected to succeed Stanley at the Colonial Office. The Marquis of Conyngham replaced the Duke of Richmond as Postmaster-General. The Earl of Carlisle, who had a seat in the Cabinet without office, became Privy Seal. Lord Auckland was made First Lord of the Admiralty in the room of Graham—an appointment which was strongly opposed by the Chancellor, and met with no favour from the public. Poulett Thomson, the Vice-president, became President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Abercromby, who had great weight with the House, was nominated Master of the Mint. Francis Baring, who had been a Lord of the Treasury, and was in Lord Althorp's opinion a person of first-rate abilities and the strictest integrity and truthfulness, succeeded Spring Rice as Secretary of the Treasury; and Edward Ellice, who had become Secretary at War when Hobhouse was promoted to the Irish Secretaryship—a person of remarkable sagacity, courage, and dexterity, and a general favourite with the House—was at the same time admitted to the Cabinet.

The members of the reconstructed administration, though they did not, like the seceding ministers, deny that the legislature had a right to appropriate any portion of the revenues of the Irish Church to other than ecclesiastical purposes, were not prepared to adopt the motion of Mr. Ward. They were well aware that any measure based on his resolutions would be at once rejected by the House of Lords. The king himself was decidedly hostile to any such proposal. He had recently, in the most unconstitutional and irregular manner, informed a deputation of the Irish bishops that he was determined to defend the Church. 'I now remember,' he said, 'you have a right to require of me to be resolute in defence of the Church.' He went on to assure them that the Churches of England and Ireland should be preserved unimpaired by him; and that if the inferior



arrangements in the discipline of the Irish Church required amendment, which, however, he greatly doubted, he hoped it would be left to the bishops to correct them without interference on any hand. I have spoken more strongly than usual, he said in conclusion, 'because of unhappy circumstances that have forced themselves upon the observation of all. The threats of those who are enemies of the Church make it the more necessary for those who feel it their duty to that Church to speak out. The words which you hear from me are indeed spoken by my mouth, but they flow from my heart.'

To crown all, there was no strong feeling in the country at this time in favour of the appropriation of Church revenues to secular purposes. The Ministry, therefore, resolved to evade a decision on the question, and to issue at once the proposed commission to investigate the condition and resources of the Irish Church. They instructed the Commissioners to make inquiry respecting the number of persons in communion with that church in each benefice or parish; its temporalities; the number and rank of the ministers officiating within each benefice; and the relative proportion of the number of members of the Established Church, Roman Catholics, and Protestant Nonconformists in Ireland.

When the House of Commons reassembled on the 2nd of June, Lord Althorp announced the step taken by the Government in issuing the commission of inquiry, and expressed his hope that Mr. Ward would now withdraw his motion until it could be ascertained what surplus remained to be disposed of after proper provision had been made for the support of the Church. Mr. Ward, however, declined to comply with this request, on the ground that the present Ministers seemed not likely to remain long in office; and if they were removed, the commission might prove wholly inoperative. Lord Althorp then moved the previous question, which, after a sharp debate, was carried by a majority of 276, although a

large number of the Conservative members left the House without voting.

The Tithe Bill, which was introduced by the Irish Secretary on the 20th of February, dragged its slow length through the House amid interminable discussions and objections both from the Conservatives and the Repealers. It underwent various fundamental alterations to meet the views expressed by both sides of the House, but without effect. O'Connell and his satellites attacked it with unmeasured violence, because it did not wholly abolish tithes. The Radical members were dissatisfied, because it contained no provisions for appropriating any part of the revenues of the Church to secular purposes; while Mr. Stanley, in a celebrated speech of a most acrimonious character, stigmatized the bill as it now stood as an act of petty larceny, wanting even the redeeming quality of bold and open robbery; and compared his late colleagues to a knot of thimble-riggers at a country fair. The bill, however, passed the House of Commons by a considerable majority, but was thrown out by the Lords by 189 votes to 122.

The Government had exerted all their influence to pacify the Irish people, and had narrowly escaped shipwreck in their anxiety to remove the grievances of that unhappy country; but after all it was an Irish question that brought them to grief. The Coercion Bill of the previous year was to expire with the close of the session. It had been productive of the most beneficial effects in suppressing outrages and vindicating the law, and the Cabinet were unanimously of opinion that it ought to be renewed, with the omission only of the clause which suspended the action of the ordinary tribunals in favour of martial law in the disturbed districts. O'Connell strongly objected to the clauses which authorized the Lord-Lieutenant to prohibit public meetings. It occurred to Littleton, the Irish Secretary, that the Government, on renewing the Coercion Bill, might omit this provision on the understanding that O'Connell should allow the Tithe Bill to



pass. He consulted the Lord Chancellor on the subject, and he readily consented to the policy of abandoning the clauses, and agreed that both he and Littleton should write to Lord Wellesley, stating that in their opinion the re-enactment of those clauses was no longer necessary to the peace of the country, and earnestly recommending him to concur in this view. The next day (June 20th) the Cabinet, in entire ignorance of this underhand dealing, formally decided to adhere to the meetings clauses. The Lord-Lieutenant had repeatedly written to the Ministry 'that it would be highly dangerous to the public peace to allow the Act for the more effectual suppression of local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland to expire;' and so late as the 11th of June he had declared that the clauses in question were indispensable; but now, influenced by the representations of Brougham and Littleton, he wrote to Lord Grey (June 23rd) pledging himself to govern Ireland without these powers. By the same post he replied to the letter of the Chief Secretary, expressing the same opinion to him. Althorp, on learning from Littleton that Lord Wellesley had expressed himself strongly against the renewal of the clauses, agreed that they must be given up: as no Government could ask Parliament for extraordinary powers in Ireland which the Lord-Lieutenant thought unnecessary. Littleton then suggested that he might apprise O'Connell that the Coercion Bill would not be renewed in its full severity. Althorp said 'he saw no harm in this, if it went no further; but he begged Mr. Littleton to be extremely cautious, and not to commit himself.' Littleton, however, who was singularly deficient in tact and discretion, did commit himself thoroughly; and, as he ought to have known, to one of the most crafty, unscrupulous, and untrustworthy of men. He sent for O'Connell, and under the seal of secrecy informed him that the renewal of the clauses was not desired either by the Lord-Lieutenant or himself, and intimated that Lord Althorp's

sentiments coincided with his own. To make the indiscretion and folly of this procedure complete, Littleton left Lord Althorp in ignorance of what he had done. Littleton's own account of this incident, which led to results no one anticipated, was as follows:—'I felt so entirely satisfied from Lord Althorp's assurances that the measure would be simply confined to agrarian outrages, that I did not hesitate to tell O'Connell that the Irish Government was of opinion that any other enactment was under the circumstances unnecessary. And on O'Connell expressing some doubt whether others in the Cabinet would not overrule the opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant, I added that "my own feeling about it was so decided, that I did not think it possible for me to vote for the measure in any other form than as directed against agrarian disturbances." I added that the moment the question was definitely settled he should be informed.'

On the meeting of the Cabinet a few days after (29th June) to deliberate on the Lord-Lieutenant's suggestion, Lord Grey, as had been foreseen, was most decided and emphatic in his refusal to make the proposed alteration in the Coercion Bill; no doubt feeling, as Brougham said, that it would be most unjust to curb the peasantry by the clauses relating to agrarian disturbances, and to leave agitators like O'Connell free to get up meetings in all the towns in Ireland professedly for the redress of grievances, but in reality for the repeal of the Union. Lord Grey's persistence in this course was probably strengthened by his resentment against O'Connell, who had loaded him with the most foul-mouthed abuse. Lord Wellesley had admitted that his offer to dispense with the public meetings clauses had been caused by communications which he had received from England; and Lord Grey was deeply hurt to learn that such communications had been made by members of his Government, and concealed from him. The majority of the Cabinet concurred with the Premier, although Althorp strenuously opposed the renewal of the clauses.



The Irish Secretary now learned to his dismay that the bill was to be renewed without alteration; but he had not the candour and moral courage to make Lord Althorp aware even yet of the extent to which he had committed the Government with O'Connell. He lost no time, however, in informing the Agitator that his expectations were about to be disappointed. O'Connell was very indignant, and told him that it was his duty to resign; but Littleton, unfortunately both for himself and for the Government, declined to take this course, probably relying on O'Connell's promise of secrecy. The Coercion Bill was introduced into the House of Lords on the 1st of July. Next day O'Connell brought the matter before the House of Commons, and in a burst of simulated indignation disclosed the communication made to him by the Irish Secretary, and spoke with a violence and grossness of abuse, which even his own adherents loudly condemned, declaring that he had been tricked and deceived by the Irish Secretary in order that the Whig candidate for Wexford might be returned at the election then pending. Littleton admitted that he had been guilty of gross indiscretion in his communication to O'Connell; but emphatically denied, and no doubt with perfect truth, that he had intended to deceive him, and commented with the spirit of an honourable man both on O'Connell's betrayal of confidence, and on the miserable excuse which he had put forth for his breach of faith.

On the following day the Lord Chancellor defended the Irish Secretary in the House of Lords, and admitted that he had himself been in communication with the Lord-Lieutenant as to the omission of the obnoxious clauses. The Premier warmly disavowed any knowledge of the communication with O'Connell, but unfortunately left upon the House the impression that the question was completely settled at the time that Mr. Littleton had represented it to be unsettled. This was a mere misunderstanding, and could have been easily explained;

but Littleton felt so keenly the imprudence of which he had been guilty in trusting a person like O'Connell, that he immediately wrote Lord Althorp expressing his willingness to retire, if his doing so would at all relieve the Government from the embarrassment in which his own indiscretion and O'Connell's perfidy had placed them. Althorp replied, 'The scrape we are in I admit to be a great one, but I do not see how your resignation will do us any good now. If you had resigned when I told you first of the decision of the Cabinet, it would have been better for *yourself*; but it must have broken up the Government. If you resign now, you will injure yourself and do us no good.' Lord Grey, on being shown the Secretary's letter, wrote Althorp, 'This move of Littleton's is, of all things I ever yet heard, the most utterly inconceivable. He does it, he says, to relieve us from embarrassment; but it is no relief to any one, and will only gratify the Orangemen, whom none of us wish much to please, as I should think. But it is ruinous to himself; and as his friend and well-wisher, I really think I cannot let him commit such an act of self-destruction.'

Matters seemed now satisfactorily arranged. Althorp, on moving that certain papers relating to the state of Ireland should be printed, vindicated Littleton from the imputation of having practised any deception on O'Connell, and stated that the Secretary had good grounds for saying that the clauses were still under the consideration of the Cabinet, and for expressing a hope that they would not be inserted in the bill. The Opposition, however, were bent on annoying the Government in every way in their power; and they clamoured for more information on the subject, and particularly for the production of the correspondence with Lord Wellesley. O'Connell moved that the papers which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had presented should be referred to a select committee; but the motion was rejected by 156 votes to 73. O'Connell, however, immediately



gave notice for the production of so much of the correspondence of the Lord-Lieutenant as would explain the reason why he opposed the renewal of the Coercion Act on or about the 20th of June.

Lord Althorp felt that the revelations made in such an indiscreet and maladroit manner by the Irish Secretary had placed him in a false position, and that he could not now urge the House to adopt clauses which he had strenuously opposed in the Cabinet. It has since appeared, what was known at the time only to Earl Grey, that he had carried his opposition so far as to tender his resignation to the Prime Minister, and was only induced to withdraw it by the earnest entreaties of his colleague. O'Connell's motion, says Le Marchant, completed the disgust of Lord Althorp. He could not brook the humiliation of being put on his defence against charges which he did not regard as legitimate objects of inquiry by the House. He also knew too well the morbid curiosity of members to push such inquiry to an improper extent, and that same night he intimated to the Premier his intention to resign. Lord Grey, as might have been expected, was deeply distressed by it, and sought in vain the next day by earnest expostulations, in a long interview, to prevail on Lord Althorp to withdraw it. Lord Althorp's determination, however, was final and irrevocable; and Lord Grey at once gave in his own resignation. The Government was consequently at an end, and on the following day (July 9th) Lord Grey announced his resignation to the House of Lords in an affecting speech, conspicuous alike for its dignity and honourable feeling. Lord Althorp at the same time made a corresponding statement in the House of Commons, quite in keeping with his characteristic candour, straightforwardness, and integrity.

On the evening of the day on which Earl Grey had sent to the king the letters containing his own resignation and that of Lord Althorp, a meeting of the Cabinet

was held, at which the Premier, after laying before them these letters and His Majesty's acceptance of his resignation, gave Lord Melbourne a sealed letter from the king. On opening this letter the Home Secretary found that it contained an invitation to him to undertake the formation of a Government. General surprise was felt by the House of Commons and the public, both at His Majesty's hurried acceptance of Lord Grey's resignation and at his choice of a successor to the late Prime Minister. But his purpose on taking those steps soon became apparent. His intention was that a coalition Government should be formed, strong enough to resist further legislative changes; and as Lord Melbourne had formerly been a member of the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, and was believed to have given a hesitating support to the Reform Bill, His Majesty probably thought that he was more likely than any of his colleagues to concur in such an arrangement.

When Lord Melbourne waited upon the king, the arguments for the formation of a Government which should include the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Stanley, were strongly urged upon him by His Majesty, who also, on parting, gave him the royal views and desires, in the handwriting of Sir Herbert Taylor, and called upon his lordship 'to enter into communication with the leading individuals and parties, and endeavour at this crisis to prevail upon them to afford their aid and co-operation towards the formation of an Administration upon an enlarged basis, combining the services of the most able and efficient members of each.' The king further desired Lord Melbourne to 'communicate with the Duke of Wellington, with Sir Robert Peel, with Mr. Stanley, and with others of their respective parties, as well as with those who have hitherto acted with himself, and have hitherto supported the administration; and that he will endeavour to bring them together and to establish a community of purpose.'

Melbourne courteously but firmly de-



clined to comply with His Majesty's request. He declared that the difficulty in the way of such a coalition appeared to him insurmountable, and the objections to his personally undertaking the task so great, as to render the successful termination of such an attempt utterly hopeless. He reminded the king that the distinguished individuals enumerated by him had each and all of them recently expressed, not only general want of confidence in His Majesty's Government, but the strongest objections, founded upon principle, to measures of great importance brought forward by the Ministry, such as the bill for the better collection of tithes, &c., the Commission for an inquiry into the state of religion in that country—measures, particularly the last, which were considered by Lord Melbourne vital and essential in the present state of public feeling and opinion. Melbourne concluded his reply with an explicit statement that he did not perceive any ground upon which the distinguished individuals referred to could be brought together at present, nor any chance of such an accommodation as would be consistent with their own avowed principles and satisfactory to the country.

The king was evidently very much disappointed and annoyed at Melbourne's refusal to undertake the task which His Majesty strove so hard to impose upon him, and ordered him to communicate the memorandum, in which the proposal for a coalition had been suggested, to the Opposition leaders. Its communication was formally acknowledged, and there the project for the fusion of the Whigs and Tories, on which the king's heart was set, terminated for the present, and His Majesty was constrained to intrust the reconstruction of the Administration to Lord Melbourne.\*

The new Premier was no doubt gratified

\* Lord Broughton (Sir John Hobhouse) states in his 'Recollections of a Long Life,' that the king proposed that the judges should be consulted as to the question whether it would not be a violation of his coronation oath to consent to the appropriation of church

property for secular purposes. Melbourne strongly objected to this proposal, and then the king proposed to ask the opinion of Lord Lyndhurst. He accordingly wrote to him; but Lyndhurst positively refused to give any answer.

by the high compliment paid him by the sovereign; but he had serious doubts whether it was possible for him to reconstitute the Ministry, and whether for his own sake it was desirable that he should make the attempt. He was past the prime of life, and had no object of personal, family, or party ambition to make it worth his while to undertake such an arduous duty. His fondness for books, his love of leisure, and his dislike of trouble about things that did not interest him, combined to make him shrink from the uncongenial task. In the end he made up his mind, though not without serious misgivings, to accept His Majesty's commission; and his strong good sense, firmness of purpose, suavity of manner, and imperturbable good temper, enabled him to discharge the duties of his new office much to the satisfaction both of his colleagues and the public.

There were very few changes made in the reconstructed Government. Lord Melbourne himself took the place of Earl Grey. Lord Duncannon, his brother-in-law, succeeded him at the Home Office, and Hobhouse was appointed President of the Board of Control. The great difficulty was how to induce Lord Althorp to resume his post as leader of the House of Commons. It was well known that he detested office, and had made repeated attempts to escape from its troubles and turmoils into the retirement of private life. 'Nature,' he used to exclaim, 'intended me to be a grazier; but men will insist on making me a statesman.' He told Lord John Russell that every morning when he woke, while he was in office, he wished himself dead. In addition to his extreme reluctance to resume the yoke of bondage from which he had escaped, if he should yield to the importunity of his friends, 'it might seem,' as Lord John Russell said, 'that Lord Grey's resignation was forced upon him by Lord

property for secular purposes. Melbourne strongly objected to this proposal, and then the king proposed to ask the opinion of Lord Lyndhurst. He accordingly wrote to him; but Lyndhurst positively refused to give any answer.



Althorp, and that Lord Althorp's object had been to remain in office himself without Lord Grey; indeed, some of the Tory writers did not hesitate to assert that this was the case. This supposition was totally inconsistent with the known inclinations and wishes of Lord Althorp. Lord John Russell states that one of the Ministers who had seceded on the question of the Irish Church said to him that, if he had been told that Lord Althorp had engaged in an intrigue to get out of office, he might have believed it; but the assertion that Lord Althorp had intrigued to remain in office was utterly incredible.

Lord Althorp was under the impression that the events connected with Littleton's communication to O'Connell had lowered him in the estimation of the House; but he was speedily made aware that this was wholly unfounded. On the 11th of July an address was presented to him signed by 206 members of the House of Commons expressing their deep regret at his retirement, and promising him their cordial support in the event of his resuming office. This address was signed, not only by such old Whigs as the venerable George Byng and the Cavendishes, Grosvenors, Russells, Ansons, Bouveries, Whitbreads, and Ponsonbys, but by four O'Connells, Joseph Hume, George Grote, the two Lytton Bulwers, Francis Burdett, and other politicians of the Radical school. The Liberals indeed were unanimous in their desire that Althorp should continue to lead the Commons. 'I do trust,' wrote Lord Essex to Earl Spencer, 'that Althorp may be persuaded to remain; everyone is crying out for his doing so, and all will be right if he will.' The king himself urged Althorp to resume office, and Lord Grey added his influence and entreaties. Thus appealed to on all sides, Althorp at last referred the question to three of his most intimate friends, Lord Ebrington, Lord Tavistock, and Mr. Bonham Carter. Their decision was, that if the clauses in the Coercion Bill to which Lord Althorp had objected were abandoned by

the new Government, he had no alternative that would justify him before the public in refusing to accede to Lord Melbourne's proposal.

Althorp yielded to these arguments with extreme reluctance, but insisted that Lord Grey's full approbation was indispensable to his acceptance. The ex-premier at once expressed his approbation in the most unqualified terms. Lord Althorp then gave way; but his acquiescence cost him a most painful effort. He stipulated, however, that Mr. Littleton also should return to office, which Littleton himself, in his Memoir, designates a noble act, dictated by a fine sense of honour, and wholly unexpected by him. 'There is but one opinion,' wrote Lord Essex, 'as to the rectitude, propriety, and perfect conduct of Althorp. This is deeply felt, I know, and by none more than by Grey and Lady Grey.'

Lord Althorp having thus resumed office, to the great satisfaction of the Liberal party, Whigs and Radicals alike, intimated in the House of Commons on the 18th of July, that a new Coercion Bill would be introduced without the meetings clauses, which had caused so much dissension. The Tories complained bitterly of the omission of these clauses, and the Earl of Wicklow, an Irish peer, declared that 'such a degree of inconsistency, of political tergiversation, of total unblushing abandonment of principle, never was exhibited by any set of public men in either House of Parliament.' But Peel, though he expressed his deep regret at the course which the Ministers had thought proper to pursue, at the same time intimated his intention of supporting the bill, which passed rapidly through both Houses, and became law about the end of July.

The Ministry were not so fortunate in regard to their bill for commuting Irish tithes, which had undergone several modifications for the purpose of conciliating the Repeal party, who were dissatisfied with the measure because it proposed to leave the Church in possession of four-fifths of its



revenues. When it was moved on the 29th of July that the House should go into committee on the bill, O'Connell urged delay; but was defeated by a majority of 154 votes to 14. On the following night, when the House was in committee, O'Connell pleaded that, instead of delaying the complete operation of the bill for four years, as was proposed by the Government in order that they might have time to collect the arrears due for the advances which had been made to the tithe-owners, the tithes should at once be converted into a rent charge. This would give an immediate bonus of forty per cent. to all, and everybody would understand it. The proposal was resisted by the Government, but was carried by a large majority, and in this state the bill was passed by the Commons on the 5th of August. The Lords, however, very unwisely rejected the bill on the second reading by a majority of 189 votes to 122. Their determination to resist any reduction of the revenues of the Irish Church brought about at last its entire disendowment.

A bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities met with a similar fate, and the Tory Peers seem now to have imagined that they might with impunity reject every Liberal measure proposed by the Government. A movement was made in favour of the admission of Dissenters to the universities, and was supported by a large body of the most distinguished professors and members of the University of Cambridge. A bill was brought in by Mr. Wood, one of the members for South Lancashire, to abolish the tests which excluded all except members of the Church of England from the privileges of the two English universities. It passed the House of Commons by 164 votes to 75, but was rejected in the Upper House by a majority of 102—there being 85 votes in favour of the measure and 187 against it.

An agitation against church-rates had for some time been carried on with great zeal and energy, and fierce contests against

levying this impost for the maintenance of the fabric of the churches had been waged in all parts of the kingdom. In order to put an end to this unseemly contention between Churchmen and Dissenters, Lord Althorp moved 'that after a fixed time church-rates should cease and determine, and that in lieu thereof a sum not exceeding £250,000 should be granted from the land tax to be applied to the expenses of the fabrics of the churches and chapels, in such a manner as Parliament should direct.' 'The grant,' he said, 'will provide for the maintenance of the fabric of the church, of the chancel, and for the expenses of the churchyard. The persons who hold the pews will be bound to keep them in repair. In my plan there is no provision for organs and bells, or other things that might be considered church luxuries. If these things are thought necessary, they must be supplied by voluntary contributions.' This moderate scheme, which was intended by the Government to please all parties, pleased no party. It was distasteful to the Dissenters, who pleaded conscientious objections to a public tax in any form for the support of religious services, and contended that the scheme would merely perpetuate the church-rate in another form; and the clergy and zealous Churchmen, on the other hand, denounced the scheme as a violation of the rights of the Church. The resolution was carried by 256 to 140; but notwithstanding this success, the Government were so disgusted with the unfavourable reception which the scheme had met with from those whom it was intended to relieve, that they determined to proceed no further with the measure.

The Ministry were equally unfortunate in their attempts to carry a Tithe Commutation Bill, which found so little favour either from the clergy or the landlords that it was dropped altogether. The Dissenters' Marriage Bill, brought in by Lord John Russell, met with a similar fate, in consequence of the opposition of the large body of the Nonconformists, who were of opinion



that it did not go far enough to meet their just demands. The Government, however, were more successful in dealing with the abuses of the Poor Law system, which was eating into the very vitals of the country.

The English Poor Law had its origin in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The extraordinary rise which took place in the price of provisions, unaccompanied by any proportional rise in the price of labour, occasioned the enactment in 1601 of the famous statute which required every parish to provide for the maintenance of the lame, the impotent, the old, and the blind, and to 'put to work all persons using no ordinary and daily trade in life to get their living by.' In 1662 a law was passed which declared that a legal settlement was to be gained by birth, or by inhabitancy, apprenticeship, or service for forty days, and empowered within that period any two justices of the peace to remove any new entrant into a parish, likely to become chargeable, to the last parish in which he was legally settled. Whilst such stringent measures were taken to prevent working men from obtaining a settlement, and thus to hinder their repairing to the districts where their labour was most needed, the landlords left no stone unturned to prevent an increase in the numbers of the poor in their own parishes, in order to keep the rates as low as possible. Dr. Burn, in his 'History of the Poor Laws,' gives a graphic description of the means employed for this purpose. 'The office of an overseer of the poor seems,' he says, 'to be understood to be this—to keep an extraordinary lookout to prevent persons coming to inhabit without certificates,\* and to fly to the justices to remove them; and if a man brings a certificate, then to caution the inhabitants not to let him a farm of £10 a year, and to take care to keep him

out of all parish offices; and to warn them, if they will hire servants, to hire them by the month, the week, or the day, rather than by any way that can give them a settlement; or if they do hire them for a year, then to endeavour to pick a quarrel with them before the year's end, and so to get rid of them; to maintain their poor as cheaply as they possibly can, and not to lay out twopence in prospect of any future good, but only to serve the present necessity; to bargain with some sturdy person to take them by the lump, who yet is not intended to take them, but to hang over them in *terrorem*; if they complain to the justices for want of maintenance, to send them out into the country a begging; to bind out poor children apprentices, no matter to whom or to what trade, but to take special care that the master live in another parish; to move heaven and earth if any dispute happen about a settlement, and in that particular to invert the general rule, and stick at no expense; to pull down cottages, to drive out as many inhabitants and admit as few as they possibly can, that is, to depopulate the parish in order to lessen the poor and the rate; to be generous, indeed, sometimes in giving a portion with the mother of a bastard child to the reputed father, on condition that he will marry her, or with a poor widow, always provided that the husband be settled elsewhere; or if a poor man with a large family happen to be industrious, they will charitably assist him in taking a farm in some neighbouring parish, and give him £10 to pay his first year's rent with, that they may thus for ever get rid of him and his poverty.'

So far was this system of 'pulling down cottages and taking all manner of precautions to prevent a multiplication of inhabitants' carried, that about the middle of last century great complaints were made 'of a want of useful hands for agriculture, manufactures, and for the land and sea service.' 'The law of *settlement*,' says Arthur Young, 'is attended with nearly as many ill consequences as that of *maintenance*. I have

\* By a statute passed in the reign of William III., parishes were bound to receive such labourers as held certificates legally subscribed by the officers of the parishes to which they belonged, and were not allowed to remove them until they actually became chargeable.



said enough to prove of how great importance our labouring poor are to the public welfare—the strength of the state lies in their numbers; but the prodigious restrictions thrown on their settlements tend strongly to prevent an increase. One great inducement to marriage is the finding without difficulty a comfortable habitation; and another nearly as material, when such requisite is found, to be able to exercise in it whatever business a man has been educated to or brought up in. The first of these points is no easy matter to be accomplished, for it is too much the interest of a parish, both landlords and tenants, to decrease the cottages in it, and above all, to prevent their increase, that in process of time habitations are extremely difficult to be procured. There is no parish but had much rather that the young labourers should continue single, as in that state they are not in danger of becoming chargeable; but when married the case alters. All obstructions are therefore thrown in the way of their marriage, and none more immediately than that of rendering it as difficult as possible for the men, when married, to procure a house to live in; and this conduct is found so conducive to easing the rates, that it universally gives rise to an open war against cottages. How often do gentlemen who have possessions in a parish, when cottages come to sale, purchase them, and immediately raze them to the foundation, that they may never become the nests, as they are called, of beggars' brats, by which means their tenants are not so burdened in their rates and their farms let better, for the rates are considered as much by tenants as the rent.'

In 1795 all the barriers by which the progress of pauperism had previously been opposed were thrown down, and the flood-gates of improvidence and physical and moral degradation thrown open. In that year the price of corn rose from 54s. to 74s., and as wages remained stationary the distress of the poor was very great. Instead, however, of meeting this emergency

by temporary expedients, and dealing with particular cases as they arose, a new and uniform system of relief was introduced, utterly vicious in principle, and productive of the worst consequences. It was resolved to supplement the wages of the labourer by grants from the parochial rates proportioned to the number of his family. The practice appears to have begun in Berkshire, but it very speedily spread over the whole of the southern counties. The magistrates of Berks issued tables showing the wages which, in their opinion, every labouring man ought to receive according to the variations in the number of his children and the price of bread; and they accompanied these tables with an order directing the parish officers to make up the deficiency to the labourer, in the event of the wages paid him by his employers falling short of the tabular allowance. In the first table issued by these sapient justices, the maximum weekly wages of an unmarried labourer, when the gallon loaf sold at 1s., were set down at 3s.; the wages of a married labourer with one child were to be at least 6s.; if he had five children they were to be at least 12s.; if he had seven children they were to be 15s. In the event of the price of the gallon loaf rising from 1s. to 1s. 6d., there was to be a corresponding rise in the labourer's wages: an unmarried man was to receive not less than 4s. 3d. a week, while the wages of a married man with a single child were not to be less than 8s. 3d., and those of a married man with seven children not less than 20s. 3d. These regulations were as mischievous as they were foolish, and through their influence the southern counties of England were in a few years overrun with pauperism, idleness, and crime. They reduced the earnings of the sober and industrious to the same level as those of the profligate and idle, and placed the prodigal and the thrifty, the careless and the diligent, the able-bodied and the weak, on the same footing. In the course of a single generation the system totally changed the moral character of the agricultural



labourers; it destroyed all forethought and consideration on their part, and caused marriage to be looked to principally as a means of increasing the claims of the parties on the parish.

The report of a committee of the House of Commons on labourers' wages, printed in 1824, stated that 'a labourer being quite certain of obtaining an allowance from the parish sufficient to support his family, it consequently becomes a matter of indifference to him whether he earns a small sum or a large one. It is obvious, indeed, that a disinclination to work must be the consequence of so vicious a system. He whose subsistence is secure without work, and who cannot earn more than a mere sufficiency by the hardest work, will naturally be an idle and a careless labourer. Frequently the work done by four or five such labourers does not amount to what might be performed by a single labourer working at task work.

'A surplus population is encouraged; men who receive but a small pittance know that they have only to marry, and that pittance will be increased proportionally to the number of their children. Hence, the supply of labour is by no means regulated by the demand; and parishes are burdened with thirty, forty, and fifty labourers for whom they can find no employment, and who serve to depress the situation of all their fellow-labourers in the same parish. An intelligent witness, who is much in the habit of employing labourers, states that, when complaining of their allowance, they frequently say to him, "We will marry, and then you must maintain us."

'The system secures subsistence to all; to the idle as well as to the industrious; to the profligate as well as the sober; and as far as human interests are concerned, all inducements to obtain a good character are taken away. The effects have corresponded with the cause: able-bodied men are found slovenly at their work, and dissolute in their hours of relaxation; a father is negligent of his children; the children do not

think it necessary to contribute to the support of their parents; the employers and the employed are engaged in perpetual quarrels, and the pauper always relieved is always discontented; crime advances with increasing boldness; and the parts of the country where this system prevails are, in spite of our gaols and our laws, filled with poachers and thieves.'

The system was especially calculated to exercise the most injurious influence on the relations between the male and female sex. Not only was a strong inducement held out to a labouring man to marry, though he had made no provision for the new duties he was about to undertake, but the more worthless the woman the more eagerly was she sought in marriage. The sum of 2s. a week was allowed for the support of each illegitimate child, either from the reputed father or from the parish. A girl with three or four illegitimate children was consequently regarded as a prize to be contended for by bucolic fortune-hunters. It was no disgrace, therefore, for an unmarried woman to be a mother; but rather a position to be courted as a sure road to matrimony. If a woman chose to swear that she was pregnant of an illegitimate child, the individual whom she charged upon oath as the father was liable to be committed at once to prison, unless he could find security for the support and maintenance of the child. It was very difficult for a poor labouring man to find such security; and if he failed to do so he was committed to prison for five or six months, there to be associated with the very worst of characters. To escape this severe penalty it was no uncommon occurrence for a labourer to marry a profligate woman who had brought a charge against him of which he was entirely innocent. Pauper marriages, too, were a common expedient for getting rid of women in receipt of parish allowances. A donation of two or three pounds was given to a man belonging to another parish who married a female pauper; and disreputable old drunkards frequently contracted a marriage of this sort



for the sake of the sum which they obtained by this scandalous proceeding.

Had the employers of labour been always identical with the payers of the rates, there can be little doubt that the practice of supplementing wages out of the rates would long since have been abolished. But as all kinds of property were assessed to the poor rate, a large proportion of the wages of the farm labourers was paid by those who had no connection with agriculture. Clergymen, medical practitioners, lawyers, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, who rarely, if ever, employed labourers, were compelled to pay a portion of the wages which ought to have been paid exclusively by those who did. The farmers were in this way led to support a system which fraudulently transferred a portion of their burdens to the shoulders of others; though there can be no doubt that the sum paid by the farmers, in rates and wages taken together, was very much larger than they would have had to pay for labour, had the allowance system never been in operation.

The cost of this pernicious system was enormous, and was steadily increasing. In the middle of last century the average amount raised annually for poor rates and county rates was £730,000. In 1801, after the new system had been five or six years in operation, the sums expended for the relief of the poor alone exceeded £4,000,000. In 1832 they amounted to upwards of £7,000,000. Hundreds of farms were left without tenants, because no possible reduction of rent could enable farmers to pay a rate of nineteen or twenty shillings in the pound. In some cases the rate more than absorbed the whole rent. In the parish of Cholesbury, in Buckinghamshire, which contained two public houses, but only 139 persons, of whom 104 were paupers, the rates had risen from £10 11s. in 1801 to £367 in 1832. 'The landlord of the parish had given up his rents, the tenants had given up their farms, the clergyman had given up his glebe and his tithe. It was seriously proposed to parcel out all the land

in the parish among the paupers, and to support them till they could support themselves out of the rates levied in the neighbouring villages.'

But the expense, burdensome as it was, was by no means the worst of the evils of the poor-law system. It exercised a demoralizing influence on every one who had anything to do with it. 'The poor rate had become public spoil. The ignorant believed it an inexhaustible fund which belonged to them. To obtain their share the brutal bullied the administrators; the profligate exhibited their bastards which must be fed; the idle folded their arms and waited till they got it; ignorant boys and girls married upon it; poachers, thieves, and prostitutes extorted it by intimidation; country justices lavished it for popularity, and guardians for convenience. This was the way the fund went. As to whence it arose, it came more and more every year out of the capital of the shopkeeper and farmer, and the diminishing resources of the country gentleman. The shopkeeper's stock returns dwindled as the farmer's land deteriorated and the gentleman's expenditure contracted. The farmers' sons, waiting at the age of five-and-thirty for ability to marry in comfort, saw in every ditch and field on the estate lads under twenty, whose children were maintained by the rates which were ruining their employer. Instead of the proper number of labourers to till his lands—labourers paid by himself—the farmer was compelled to take double the number, whose wages were paid partly out of the rates; and these men being employed by compulsion on him were beyond his control, worked or not as they chose, let down the quality of his land, and disabled him from employing the better men who would have toiled hard for independence.\*

\* Lord John Russell says in his 'Recollections and Suggestions,' 'In the agricultural parishes gangs of forty or fifty labourers were sent nominally to repair the roads, but in fact loitered all the day by the side of their wheel-barrow, and passed the night in poaching and spending the fruits of their plunder in the public houses. In the parish of Woburn, where there were forty able-bodied labourers employed, I asked a



These better men sank down among the worse; the ratepaying cottager after a vain struggle went to the pay-table to seek relief; the modest girl might starve, while her bolder neighbour received 2s. per week for every illegitimate child. Industry, probity, purity, prudence—all heart and spirit—the whole soul of goodness—were melting down into depravity and social ruin, like snow under the foul internal fires which precede the earthquake.’

The evils and dangers of the system were apparent to all, but no adequate remedy had been devised, though innumerable quack prescriptions had been offered. ‘A pamphlet on the poor laws,’ said Sydney Smith, ‘generally contains some little piece of favourite nonsense, by which we are gravely told this enormous evil may be perfectly cured. The first gentleman recommends little gardens, the second cows, the third a village shop, the fourth a spade, the fifth Dr. Bell, and so forth. In this list of absurdities we must not forget the project of supporting the poor from national funds, or in other words, of immediately doubling the expenditure and introducing every possible abuse into the administration of it. Then there are worthy men who call upon gentlemen of fortune and education to become overseers; then merit is set up as the test of relief, and their worships are to enter into a long examination of the life and character of each applicant, assisted, as they doubtless would be, by candid overseers and neighbours divested of every feeling of malice and partiality. The children are next to be taken from their parents and lodged in immense pedagogueries of several acres each, where they are to be carefully secluded from their

farmer why he did not give wages to two or three of them in return for work upon his farm. He answered, “They would do me no good; they would be more likely to steal what I have than to do any work on the farm.” In the western counties large bodies of these idle young men went about destroying thrashing-machines and setting fire to ricks of hay and stacks of corn. . . . Farmers were alarmed for their property, members of parish vestries were afraid to refuse the demands of sturdy beggars, and the whole framework of society seemed about to yield to force and anarchy.’

fathers and mothers they are commanded to obey and honour, and are to be brought up in virtue by the churchwardens. It is proposed, also, that ale-houses should be diminished, and that the children of the poor should be catechised publicly in the Church—both very respectable and proper suggestions, but of themselves hardly strong enough for the evil. We must not forget among other nostrums, the eulogy of small farms—in other words, of small capital and profound ignorance in the arts of agriculture; and the evil is also thought to be curable by periodical contributions from men who have nothing and can earn nothing without charity.’ These various nostrums, so humorously ridiculed by the witty canon, Sydney Smith, may serve to show the perplexed state of the public mind in regard to this momentous question, with which no administration had as yet the courage to grapple. But it is not surprising when we find that even the sagacious Canon of St. Paul’s was of opinion that it was impossible to get rid of these laws, even in the gentlest and wisest method, without a great deal of misery and some risk of tumult; and that ‘insurrections of the most sanguinary and ferocious nature would be the immediate consequence of any very sudden change in the system of the Poor Laws.’

The Government of Earl Grey, however, resolved to brave the danger of grappling with this gigantic evil; and in the course of 1832 they appointed a Commission to inquire into the Poor Laws. Blomfield, Bishop of London, was chairman of the Commission; and with him were associated Sumner, Bishop of Chester, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury, Sturges Bourne, who had been Home Secretary in Canning’s Ministry, Nassau Senior, and five other gentlemen. A body of assistant-commissioners were appointed, by whom the inquiry was chiefly carried on. They visited every part of the country, and obtained a thorough knowledge of the working of the poor law in every district of England and Wales. Their reports were received in



January, 1833; but owing to the vast amount of labour required to arrange the mass of information they had collected, the documents were not ready to be issued before the commencement of 1834.

When the reports appeared, they showed that matters were much worse than any one had previously supposed. The abuses which had crept into the administration of the poor laws, both as regarded number and magnitude, were almost incredible. The system had demoralized not only the labourers, but all classes who had connection with it. While it was destroying veracity, industry, frugality, and natural affection among the agricultural working classes, it was fostering dishonesty and jobbery among their superiors in social position. It was proved that tradesmen were in the habit of charging enormous prices for the goods which they furnished to the parochial authorities, and bribing the parish officers to wink at their extortions. In not a few instances, it was discovered that in parliamentary boroughs the rates were used to influence and corrupt the electors. This most unsatisfactory state of matters was not, however, universal. Here and there parishes were found where the poor law was administered with judgment and efficiency. Out-door relief was firmly refused, wages were not supplemented out of the rates, and suitable workhouses had been provided, in which able-bodied paupers were relieved and set to work. Two parishes were mentioned even in Berkshire, and one in Nottinghamshire, where, in consequence of a wise system of management, illegitimate births had become almost unknown. These examples showed that it was quite possible to afford relief to the really necessitous poor without pauperizing the whole labouring population; and they afforded valuable hints how the existing system might be reformed.

The recommendations made by the Commission were substantially those drawn up by Mr. Chadwick, one of the deputy-commissioners, who had taken a specially

active part in the inquiry, and was afterwards appointed Secretary to the Commissioners. They declared:—

1. That the existing system of poor laws in England is destructive to the industry, forethought, and honesty of the labourers, to the wealth and morality of the employers of labour and of the owners of property, and to the material good-will and happiness of all; that it collects and chains down the labourers in masses, without any reference to the demand for their labour; that while it increases their numbers, it impairs the means by which the fund for their subsistence is to be reproduced, and impairs the motives for using those means which it suffers to exist; and that every year and every day these evils are becoming more overwhelming in magnitude and less susceptible of cure.

2. That of those evils that which consists merely in the amount of rates—an evil great when considered by itself, but trifling when compared with the moral effects which I am deploring—might be much diminished by the combination of workhouses, and by substituting a rigid administration and contract management for the existing scenes of neglect, extravagance, jobbing, and fraud.

3. That by an alteration, or even—according to the suggestion of many witnesses—an abolition of the law of settlements, a great part, or according to the latter suggestion, the whole of the enormous sums now spent in litigation and removals might be saved, the labourers might be distributed according to the demand for labour, the immigration from Ireland of labourers of inferior habits be checked, and the oppression and cruelty to which the unmarried and those who have acquired any property are now subjected, might, according to the extent of the alteration, be diminished or utterly put an end to.

4. That if no relief were allowed to be given to the able-bodied or to their families, except in return for adequate labour or in a well-regulated workhouse, the worst of the existing sources of evil—the allowance system—would immediately disappear; a broad line would be drawn between the independent labourers and the paupers; the number of paupers would be immediately diminished, in consequence of the reluctance to accept relief on such terms, and would be still further diminished in consequence of the increased fund for the payment of wages occasioned by the diminution of rates; and would ultimately, instead of forming a constantly increasing proportion of our whole population, become a small, well-defined part of it, capable of being provided for at an expense less than one-half of the present poor rates.



5. That the proposed changes would tend powerfully to promote providence and forethought, not only in the daily concerns of life, but in the most important of all points—marriage.

And lastly, That it is essential to every one of these improvements that the administration of the poor laws should be intrusted, as to their general superintendence, to one central authority with extensive powers; and as to their details, to paid officers acting under the consciousness of constant superintendence and strict responsibility.

At the opening of the session of 1834 the king, in his speech from the throne, specially directed the attention of Parliament to the subject of the poor laws; and on the 17th of April Lord Althorp introduced a bill based on the recommendations of the Commissioners. It proposed to abolish entirely the mischievous allowance system, and to enact that after a given date no out-relief, except medical aid in sickness, should be given to any able-bodied man. The claim of every necessitous person to relief was indeed still recognized; but that relief was to be given to him only in the workhouse, and in return he was obliged to give a certain amount of work for every meal. There was to be strict separation between men, women, and children, and between the able-bodied and the infirm. The mother was henceforth compelled to support her illegitimate child. An important modification was to be made in the law of settlement; every mode of obtaining settlement, except by birth or marriage, was abolished. In order to superintend this new system, and to carry out the great changes made by the Act, a central board was to be appointed, consisting of three Commissioners with twenty-one assistant Commissioners, who were gradually to be diminished to nine, as the new system was fully organized. They were to be invested with discretionary powers to make general rules as to the modes of relief and the regulation of workhouses, so that there might be one uniform system throughout the country, and also to frame specific rules and orders for the regulation of the workhouses and the mode of relief of the poor

in separate districts and parishes; to form unions of parishes, in order to make larger districts; to arrange classifications of the paupers in the workhouses; and to exercise a general control over the working of the new system. The main principles of the proposed scheme, then, were the abolition of the allowance system; the depriving the magistracy of the power of ordering outdoor relief; the alteration, in certain cases, of the constitution of parochial vestries; the modification of the law of settlement and removal; rendering the mother of an illegitimate child liable for its support, in the mode of a pauper widow; the prevention of the imprisonment for its aliment of the putative father to whom she might swear it; and the appointment of a central Commission, with large discretionary powers of control, to prevent friction and keep the new machine in the right path.

The bill met with a cordial reception from the great majority of members on both sides of the House; but out of doors a loud clamour was raised against a measure which limited to such a large extent the powers of the local magistrates, and made such an enormous change in what was deemed the rights of the poor. The transfer to a central body of the authority hitherto exercised by the local justices wounded the pride of the squires; but the chief opposition was made to the classification of paupers in the workhouse and the bastardy clauses, as they were called, which threw the support of an illegitimate child on the mother instead of the putative father. The separation of wives from their husbands, and of children from their parents, afforded a sentimental theme for universal declamation. But it was shown by unanswerable arguments that these regulations were imperatively required by decency, propriety, and economy. It was utterly unreasonable that those who had become burdens on the industry of the country, in most cases through their own idleness, or improvidence, or dissipation, should be allowed to rear a new generation of paupers within the workhouse, to devour



the earnings of the industrious and economical members of the community. The loudest outcry was made against the proposal to make the mother alone responsible for the support of an illegitimate child. It was denounced as informing licentious men that they might commit seduction with perfect impunity, and that they might gratify their wicked inclinations at the sole expense of their victims. So strong was the feeling on this subject, that the Ministry were obliged to agree to a modification of the clause, and to enact that, when the testimony of the mother was supported by other evidence, the father was to be made liable to a claim from the guardians of the poor for expenses incurred in the delivery, together with such weekly sum as would be equal to the cost of maintaining the child. A clause of the bill which enacted that, where the mother of the illegitimate child was dead, her parents should be held liable for its support, excited such general disapprobation that it was withdrawn. But it afforded Cobbett, who nicknamed the measure the 'Poor Man's Robbing Bill,' an opportunity of exhibiting his feelings towards the royal family and pensioners in general, by moving that the same principle should be extended to 'paupers on the pension list receiving money for which no public service had been performed.' He found sixteen members of kindred spirit to vote with him in support of this proposition. Clauses were added to the bill excluding the Commissioners from sitting in the House of Commons; requiring all general orders and regulations to be laid before Parliament; and limiting the operation of the Act to five years, in order that, at the expiry of that period, an opportunity might be afforded to the Legislature of revising the measure.

These modifications of the bill did not remove the objections of a small section of the Lower House. Colonel Evans, one of the members for Westminster, vehemently opposed it, and declared that 'the cessation of out of door relief would lead to a revolu-

tion in the country.' Sir Samuel Whalley, one of the members for Marylebone, moved that the bill should be read a second time that day six months, and was supported by Alderman Wood and Mr. Walter, the proprietor of the *Times*, who concurred in denouncing the measure as utterly subversive of the principle of local government, as tending to withdraw all power from ratepayers over the expenditure of their own funds, and as materially increasing the influence of the Crown and of the Ministry. The second reading, however, was carried by an immense majority—319 votes against 20. An attempt to throw out the bill on the third reading was defeated by 187 votes to 52.

The reception which the measure met with in the Upper House was quite as satisfactory. The second reading was moved by the Lord Chancellor in a speech of great argumentative power. Lord Wynford moved its rejection, but obtained only twelve supporters. The Duke of Wellington not only gave the bill his powerful support, but generously declared that it was 'unquestionably the best bill ever devised.' The Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Winchelsea, and other influential Tory peers also expressed their approval of the measure; but the bastardy clauses were opposed with great earnestness and oratorical power by the Bishop of Exeter, one of the ablest debaters in the Upper House. The Bishop of London, who had been chairman of the Commission, defended them with marked ability, and stated in detail the distressing facts which had made their adoption a matter of necessity. The Earl of Radnor declared that his experience as a magistrate had taught him that the present state of the law of bastardy, as then administered, produced a mass of perjury that it was truly frightful to contemplate. His statement was corroborated by the Lord Chancellor, who said the law as it then stood was contrary to common sense, and fostered a crime only second to murder—the detestable crime of wilful and corrupt



perjury. The clause, however, was retained on a division, by a majority of only four votes—thirty-eight to thirty-four. On the third reading the indefatigable bishop brought the question again before the House by moving the omission of the clause, that any person marrying a woman who had an illegitimate child by another man should be liable for its maintenance; but his motion obtained only seventy-one supporters, while eighty-two voted with the Government. Some slight alterations were made in several other clauses, most of which were improvements. The House of Commons, on the 11th of August, accepted these amendments, but restored the clause expunged by the Lords which declared that ‘no rule or regulation of the Commissioners should oblige any inmate of a workhouse to attend divine service in any mode contrary to his religious principles, nor authorize the education of any child in such workhouse in any religious creed other than that professed by the parent, if such parent object; and that it should be lawful for any licensed minister of religion at all times to visit the workhouse, at the desire of any inmate holding the same faith with him, for the purpose of giving him or his children religious instruction.’ The omission of this clause was denounced as a violation of the principles of religious liberty, and its restoration was agreed to by the Lords, who contended, however, that it was unnecessary, as there was no probability that the Commissioners would ever refuse admission to Dissenting ministers on all proper occasions.

The bill received the royal assent on the 14th of August, and was immediately brought into operation. There can be little doubt that if the existing system of poor-law relief had been allowed to go on much longer, any attempt to reform or abolish it would have led to a servile war. It was either now or never. Fortunately, the stringent measure introduced by the Government came in time to remove the evils which had so long preyed upon the social system. Of course the paupers, who had

become thoroughly demoralized by the support dealt out to them with a lavish hand, felt the change bitterly, and raised a loud outcry against the workhouses—the *bastilles*, as Cobbett and other Radical sympathizers termed them—in which they were obliged to reside and to work as the condition of their maintenance.

Opposition from such a quarter was not likely to do much harm; but objections to the measure, some of which were no doubt well founded, were vehemently enforced by several influential journals and reviews, and especially by the *Times*.\* The editor, Mr. Barnes, expressed from the first his aversion to the centralized system of management and control by means of the Commissioners or *Bashaws*, as they were termed, the refusal of out-door relief to the able-bodied, and the separation of husband and wife, which form the leading features of the new measure. Its successful working was greatly impeded ‘by the dishonesty of that paper in constantly misrepresenting the enactments and operation of the new law; in imputing to it the faults of the old system, which it was actually in the course of remedying; in fostering the prejudices and perpetuating the mischievous powers of the least enlightened of the country justices; in upholding the cause of the unworthy among the indigent by confounding them with the worthy among the poor; in short, by a partial and unscrupulous and unintermitting hostility to

\* Miss Martineau says that ‘One of the editors of the *Times*, a few days before Lord Althorp introduced the Poor-Law Bill, sent a message declaratory of intended support to some of the managers of the measure; but the next morning after the bill had been submitted to the Commons a thundering article appeared in that paper against it.’ It became known afterwards that the change in the mind of the *Times* had taken place at the very last moment. It was naturally declared and believed to be owing to evidence received of the hostility of the country justices to the measure; and the country justices were not only the great provincial support of the *Times* newspaper, but composed an influence too important to be lightly regarded. Whatever might be the reason, the *Times* newspaper certainly did at the last moment change its mind about supporting the new Poor Law.



a measure which had its faults, but which was not only necessary in its time, but an eminent glory of its time.' The marked success of the measure was the most effective answer to the unscrupulous attacks made upon it. In a remarkably short space of time the relief given to the ratepayers by diminished assessments, the employment readily obtained by the industrious labourers and the higher wages paid them, and especially the surprising diminution of the number of illegitimate births (nearly 13 per cent.), proved that the new Poor Law Act was as judicious as it was bold. In the county of Sussex there were in 1834 no fewer than 6160 able-bodied paupers. In 1836, under the operation of the new law, that number was reduced to 124. In that year the Act was in operation in twenty-two counties, in all of which wages had risen and rates had largely fallen; the average reduction in the rates in these counties was  $43\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. within three years after the passing of the law. The poor rates, which in 1832 had risen to the enormous sum of £7,000,000, had diminished to £4,000,000.

A considerable number of measures brought forward by the Government in the course of the session were either withdrawn, or rejected by the Upper House. A plan to relieve Dissenters from Church rates, a bill to authorize the celebration of marriage by Dissenting clergymen, had both to be laid aside, in consequence of the opposition of the party whom they were intended to benefit. A plan for the commutation of tithes was not pressed, owing to the state of public business. The bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities was again passed by the Commons, and once more rejected by the Lords. As we have seen, at the beginning of the session the issuing of the writ for the borough of Warwick had been suspended in consequence of the gross bribery that had prevailed at the last election; and a bill was brought in for the disfranchisement of the freemen of that town and for the extension of the franchise

to the inhabitants of the surrounding district. The bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. Bills of a similar character were introduced respecting the freemen of Hertford, Stafford, Liverpool, and Carrickfergus, but they were all thrown out by the Upper House. The Commons were so indignant at the manner in which the Peers had thus thrown their shield over voters who had been proved guilty of gross bribery and corruption, that they suspended the writs of three of these demoralized boroughs—Hertford, Warwick, and Carrickfergus.

The revival of trade and commerce had produced a beneficial effect on the revenue; and a fortnight after the commencement of the session the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a preliminary statement to the House, communicating the gratifying information that, though in the course of the three years during which the present Government had held office, they had reduced taxes to the amount of £3,335,000, yet they had now at their disposal a surplus of £1,500,000. It was not, however, till the 25th of July that the budget was brought forward, when it appeared that the actual surplus of income over expenditure amounted to £2,177,030. There was a loud clamour raised both by the landed interest and the towns for a share in this surplus; and the Marquis of Chandos, who had now become the leader of the agricultural party, moved on the 7th of July a resolution in favour of 'the immediate removal of some portion of those burdens to which the land is subject through the pressure of general and local taxation.' His motion was only defeated by 206 votes to 202. A proposal for the repeal of the malt tax, however, was defeated by 271 votes to 170. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, though he admitted that the agriculturists were suffering great distress, resolved to confine his relief to the householders in the towns, whose demands had become formidable to the Government. He proposed to abolish the unpopular house tax, which yielded £1,200,000; several small



assessed taxes; some customs and excise duties on starch, stone bottles, and sweets, which interfered with manufactures; and the duty on almanacs, which had caused some popular dissatisfaction. Though he had not directly reduced any taxes on agriculture, he confidently expected that the new poor law and tithe commutation bills would greatly alleviate the distress that prevailed in the agricultural districts. It was gratifying to be able to state that while between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000 of taxes would thus have been taken off during his term of office, the income was reduced only £3,000,000.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August by the king in person, and public affairs proceeded for some time without any new complications arising.

On the 16th of October the two Houses of Parliament were burned to the ground. The fire originated in an act of gross folly and most culpable negligence on the part of certain subordinate officials connected with the Board of Works, and their workmen. Orders had been issued by the Treasury to remove or destroy the tallies formerly used in the Court of Exchequer. The orders passed through two or three hands, and the duty was ultimately intrusted to a workman of the name of Cross, with directions to burn the tallies slowly and carefully. No pains were taken, however, by any of his superiors to see that these orders were obeyed; and Cross and a fellow-workman, impatient to finish their task, threw the tallies in great numbers into the furnaces. The housekeeper repeatedly warned them that the heat had become intense, and that the House of Lords was full of smoke; but they paid no attention to her remonstrances. The workmen left the building about five o'clock, and an hour later it was discovered to be on fire in several places, in consequence of the heated flues having been in contact with some old dry timber. The flames spread with such rapidity that in a few minutes the two Houses and the offices belonging to them were wrapped in one

resistless conflagration. Melbourne, Althorp, and other members of the Cabinet, were quickly on the spot, directing the firemen and the police in their efforts to limit the ravages of the fire; and every street leading towards Palace Yard was thronged with dense crowds of spectators. It soon became evident that it was impossible to save the Parliament Houses; and the efforts of the firemen were directed to the preservation of Westminster Hall—the venerable structure of William Rufus—which was in imminent peril. In this they were fortunately successful; but the two Houses, with the greater part of their libraries, together with many works of art and valuable records, and the ancient tapestry of the House of Lords representing the attack and overthrow of the Spanish Armada, memorable for the famous allusion to it in one of Lord Chatham's eloquent speeches, were all destroyed.

The accommodation which the building afforded to the Commons had become quite inadequate and exceedingly inconvenient, and must at no distant day have been replaced by a new structure. But it was impossible for even the most prosaic utilitarian not to feel regret at the destruction of the old oak-panelled chapel, associated with so many historical reminiscences of momentous incidents, and the memories of the most famous statesmen and orators of our country.

As it was necessary that no time should be lost in providing temporary accommodation for the members of Parliament, the king next day offered to place at their service Buckingham Palace, then nearly completed, on which his worthless predecessor had squandered enormous sums of money; but it was regarded as more convenient to make arrangements for the accommodation of the two branches of the Legislature on the site where they had so long been accustomed to assemble. It was found that the old Painted Chamber could be fitted up for the reception of the Peers; and as the walls of the old House of Lords



were still standing, they could without difficulty or much expense be newly roofed and converted into a commodious place of meeting for the Commons. This arrangement was accordingly carried out, and the temporary accommodation thus provided sufficed for the members of the Legislature until the present costly Houses of Parliament were constructed.

The recess afforded no rest or relief to the much harassed members of the Government. Ireland continued to be the scene of the most violent agitation; and notwithstanding the efforts made by the Ministry to promote the welfare of that unhappy country, O'Connell persisted in showering upon them the most virulent and scurrilous abuse. The enemies of the Irish people, he asserted, had been promoted and rewarded; their friends calumniated and persecuted. 'Never,' he declared, 'was there known a more ungenial or hostile domestic administration in Ireland than that which has subsisted since Earl Grey first obtained office, and still subsists.' Outrages on the part of the peasantry were the natural fruit of O'Connell's attacks on the Government, and were perpetrated almost daily in every district of the country. The collection of tithes had become impracticable. Whenever this was attempted violent resistance was offered, and in one instance, at a place called Rathcormac, a collision took place between the military and police and the mob (November 16), and several persons were killed and wounded. 'The Rathcormac massacre,' as it was called, was henceforth a common theme in O'Connell's speeches.

The conduct of the Lord Chancellor at this time also contributed not a little to embarrass his colleagues and to annoy and incense the king. Brougham was admitted on all hands to be a man of extraordinary abilities, who had rendered most important services to the country and to his colleagues in the Ministry. But he was impulsive, restless, and unreliable. The almost incredible labour and excitement to which he had been subjected during the past session

had produced an injurious effect on his powerful and abnormal brain; and he had of late behaved in a manner so excited and eccentric as to afford plausibility to the allegation that his mind was at this time off its balance. He had in some way quarrelled with the *Times* newspaper, which attacked him day after day in the most virulent and unjustifiable terms;\* and there can be no doubt that these attacks contributed not a little to increase the morbid excitement under which the Chancellor was at this time labouring.

Unfortunately for himself and for the Government, instead of taking advantage of the close of the session to enjoy the rest and quiet which he so much needed, Brougham resolved to make a public and political tour through Scotland. He was everywhere most enthusiastically welcomed by all classes of Scotsmen, who were proud of the celebrity which he had reflected on his native country. The Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Breadalbane, and other representatives of great historical families; the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Inverness, and other officials, legal, university, and commercial, strove to do him honour. His speeches in reply to the numerous addresses presented to him varied in character and sentiment, from Radicalism to Conservatism, according to the place in which they were delivered, but were almost always injudicious and fitted to do mischief to the Government. On receiving the freedom of Inverness he

\* According to Lord Campbell, this quarrel with Barnes, the editor of the *Times*, arose out of the course which that journal followed in assailing the new poor law bill. Lord Althorp wrote a brief note to the Chancellor, asking whether the Ministry should make war upon the *Times* or come to terms. Brougham, who received this note when sitting in the Court of Chancery, tore it up and threw away the fragments. Some official of the court treacherously picked them up, pasted them together, and sent them to Barnes. It so happened that on the same day some information which the editor asked from the Government was abruptly refused. The inference drawn was, that by the Chancellor's advice a determination had been formed by the Government to make war on the *Times*, and the *Times* determined to make war on Brougham, which it did most violently and unscrupulously.



accounted for his enthusiastic reception from 'the circumstance that he had the honour of serving a monarch who lives in the hearts of his loyal subjects inhabiting this ancient and important capital of the Highlands,' and he expressed his intention to inform His Majesty by that night's post of 'such a gratifying manifestation.' He gave great offence to the Radicals, who had complained against the Government for not 'going ahead,' by expressing his opinion that the Ministry had done too much rather than too little, and that if they did little last session they were likely to do less in the next. His speeches at Aberdeen and Dundee were in a different strain, though he expressed great indignation at 'the absurd, stupid, and indefensible attacks that had been showered' against him. At the festival in honour of Earl Grey, held at Edinburgh in the month of August, he made an uncomplimentary reference to those 'hasty spirits who are in such a hurry to set out, and to get to their object three minutes before ourselves, that they will not wait to put the linch-pin into the wheel. They would go on a voyage of discovery to unknown regions, but would not tarry to look whether the compass is aboard.' The Earl of Durham, who fancied that he was one of the 'hasty spirits' referred to, retorted that he was one of those who saw with regret 'every hour which passes over the existence of recognized and unreformed abuses.' The Radical party in the country vociferously applauded this reply, and soon after Lord Durham was in consequence entertained at a public dinner in Glasgow, where he bitterly assailed the Lord Chancellor. Brougham took his revenge by an attack on Durham in the *Edinburgh Review*. This unlucky incident deprived the Chancellor of the confidence and sympathy of the Radical Reformers, while his erratic conduct and injudicious speeches on his Scottish tour increased the dislike with which he was regarded by the king and the court. He little imagined that the time was close at hand when the dismissal

of the Ministry and the termination of his own official career should take place.

It was frankly acknowledged by Althorp's colleagues, and was well known both to the House of Commons and the country at large, that if he had not agreed to remain in office on the retirement of Earl Grey, the Ministry would have been dissolved. He was avowedly the mainstay of the Government in the House of Commons. He had no pretensions to the eloquence and debating power of Stanley, or the official experience of Palmerston; and though he had perhaps more knowledge of finance than any member in the House of Commons, except Peel, his financial career had not, on the whole, been successful. But no other leader of the House of Commons, before or since, ever possessed so thoroughly the confidence of the Legislature and the country. His self-possession, calmness, and courage were peculiarly displayed during the turmoil, and clamour, and fierce conflict of the era of the Reform Bill. With equal foresight and firmness he steered the Reform barque amid rocks and breakers, and through the rapids and shoals which lay in its course, and at last brought it safely into port. 'It was Althorp carried the bill,' said the Tory Sir Henry Hardinge. 'His fine temper did it.' His extraordinary influence, however, was owing much more to the general confidence in his sterling integrity, simplicity of heart, strong common sense, perfect disinterestedness, and sound judgment, than even to his temper. Charles Greville, a man not lavish of his praise, and far from friendly to the Whigs, speaks in the most eulogistic terms of Althorp's admirable temper, the credit universally given to him of the most disinterested motives and entire freedom from ambition, and the vast influence which he exercised in the House from his 'good humour, judgment, firmness, discretion, business-like talents, and gentleman-like virtues.' His thorough knowledge of the House of Commons, and great quickness and tact in discovering its bias and dispo-



sition, no doubt contributed not a little to the extraordinary sway which he exercised over its members, and his success in carrying his measures. The feeling of the House towards its leader was characteristically expressed by Lord Jeffrey, who had an unbounded admiration for him. 'There is something to me quite delightful in his calm, clumsy, courageous, inscrutable probity and well-meaning, and it seems to have a charm for everybody.' Sir Robert Peel humorously complained that Lord Althorp had only to get up, take off his hat, and shake his head, to satisfy the House that the replies to his speeches, however plausible they might appear, were founded on a fallacy. Of no statesman that ever lived could it more truly be said that—

'He ever speaks his thought,  
And ever thinks the very thing he ought.'

'He walked uprightly, and worked righteously, and spoke the truth in his heart.'

An event, however, was close at hand which was to deprive the Liberal Government of Lord Althorp's invaluable services, and to lead to their own dismissal from office. Lord Spencer, who was far advanced in years, and had for some time been in infirm health, on the approach of winter was attacked by an illness of a serious character, and after lingering a short time, expired at Althorp on the 10th of November, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

Lord Althorp's accession to the Earldom of course removed him from the House of Commons; and the Premier, after consulting with his colleagues, waited on the king at Brighton on the 13th of November, to submit to him the changes in official appointments which the elevation of Lord Althorp to the Upper House had rendered necessary. On his arrival at the Pavilion, His Majesty received him with apparent kindness and confidence. The conversation lasted for an hour and a half. Lord Melbourne proposed that Lord John Russell should succeed Lord Althorp as leader of the House of Commons. The king, however, 'objected

strongly' to this proposal, and according to his own account, 'stated without reserve his opinion that Lord John had not the abilities nor the influence which qualified him for the task, and observed that he would cut a wretched figure when opposed by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Stanley.' The king objected equally, if not more strongly, to Abercromby and Spring Rice, whose names were suggested by Lord Melbourne; and he went on to express his apprehensions that, whenever the question of the Irish Church should be brought forward, serious differences would arise between him and the Government, as Lord John Russell had 'pledged himself to certain encroachments upon that church, which His Majesty had made up his mind and expressed his determination to resist. Nor did His Majesty conceal from Lord Melbourne that the injudicious and extravagant conduct of Lord Brougham had tended to shake his confidence in the course which might be pursued by the Administration.'

'But,' adds the king, 'Lord Melbourne did not upon this occasion state, nor had he at any former period stated to the king, that differences of opinion prevailed in the Cabinet, which might produce its dissolution before the meeting of Parliament, or when measures might be proposed upon which they should not agree; nor did he express any doubt of his ability to carry on the Government with the aid of those who had been admitted or might be admitted to His Majesty's councils.' It is evident from this candid admission that there was no truth in the allegation that the Prime Minister confessed that it would be difficult if not impracticable for him to carry on the Government; and His Majesty admits that when he observed that Lord Grey had stated that 'the removal of Lord Althorp from the House of Commons would be of itself a sufficient reason for breaking up his administration, and that Lord Melbourne, when he succeeded Lord Grey, had laid the same stress upon the retention of Lord Althorp's services in the House



of Commons,' the Premier did not admit that this consideration militated against his ability to 'carry on the Government satisfactorily.' The king certainly did not, on his part, state his views in the 'frank and unreserved manner' in which he says 'Lord Melbourne discussed the whole subject;' for it is now quite well known, and is not denied, that His Majesty had made up his mind, immediately on Lord Spencer's death, to dismiss his Ministers and to try the experiment of a Conservative Government. He professed, indeed, that he would give his full consideration to what Lord Melbourne had submitted, and should see him again on the following morning; but it is quite evident that His Majesty had no intention of altering the resolution to which he had come.

Next morning the king handed Melbourne a carefully prepared letter, in which he stated that, 'having lost the services of Lord Althorp as leader of the House of Commons, he could feel no confidence in the stability of the Government when led by any other member of it; that they were already in a minority in the House of Peers, and he had every reason to believe the removal of Lord Althorp would speedily put them in the same situation in the other House; that under such circumstances it became necessary to place the conduct of affairs in other hands;' and, he added verbally, that he intended to send for the Duke of Wellington. Nothing could be more peremptory or decisive than this intimation of His Majesty's pleasure; no room was left for explanation or any other arrangement. In the words of Lord Palmerston, 'the Government had not resigned, but were dismissed; and this, not in consequence of having proposed any measure of which the king disapproved, and which they would not give up, but because it was thought they were not strong enough in the Commons to carry on the business of the country, and their places were to be filled up by men who were notoriously weak and unpopular in the

Lower House, however strong they might be in the Upper one.'

The offer of an Earldom and the Garter was made to Lord Melbourne, but was rejected 'in the briefest terms that deference would allow;' and taking his leave, he returned to town. It was late when he reached Downing Street, where Palmerston was the only Minister to be found. He spent the remainder of the evening with him, and having summoned a meeting of the Cabinet for the following morning, was about to retire to rest, when the Chancellor called on his way from Holland House. On his promise to divulge nothing till the Ministers met next day, Melbourne informed him of what had occurred. Brougham, however, broke his promise, and immediately on leaving Downing Street, communicated the intelligence to the *Chronicle* and the *Times*, and added in his intimation to the latter the memorable words, 'The queen has done it all!'

The other members of the Cabinet had not the slightest apprehension of such a result, and learned with amazement from the newspapers next day that they had been summarily dismissed from office. The public were equally taken by surprise, and the general impression was that the dismissal of the Government was the result of a preconcerted measure with the leaders of the Tory party, which, however, was undoubtedly a mistake. The king was highly offended at the insinuation that the step he had taken was the result of an intrigue on the part of the queen, and complained that he had been insulted and betrayed.

According to all precedent, the outgoing Ministry should have retained office until their predecessors were appointed; but so impatient was the king to get rid of the Whigs, that he insisted on the immediate resignation of the Government. Lord Duncannon was interrupted at church during the time of divine service by a messenger commanding the instant delivery of the seals of the Home Office. This unseemly



and unconstitutional conduct tended not a little to strengthen the feeling of dissatisfaction with which moderate and prudent men regarded the dismissal of an administration by the mere personal will of the sovereign. The rash and precipitate conduct of the king led to another arrangement, which was unavoidable under the circumstances, but is incapable of defence—the union, in the person of the Duke of Wellington, of the offices of the First Lord of the Treasury and of the three Secretaries of State.\* It thus happened that for a considerable period four of the most important offices of State were held by one person, and the public service was conducted during this interval without any responsible head to many of the departments.

Although the conduct of the king in thus summarily dismissing his Ministers was vociferously applauded by the Tories at the time, no one can doubt now that it was an exceedingly ill-judged step. The Government was supported by a majority of nearly two-thirds of the House of Commons; its members were now cordially united in their policy; no question had arisen to cause any difference of opinion among them; and Lord Melbourne assured the king that no measures were likely to be proposed on which they should not agree. No scheme for dealing with the Irish Church had been devised or even made matter of deliberation in the Cabinet; and if the Ministry should have introduced a measure on that Church which the House of Commons regarded as dangerous or impracticable, the vote upon that question would have compelled their retirement from office. 'Thus,' as Lord John Russell remarked, 'the king would have been relieved from responsibility; but by taking upon himself the initiative he naturally offended the whole

body of the people, who considered the exercise of the royal prerogative an act of caprice rather than of reasonable judgment.'

At the same time it must be admitted that the dismissal of the Ministry did not give rise to that burst of popular indignation which had been anticipated. Some of the more ardent Reformers thought that this was owing to a want of zeal and energy on the part of the late Premier, while the Tories loudly asserted that it was to be attributed to the reaction that had taken place in the public mind. To a certain extent this was true. The excitement which prevailed during the fever heat of the Reform Bill agitation had undoubtedly subsided, as in the very nature of things must have been the case. The English mind, which always moves slowly to great organic changes, necessarily recoiled with the violent effort it had made to reform the constitution of the country. Many who had supported that change expected a period of tranquillity as its result; and many others, looking on the system of representation as a means to an end, hoped that the great improvement which had been made in that system would leave quiet and leisure for social and economical reforms. But when they found that, on the contrary, it was immediately followed by demands for fresh innovations in the franchise, the reform or abolition of the House of Lords, the disestablishment of the Church, and other violent constitutional innovations, they withdrew, some in alarm and some in mere weariness and disgust, from the party of the Reformers, and either took up a neutral position or joined the ranks of their opponents.

Melbourne himself, with his usual shrewdness and frankness, in replying to an address from Derby expressed himself plainly respecting the causes which led to the dismissal of his Ministry. 'You will not,' he said, 'consider me as employing the language of complaint and discontent, but rather that of friendly admonition and advice, if I enumerate amongst them the

\* A good deal of amusement was caused by a clever cartoon which H. B. published at this juncture. It represented the Duke seated in solitary dignity in the room where the Cabinet meetings were held, and saying aloud, 'My Lords and Gentlemen, the question for the consideration of the Cabinet is, "How is the king's Government to be carried on?"'



want of confidence that has often been expressed in quarters from which we expected support; the strong condemnation which has been pronounced upon some of our measures which I conceive to have been absolutely necessary; the violent and subversive opinions which have been declared, and particularly the bitter hostility and ulterior designs against the Established Church which have been openly avowed by several classes and bodies of the Dissenters. When I mention this last opinion, I beg leave to say that I do not condemn those who conscientiously entertain it. It is not my opinion; but I mention it now with reference to its actual effect upon the course of public affairs. These sentiments and this conduct occasioned great alarm in high and powerful quarters; they terrified the timid, they repelled from us the wavering, they rallied men around the institutions which they conceived to be attacked; and they gave life, spirit, and courage to our political adversaries, who you will recollect, after all, form a very large and powerful party in this country—a party powerful in number, powerful in property, powerful in rank and station, and allow me to add, a party of a very decided, tenacious, unyielding, and uncompromising character.'

The great Reform Ministry, which was dismissed from office in this unceremonious manner, had effected in the course of four years more important and beneficial changes in the institutions of our country than had been made since the era of the Reformation. They had not only placed the representative system on an equitable and safe foundation, but they had carried out, in spite of the most strenuous and formidable opposition, social reforms of equal magnitude and value. The abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, and of the monopoly of the East India Company; the restriction of infant labour in the factories, and the removal of the gross abuses which had made the poor law demoralizing, wasteful, and dangerous to the social welfare of the community; and the clearing away

the arrears of the Court of Chancery, which, owing to Lord Eldon's procrastination, had brought misery and ruin on many thousands—were alone sufficient to lay the country under a deep debt of gratitude to Earl Grey and his colleagues. They were the first to grapple with the evils which have made Ireland a source of anxiety and danger to the rulers of the three kingdoms, and to attempt to do justice to that unhappy country. If their power had been equal to their inclinations, they would have abolished the tithe system—one fruitful source of anarchy and bloodshed—and have held the balance fairly between contending sects. The Government, however, succeeded in bestowing one inestimable boon upon Ireland—the establishment of a national system of education.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century a few charity schools existed in Ireland—chiefly in Ulster—in which the children of the peasantry were taught to read, and received some industrial training; but it was not until 1733 that the celebrated Charter schools were instituted under the government of a body of trustees, who were formed into a corporation empowered by a Charter from the Crown 'to hold lands, and receive donations and bequests for the supporting of such schools as might be erected in the most necessary places, where the children of the poor might be taught gratis.' The schools thus established were of two kinds—day schools, and schools in which the children were boarded, and fed, and clothed, and entire charge taken of their welfare, material and moral.

These 'English Protestant working schools,' the Bishop of Elphin said, 'were established for English and national interests, from which little colonies, instructed in religion and inured to labour from their tender years, might be sent out to cultivate the barren and neglected parts of the kingdom, and raise a spirit of industry and activity in the nation.' The instruction given in these schools in the elementary branches of knowledge was made subsidiary to indus-



trial training. Only two hours daily were devoted to reading, writing, and arithmetic; the remaining five or six hours of the school day were given up to labour. 'Spaces of ground were attached to each school-house, extending to two or more acres, which the boys were taught to cultivate. They trenched and drained; they ploughed and dug; they raised corn, potatoes, flax, and hemp; they fed cattle on their meadows, and grew and stored hay for the winter food. The girls learnt spinning, reeling, sewing, washing, brewing, and the business of a dairy—all such work as might prepare them for being put out apprentices or going into service. Each boy and each girl was provided with a suit of clothes annually. The materials were raised, the linens and woollens were woven, and the clothes themselves were cut out and made up at the school-house.

'The children remained at school for five years; at the end of which time they were bound out as apprentices to tradesmen, farmers, or artisans, at the expense of the society.' The cost at which these results were obtainable was not the least remarkable part of the system. 'The whole charge,' says the report on these schools, 'for rescuing each poor child from the utmost misery that could spring from poverty, ignorance, and wickedness, educating him for five years, and putting him in the way of being good and happy, was but £9.'

The expense was, of course, considerably greater in supporting the schools in which the children were fed and lodged as well as educated; and it is a matter of deep regret that funds were not more liberally supplied at the outset for the purpose. These institutions proved eminently successful, and it seemed as if an effectual remedy had at last been found for Papal domination in Ireland, and Irish poverty, turbulence, and misery. The Charter schools had an income of £2000 a year from private endowments. The king added £1000 from his hereditary revenue, and the Irish Parliament raised their grants to the society to £4000, £5000, and £6000 a year. For the first time the Irish landlords

set about discharging their duties to the people connected with them, and established schools on their own estates. The dignitaries of the Church began to interest themselves in promoting the education of the peasantry. Archbishop Boulter built and endowed a school in Dublin almost at his own expense. More than £30,000 was collected in England by private subscriptions, and sums were sent even from the American colonies. So vigorous and effective did the Society become, that the Irish Parliament appropriated a special branch of the revenue—the annual proceeds of hawkers and pedlers' licenses—to the support of the schools, and authorized the Charter Society to appoint officers in every province with powers to take up children between the age of five and twelve years who might be found begging, and convey them to the nearest Charter school, there to be taken charge of, bred up in industry, and bound out when at sufficient age as servants or apprentices to Protestants.

As the principle of the system was industrial training in conjunction with the Established Church Catechism, the Roman Catholic priests denounced the Charter schools in most violent terms, and threatened to refuse the sacraments to parents who allowed their children to attend those obnoxious institutions; but their invectives proved quite ineffectual. The benefits offered by the schools were too plain and too valuable to be rejected by the peasantry at the bidding of the priests. But neglect, mismanagement, and jobbery did what clerical influence had failed to effect. As Froude has remarked, the Charter schools were 'choked in Irish society as wholesome vegetables are choked in a garden where the weeds are allowed to spring.' The system ceased to grow. After the first few years the number of the boarding schools was not increased, and the affiliated day schools disappeared. Private benefactions were withdrawn, and the annual grants made by the Parliament were wasted and perverted by the managers, who starved



and neglected the children, and even used them as slaves to fill their own pockets. In a country where jobbery and neglect of duty were universal among all classes from the highest to the lowest, 'the managers of schools were not likely to be an exception.'

'But the responsibility, and therefore the blame, rested with the bishops. They were the trustees. Their business it was to visit, to correct, and to report if necessary to Parliament to remove incompetent officers. They held that they discharged their obligations sufficiently by mouthing sonorous platitudes in the House of Lords, and by preaching occasional sermons, while they divided their time between their Irish palaces and their London houses, varied with crusades in the House of Lords against Dissenters' disabilities.\*

The abuses in these schools at length became so flagrant and notorious that their reform was loudly demanded, and in 1806, and again in 1824, Royal Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the state of Irish education. They published a number of reports on the subject, and recommended that the education of the youth of Ireland should be founded on an unsectarian basis, and that no attempt should be made in connection with the schools to interfere with the religious principles of any denomination of Christians. In 1827 the reports were referred to a Select Committee, which endorsed the recommendations of the two Commissions, and declared it to be of the utmost importance that the children of the different religious sects should be educated together on the principle of combined moral and literary, and separate religious teaching.

Meanwhile, a Society for promoting the education of the poor, commonly called the Kildare Place Society, had been formed in 1811. Its principles were stated to be 'the admission of pupils uninfluenced by religious distinctions, and the reading of the Bible and Testament, without note or com-

ment, by all the pupils who had attained a suitable proficiency, excluding catechisms and controversial treatises; the Bible or Testament not to be used as a class-book from which children should be taught to read or spell.' A recommendation was made in 1812, by Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the schools and public charities, that 'no attempt should be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians;' and a pledge was given by the Kildare Place Society that that recommendation should be carried into effect. On the faith of this assurance a Parliamentary grant was given in 1819, which was continued and increased in subsequent years. In order to conciliate those who objected to the exclusion of religious teaching from its schools, the Society agreed that a portion of the Bible should be read daily by the pupils. The Roman Catholics objected to this compromise on the ground that it forbade catechetical instruction, and interfered with the interpretation of the Scripture by the priests; and though they availed themselves of the means which the Kildare Place Society afforded them of obtaining the services of trained teachers and the use of cheap school-books, they decidedly objected to the children of their Church being sent to the Kildare Place schools. In consequence the children of that denomination were gradually withdrawn from these schools, and were left to grow up uneducated and untrained. In 1824, out of 56,201 children educated in Kildare Place schools, 26,237 were Protestants and only 29,964 were Roman Catholics, though they formed nine-tenths of the population. On the other hand, in schools supported by voluntary contributions, out of 400,348 pupils, 319,288 were Roman Catholics and only 81,060 were Protestants. The Commissioners, on ascertaining these startling facts, recommended that the grant of money for the education of the poor should be vested in a Board nominated by the Government,

\* See Froude's 'English in Ireland,' i., 514; ii., 11 and 122.—Lecky's 'History of England,' ii., 200.



under arrangements calculated to prevent any interference with the religious tenets of the children or their parents. This recommendation was referred to a committee who reported on it favourably, and the annual grant to the Kildare Place Society was withdrawn in 1830.

In these circumstances the Ministry were constrained to deal with the question, and to take measures to prevent the youth of Ireland from growing up in a state of gross ignorance. During the heat of the contest respecting the Reform Bill they instituted a Board of Education in Dublin, to which they transferred the grant that had been withdrawn from the Kildare Place Society. The Board was composed of members both of the Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations—comprising among them Dr. Whately, the Protestant, and Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin—and was so constituted as to meet the confidence of moderate and reasonable men of both denominations. The system intrusted to their charge was based upon the principle laid down by the Committee of 1827, of combined secular and separate religious instruction. Selections from the Holy Scriptures were to be read in school hours on two days in the week. The Commissioners were instructed to take care that the schools shall be open alike to the children of all denominations, that no pupil shall be required to attend at any religious exercise or to receive any religious instruction which his parents or guardians do not approve, and that sufficient opportunity shall be afforded to the pupils of each religious persuasion to receive separately, at appointed times, such religious instruction as their parents or guardians think proper.

This educational scheme held the balance equally between the contending sects, and conferred its benefits on all with the most perfect impartiality. It was, however, fiercely opposed by the bigots both of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant denominations; and the clergy of the

Established Church in Ireland were loud in their condemnation of the rule which enjoined that only select passages from the Bible were to be read in the schools. Sir Robert Inglis in the House of Commons clamoured for the whole Bible to be read as a school-book, and loud outcries were raised throughout the country against those who were alleged to have mutilated the Word of God. 'While the whole system is crumbling to dust under their feet,' Greville wrote, 'while the Church is prostrate, property of all kinds threatened, and robbery, murder, starvation, and agitation rioting over the land, there were legislators debating whether the brats at school shall read the whole Bible or only parts of it; they do nothing but rave of the barbarism and ignorance of the Catholics; they know that education alone can better their moral condition, and that their religious tenets prohibit the admission of any system of education (in which Protestants and Catholics can be joined) except such an one as this; and yet they would rather knock the system on the head, and prevent all the good that may flow from it, than consent to a departure from the good old rules of Orange ascendancy, and Popish subserviency and degradation, knowing too, above all, that those who are to read and be taught are equally indifferent to the whole Bible as to parts of it.' The Ministry were not deterred by this clamour from carrying out their scheme, which was powerfully defended by Stanley in the House of Commons, and was supported by liberal and candid persons of all parties throughout the country. The Irish Episcopal clergy, unfortunately, persisted for years in standing aloof from the system, and did all in their power to prevent the adherents of their Church from availing themselves of the benefits of the national schools. The system, however, was countenanced by the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics; and, with all their defects, these schools have proved an inestimable boon to the Irish people.



## CHAPTER VII.

Affairs of Turkey—Quarrel between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali—Ibrahim Pacha's Campaign in Syria—Capture of Acre—Defeat of the Turks at Damascus, Homs, Bilbao, and Konieh—Critical position of the Porte—Intervention of Russia—Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi—Dissatisfaction caused by it to the British Government—Civil War in Portugal—Successes of Don Pedro—Capture of Lisbon—Marshal Bourmont takes the command of Miguel's Forces—Donna Maria acknowledged by France and Britain—Termination of the Civil War—Don Miguel leaves the Country—Don Pedro's Regency—His Death—Misconduct of the Government—Marriage of the Queen—Death of her Husband—Her Second Marriage—Death of Ferdinand of Spain—Succession of his Daughter Isabella—Regency of Christina—Ministry of Zea Bermudez—Don Carlos claims the Throne—Insurrection in the Basque Provinces—Dismissal of Zea—Ministry of Martinez de la Rosa—The Quadruple Alliance—War between the Constitutionalists and the Carlists—Zumalacarregui the Carlist Chief—His Strategy—Sanguinary Proclamation issued by Don Carlos—War of Extermination—Atrocities of the Carlists—Retaliation of the Christians—Generals Rodil, Valdez, and Mina—The Eliot Convention—Death of Zumalacarregui—Ministries of Torreno, of Mendizabel, and of Isturitz—Military Revolution—Constitution of 1812 proclaimed.

WHILE the reform of Parliament and of the social institutions of the United Kingdom was proceeding, the Turkish empire was brought to the brink of dissolution by the rebellion of the most powerful vassal of the Porte, Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt. This remarkable man was a native of Roumelia, and was born in 1769, the birth-year of Napoleon and Wellington. At the age of fourteen he obtained a commission in the militia. He opened a tobacco shop in a seaport town in Albania, and a commercial speculation into which he entered with a French merchant brought him some money. In the year 1800 he obtained the command of a small detachment of soldiers from Pravante to join the Turkish forces in Egypt, then occupied by the French. The bravery and energy which he displayed in this position attracted the attention of Khosrew, the Pasha of Egypt, and he was appointed general of the Arnauts, those hardy and valiant Albanian soldiers, who formed the flower of the Turkish army. This position gave ample scope to the ambition of a man of Mehemet Ali's ability and resolution; and after a great deal of intriguing he succeeded in obtaining the office of Pasha in 1805, and became Viceroy of Egypt. In 1811, finding that the Mamelukes stood in the way of his crooked policy, he determined to destroy them; and he carried out his infamous plot in a way that showed him to be as treacherous and ferocious as he was ambitious. In the

same year the Sultan intrusted him with a commission to reduce the Wahabees. He was ultimately successful in this enterprise through the skill and valour of Ibrahim Pacha, his son, with whose assistance he organized and disciplined a formidable army on the European model. In 1824 the Sultan again appealed for aid to his powerful vassal, and Ibrahim was despatched to the Morea, in February, 1825, at the head of a strong body of troops, supported by a numerous fleet. His successes in the contest with the Greek patriots led to the intervention of the Great Powers; and after the destruction of the Egyptian and Turkish fleet at Navarino, Ibrahim was compelled to evacuate Greece. Mehemet Ali was meanwhile carrying out energetically the reforms which the Sultan Mahmoud was in vain struggling to effect in Turkey. He introduced the political and social regulations and improvements of Christian Europe—police, systematic taxation, education, hospitals and telegraphs, and, not least, religious toleration, among his subjects. He sent his own sons and the most promising of the Egyptian youth of the higher ranks to be educated in France; and he held out strong inducements to French military officers and accomplished civilians to assist him in carrying out his schemes. He took into his own hands the whole industry, agricultural and commercial, of Egypt; and resorting to a system of forced labour, the hereditary expedient of Egyptian rulers, he



established manufactories, compelled the culture of cotton, planted the olive and the mulberry tree, and improved the breed of horses, asses, and oxen. This energetic policy had the effect of placing vast resources at his command, so that, after the destruction of his fleet at Navarino, he speedily repaired his losses, and created new and formidable forces, military and naval.

At the close of the war with Greece, when the strength of the Ottoman empire had been considerably impaired, Mehemet Ali evidently began to think of asserting his independence of the Porte. The refusal of the Sultan to bestow on Ibrahim the Pashalic of Damascus, which he claimed as the reward of his distinguished services, served to strengthen this resolution; and in 1832, as a step towards this consummation, he picked a quarrel with Abd-Allah Bey, Pasha of Acre, on the ground that some of his subjects who had fled from the hardships of forced labour in Egypt had taken refuge in Syria. Mehemet sent a powerful army against him, under Ibrahim, attended by an equally powerful fleet, with instructions to lay siege to Acre, the capital of Abd-Allah's Pashalic. The Egyptian army had no right to attack the Pasha of Acre, who, like himself, was under the authority of their common suzerain; and the Sultan, who regarded himself as the master of both of the contending parties, despatched a firman from Constantinople commanding Mehemet Ali to withdraw his forces, and directing the rival Pashas to lay their complaints before the Sultan. The Viceroy, however, was not inclined to comply with these orders, well knowing the state of poverty and distress the Sultan had been plunged into by his unsuccessful contest with Greece and Russia. He returned evasive answers to the demand, and directed Ibrahim in the meantime to press the siege of Acre with all possible expedition. The Porte, indignant at the manner in which Mehemet had contemned its authority, sent a body of troops under Osman Pasha to enforce its

orders. He advanced as far as Tripoli, but on the approach of the Egyptian general the Turks fled during the night, abandoning their camp, ammunition, artillery, and provisions.

The Egyptian army, which amounted to between 40,000 and 50,000 men, immediately on its entrance into Syria had captured almost without resistance Gaza, Caipha, and Jaffa; but Acre, defended by Abd-Allah himself, made a vigorous resistance. This famous stronghold had for centuries been regarded as the key of Syria, and had experienced greater vicissitudes from political revolutions and the calamities of war than perhaps any other town in the East. It had been alternately held by the Romans, the Saracens, and the Crusaders. Its capture in 1191 by Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip of France cost the besiegers the sacrifice of 100,000 men. In 1799 its garrison, animated by the example and encouragement of Sir Sydney Smith, repelled the most vigorous assault of Napoleon Bonaparte, who, after a siege of sixty-one days, was obliged to retreat with the mortifying conviction that his career in the East was completely arrested. Its fortifications were greatly strengthened by Jezzaz Pasha; and though Ibrahim bombarded it both on the land and from the sea till the town was reduced to a heap of ruins, its defenders still refused to surrender. After carrying on a series of incessant attacks during three months (from December, 1831, to March, 1832) the Egyptian general was compelled to convert the siege into a strict blockade, and at length the failure of provisions compelled Abd-Allah Bey to surrender on the 27th of May, 1832.

Flushed with this brilliant success the Egyptian Viceroy resolved to turn his victorious arms against his suzerain, and to conquer the whole of Syria, of which he had now obtained possession of the keys. Having refreshed his troops and received reinforcements, he left Acre on the 8th of June and marched upon Damascus. The Turkish army, consisting of a considerable



body of infantry and cavalry mustered to defend the city, took to flight at the first charge, and allowed Ibrahim to take undisturbed possession of the place. He then marched towards the pashalic of Aleppo, encountered and defeated a body of Ottoman troops amounting to 20,000 men at Homs, on the banks of the Orontes, on the 8th of July, with the loss of 4000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and of their tents, provisions, ammunition, and twenty pieces of cannon. Ibrahim then captured Antioch; and finding himself undisturbed master of Syria, he resolved next to undertake the conquest of Asia Minor. Meanwhile the Porte had by great exertions collected a numerous army under the command of Hussein Pasha, and had resolved to make an effort to hold against the invader the range of the Taurus which separates that province from Syria. Marching rapidly to resist the further progress of the Egyptian forces, Hussein, at the head of 36,000 men, took up a strong position at Beilan, near Scanderoon, to guard the passage of the Taurus. He had erected batteries to protect the defile which led to his position, and had placed cannon on the heights. But on the 29th of July Ibrahim, having silenced the Turkish batteries by the superior power of his artillery, carried the heights by assault and cleared the defile. The Turks fled in the greatest confusion, abandoning their cannon, baggage, and stores; and so complete was the dispersion that Hussein after the defeat had difficulty in collecting 10,000 men.

While the invader was making his way slowly through the mountain defiles into the plains of Caramania, the Sultan put forth one last desperate effort to arrest his progress. An army of 60,000 men was collected and placed under the command of the Grand Vizier, Reschid Pasha, with whom Ibrahim had co-operated at the siege of Missolonghi. Instead of taking up a strong position and waiting the attack of the Egyptian forces, the Grand Vizier rashly advanced to meet them, and found

them posted behind the town of Konieh, where they could be approached only through dangerous defiles. A fierce and stubborn conflict ensued which lasted six hours, and terminated in the total defeat of the Turkish army. The Vizier himself was wounded and taken prisoner, his forces were completely dispersed, and not a few of them joined the victors. Their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, as usual, fell into the hands of the enemy.

There was nothing now to arrest the progress of Ibrahim to the shores of the Bosphorus; and it was believed that he was only waiting the arrival of 15,000 fresh troops, then on their way through Syria to join him, to march to the capital. The Sultan and his advisers were in the greatest consternation, and seemed to have abandoned all hope of resistance. In this crisis an urgent appeal for assistance was made to the British and French Ministries; but both were so entangled with the affairs of Belgium and Holland that they had neither troops nor vessels to spare for service in the Mediterranean. They could only send despatches or ambassadors, while the Porte was in instant need of soldiers and sailors. In this extremity the Sultan was reluctantly compelled to turn for help to Russia, and the Czar was both able and willing to yield a prompt compliance with his request. Before the end of April 15,000 Russian troops were landed at Scutari and took up a position between Ibrahim and the Bosphorus, and a Russian fleet sailed from Sebastopol and guarded the entrance of the Bosphorus itself. The advance of the Egyptian army on Constantinople was thus stayed, and negotiations for a peace between the Sultan and his powerful vassal were commenced. Mahmoud was fully alive to the danger that threatened the independence of his throne, from the combined presence of the fleet and troops of the Czar and the approach of the Egyptian army, and pressed on the completion of the treaty, which was concluded chiefly through the intervention of the representatives of Great



Britain and France. The result was to make the Egyptian viceroy much more powerful than his suzerain. Mehemet Ali obtained the pashalics of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus, and Adana, in addition to Egypt and Crete. He was master from the mouth of the Nile to the limits of Asia Minor, and ruled, nominally with subordinate, but really with unlimited sway over the whole of Syria.

Russia had at last found her way to the shores of the Bosphorus at the instance of the Porte itself, and she speedily showed that it would be necessary to pay a high price to induce her to withdraw her troops. Her preponderance at Constantinople was now established; and she insisted that the policy of the Sultan was henceforth to be subservient to her interests. A new treaty, offensive and defensive, known as the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, was entered into between the two contracting Powers, and signed at Constantinople on the 8th of July. It stipulated that if either of the two countries should be invaded the other should come to its assistance by land and by sea, with as many soldiers and ships as the two contracting Powers should consider necessary. But the real import of the treaty was expressed in a separate and secret article, which provided that as the Emperor of Russia was willing to spare his ally the expense and inconvenience of affording him military aid, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in place of the assistance which it was bound to furnish in case of need according to the principle of reciprocity of the patent treaty, shall confine its action in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia to closing the Strait of the Dardanelles; that is to say, not allowing any foreign vessels of war to enter therein under any pretext whatever.

This treaty justly excited the jealousy and suspicion of the British Government, who could not, however, directly interfere. But their language to Russia regarding it, said Greville, was, 'We do not remonstrate herein; we admit your

right to make what treaties you think fit; but we give you notice that if any attempt is made to enforce the stipulations of it against us we shall not endure it, and you must be prepared for the consequences.'

In the following year another treaty was entered into between these two Powers, by which the Sultan ceded to the Czar a tract of country on the coast of the Black Sea commanding the line of communication with Persia; in consideration of which the Czar relinquished his right to what remained to be paid of the indemnities fixed by the treaty of Adrianople, amounting to ten millions, and agreed to withdraw from the Principalities as soon as Hospodars should be chosen. The Sublime Porte, on the other hand, formally recognized the regulations made, while the Russian troops occupied these provinces, by the principal inhabitants for their internal administration, retaining in the meantime, however, the fortress of Silistria, and the military road which gave Russia the complete command of these provinces. As soon as this new transaction became known in England deep indignation was expressed at the selfish, crafty, and dishonourable manner in which Russia had taken advantage of the necessities of the Porte. King William himself was so angry that he insisted upon a fleet being despatched forthwith to the Mediterranean. The subject was repeatedly brought before the House of Commons, but the Foreign Secretary could only say that the treaty was not in his possession, and, in fact, it was not until the commencement of 1834 that it was communicated to the Foreign Office. Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, was, however, instructed to recommend the Sultan not to ratify this treaty, and rather to pay ('or, more properly, continue to owe') the whole ten millions than accede to the wily proposal. The knowledge that Russia had procured for herself such advantages from the feeble Ottoman ruler in a secret and surreptitious manner tended not a little to strengthen



the unfavourable feeling both in Parliament and the country against the Czar, and helped to deepen the sympathy felt for the Polish exiles. Their case was repeatedly brought before the House of Commons, and in discussing it the Russian Emperor was branded by one member as a 'brutal and sanguinary despot,' by another as 'the monster Nicholas,' and 'a brute' and a 'bully'—language quite unexampled in the British Parliament as applied to any foreign sovereign. In the end these reiterated discussions had the effect of obtaining from the House of Commons a grant of £10,000 for the relief of the Polish exiles.

The civil war still continued to rage in Portugal. Don Miguel failed in his efforts to draw Don Pedro's troops from Oporto, and Don Pedro was unable to make any progress in gaining possession of the country. Repeated attempts were made by the Miguelites to command the mouth of the river, while stores and recruits were landed and forwarded to the city; and in one of these encounters their loss was estimated at 1500 men. On the other hand, the 'liberating army,' as it was called, were unable to advance beyond the walls of Oporto, and the works which they had constructed for its defence. The English Tories, who had always been favourable to the cause of Don Miguel, blamed the Ministry for allowing British subjects to enlist in Don Pedro's service, and recommended them to recognize the usurper, as the Duke of Wellington's Government had been on the eve of doing. His Grace, on the 1st of June, 1833, moved an address to the Crown in favour of a policy of neutrality in the Portuguese contest, and carried his motion by a majority of ten votes. 'I do not think it matters much,' remarked Macaulay. 'Nobody out of the House of Lords cares either for Don Pedro or for Don Miguel.' The House of Commons, by a majority of 361 votes to 98, expressed their approval of the policy of the Ministry, and there the matter rested.

At this critical moment, however, there

arose a quarrel about arrears of pay between the Regent and Admiral Sartorius, who commanded Don Pedro's fleet, which had nearly proved fatal to the cause of the young queen. The sailors mutinied, and the admiral declared that he confiscated the fleet in order to obtain payment for the crews. Don Pedro threatened Sartorius, deprived him of his command, and despatched Sir John Doyle to bring him a prisoner to Oporto. The admiral, who was at Vigo, put under arrest both Doyle and Captain Crosbie, who was sent to take charge of the fleet, and immediately set sail for Oporto. The Regent was fain to yield to the just demands of the admiral, and means were found to satisfy the claims of the sailors. On this Sartorius consented to resign the command of the fleet, and was in the beginning of June succeeded by another British officer, Captain Charles Napier—'Mad Charlie,' as he was called on account of his daring and reckless exploits. The substitution of a commander of Napier's daring and adventurous character for the cautious Sartorius, speedily told on the issue of the contest. It was well known that Don Miguel's fleet was greatly superior both in numbers and in weight of metal to the squadron of Don Pedro, which was ill equipped and ill manned; but in an evil hour it came into contact with Napier, on the 2nd of July, off Cape St. Vincent. He had under his command only three frigates, a corvette, a brig, and a small schooner, while the Miguelite squadron consisted of ten ships of the line, two frigates, three corvettes, two brigs, and a xebecque. He had no hesitation, however, in bringing them to action. The contest, though severe, was short, and terminated in the capture of the whole Miguelite fleet (with the exception of the corvettes and the brig, which contrived to make their escape), 'to the great delight of the Whigs,' says Greville, 'and the equal mortification of the Tories.' Lord Palmerston, however, says that Pedro was far from pleased at Napier's success; it tended to finish the war too quickly.



Meanwhile, the conflict on land had proved equally unpropitious to the cause of the usurper. On the 21st June an expedition sailed from Oporto, having 2500 men on board, under the command of Villa Flornow, Duke of Terceira, accompanied by the Marquis of Palmella. The troops were landed during the night of the 24th at the mouth of the Guadiana, the most eastern port of the Algarves. On the following day they entered the city Tavera without opposition. On the 27th Faro, and on the 29th Lagos were surrendered without a blow. The troops were well received by the people, and in the course of a week the whole province of Algarves had submitted to the authority of the queen.

Leaving garrisons behind him to occupy the fortified places, the Duke of Terceira lost no time in marching northward toward Lisbon. He met with no opposition till he reached the Tagus on the 23rd of July, when he was encountered by an army of 5000 Miguelites, under the command of Telles Jordao. The Duke had only 1500 men with him, but he immediately joined battle with the enemy; and after a brief conflict completely routed him. Jordao himself was killed, and his army scattered in hopeless confusion. As soon as the intelligence of this defeat reached Lisbon, the Duke of Cadavel, who commanded there, evacuated the capital, with the whole garrison, and fled northward. The citizens, thus abandoned by the troops, assembled and passed an 'Act of Acclamation,' proclaiming Donna Maria their lawful sovereign, and the Duke of Terceira marched in and took possession of the city.

Napier's victory having made Don Pedro master of the sea, he resolved to blockade every port in Portugal, and the British Government at once agreed to recognize the blockade as a step which told powerfully in his favour. At this juncture, however, matters took a new turn. Marshal Bourmont—a double traitor, who first deserted the Portuguese service when Junot invaded Portugal and joined the French army, in

which he rose to the rank of a general, and then on the eve of the battle of Waterloo deserted Napoleon and went over to the Allies—had been induced by Don Miguel to take the command of his forces. He made a vigorous attack on Oporto, but was finally obliged to retire with considerable loss. Bourmont then withdrew his troops from the forts on the south of the Douro, having first destroyed an immense quantity of wine contained in the stores of Villa Nova, and set fire to the stores themselves.\* He then marched towards Lisbon at the head of 18,000 men; but on approaching the capital he found that a strong line of forts had been erected for its protection, extending from the Douro on the one side to the old lines of Torres Vedras on the other. On the liberation of Oporto, Saldanha had transported a part of his army by sea to assist in the defence of Lisbon. On the 5th of September Bourmont made a fierce attack on the fortifications of the city, which lasted the greater part of the day, but failed to carry any portion of the works. Another and more formidable attack was made on the 14th, with heavier loss to the assailants, and no better success. The Marshal, on this renewed failure, threw up his command, complaining loudly of the behaviour of the troops, and along with the other French officers departed for Spain. The Miguelite forces, though abandoned by their commander, made a deliberate retreat up the right bank of the Tagus, closely followed by the queen's army. They retired in good order, carrying with them all their baggage and artillery. On the 2nd of November they turned upon their pursuers at Alcaacer, and put them to flight with considerable loss.

The cause of Donna Maria was now victorious; and as soon as it became known that her troops were in possession of the capital, she was acknowledged as Queen of

\* 'Miguel and Bourmont deserve to be hanged,' wrote Palmerston to his brother, 'for burning all the wine at Oporto: there never was so atrocious an outrage.'



Portugal both by Great Britain and France. She was also proclaimed sovereign of the Cape de Verd Islands, which all submitted to her authority. The contest, however, was not yet over. The authority of Don Miguel was still obeyed by a considerable portion of the Portuguese; he was at the head of a numerous army, and a number of important fortresses were still in his possession. He had taken up a strong position at Santarem, which the queen's forces did not venture to attack; and it was thought prudent in the first instance to reduce the isolated fortresses in other districts. About the middle of January, 1834, Saldanha marched with a strong force against the important town of Lairia, situated between Lisbon and Coimbra. The garrison, consisting of 1500 men, lost courage and evacuated the town on the approach of the enemy; but were pursued and overtaken by the Constitutionalists, who slaughtered them without mercy, giving no quarter. Torres Novas was captured on the 25th of January; and the same system of massacre was renewed there, to the great disgrace of the victorious forces and their officers. Saldanha then marched towards Don Miguel from the south, while the Duke of Terceira advanced upon him from Lisbon. The Miguelite army, thus pressed on both sides, sought to rid themselves of one portion of their adversaries by a vigorous attack on Saldanha's position at Almaster; but after a fierce and sanguinary conflict they were repulsed with great slaughter, the Constitutionalists, as usual, giving no quarter. Don Miguel was in consequence compelled to remain within the works at Santarem, a position which he was anxious to maintain for the purpose of keeping up his communications with the frontiers of Spain, whence he expected reinforcements.

Towns and provinces began now to declare rapidly in favour of the queen. The district north of the Douro was cleared of the Miguelites by a division of the garrison of Oporto; and in the course of a few days the whole province of Minho

had espoused the cause of Donna Maria. The Miguelites, when driven out of Minho, attempted to maintain the line of the Tamego; but the Duke of Terceira marched against them from the south, while the army of Oporto prepared to attack them in front. Finding themselves thus placed between two fires, they were obliged to abandon their position. The retreat soon became a dispersion. The militia laid down their arms, and returned to their homes; the regular troops deserted in great numbers; and General Santa Martha, the commander-in-chief of the Miguelite army, seeing that the cause had become hopeless, made his peace with the Government. The expulsion of the partisans of the usurper from the positions which they held between the Douro and the Tagus speedily followed. The reduction of Figueras, at the mouth of the Mondego, was intrusted to Admiral Napier. On the approach of his ships the garrison evacuated the town, and the inhabitants immediately hoisted the royal standard. On the same day Coimbra opened its gates to the Duke of Terceira, so that Don Miguel now retained possession of no part of the country except the fortresses on the Spanish western frontiers.

Strange to say, it was from Spain—to which he looked for succour—that the final overthrow of Don Miguel's cause came. Don Carlos, his worthy compeer in tyranny and cruelty, was compelled to fly from Spain at this juncture, and attempted to find refuge in Portugal. He was pursued by a Spanish army under General Rodil, which proved even more fatal to the Portuguese than to the Spanish usurper. On its approach the important fortress of Almeida, and several other strongholds, immediately abandoned Don Miguel's cause. His troops lost heart, and began to desert his standard. He had still with him from 12,000 to 16,000 men, and might have held out for a considerable time; but the news of the Quadruple Alliance formed at this time between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, seems to have made



him despair of his cause. On the 18th of May Don Miguel abandoned his lines at Santarem, and retreated towards the Guadiana, closely followed by Count Saldanha and the Duke of Terceira at the head of 20,000 men. His cause was now desperate; and his general, Lemos, on the 22nd of May proposed a suspension of arms with a view to a negotiation; and on the 26th a Convention was agreed to at Evora, by which Don Miguel formally consented to abandon the country on the terms which had been previously offered by the Government. He became bound to leave Portugal in fifteen days, and never again to enter either that country or Spain, nor in any way to concur in disturbing the tranquillity of these kingdoms. In return he was to receive a pension of £15,000 a year, and be permitted to dispose of his personal property on restoring the Crown jewels and other articles; and finally, it was stipulated that he should order the troops still adhering to his cause instantly to lay down their arms and return to their homes, under the protection of an amnesty, and the fortresses to surrender to the queen. On the 2nd of June he embarked at the port of Sines on board a British man-of-war, which conveyed him to Genoa, where he had no sooner arrived than, in keeping with his faithless character and conduct, he issued a declaration protesting that he had acted under compulsion in relinquishing the throne, and that the transaction was null and void.

The civil war being thus happily terminated, and the authority of the queen acknowledged in every part of the kingdom, an extraordinary meeting of the Cortes was assembled on the 14th of August. Don Pedro's conduct, since his assumption of the Government, was not calculated to strengthen his daughter's cause. Greville says, 'Pedro has committed, since he was in Lisbon, every folly and atrocity he could squeeze into so small a space of time: imprisoning, confiscating, granting monopolies, attacking the Church, and putting forth the

Constitution in its most offensive shape.' Palmella, to whom Don Pedro was deeply indebted, was excluded by him from the Ministry; and he intrusted the management of affairs to men who had few claims on the public confidence, and enjoyed still less public respect. Count Tapia, in a published letter addressed to Don Pedro, said, 'The present Ministry is not the representative of any one single interest in the country; it is nothing more than a faction of prosing fools, of anarchical cosmopolites without name, without property, without claim upon the public, without talent—a faction that in no other manner belongs to Portugal but that its members happened to be born on its soil; with no other propensity but to snatch up all the "loaves and fishes" of the State. They are without any principle, good or bad. They have been improperly accused of being "Ultra-Liberals;" they are anything and nothing.' Lord Palmerston went so far as to say that Pedro and his Ministers disliked the Quadruple Treaty, and wished the civil war to go on, that they might continue to plunder and confiscate. Their despotic measures were quite in keeping with this description of their character. Entirely on their own authority they effected a sudden, unequal, and unfair change in the currency; confiscated the property of the convents, monasteries, and colleges; abolished the rights and privileges of the Oporto Wine Company; and made an alteration in the duties on all foreign imports, which, with shameful ingratitude, deprived British merchants of all the privileges secured to them by a formal treaty. If these men had remained long in office unchecked, they would very speedily have brought about a reaction against the authority of the queen.

The extraordinary session of the Cortes was opened on the 14th of August. One of their first proceedings was to determine how the executive power should be exercised during the queen's minority; and it was resolved to confer the office of Regent on



Don Pedro. The Charter had fixed eighteen as the age at which the minority of the sovereign should terminate; but the Ministers proposed that Donna Maria should be immediately declared of age, and enter upon the exercise of the powers and duties of the regal office. This proposal was agreed to; and on the 20th of September the queen, in the presence of the Cortes, took the oath prescribed by the Constitution. Two days later Don Pedro, who had for some time been seriously ill, died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, having during the later years of his life acted a part which was strangely at variance with the earlier stages of his career. Though his conduct was marked by not a few extravagances and follies, he must be commended for the energy and perseverance which he showed in vindicating the claims of his daughter and the rights of the Portuguese people.

The death of Don Pedro did not interrupt the proceedings of the Cortes or the arrangements of the Government. The Ministry was reconstructed; a number of its former members were retained; but the Duke of Palmella and Count Villa Real were introduced into it, and the former was placed at its head with the title of President of the Council. A bill was passed, without a dissentient voice, to exclude Don Miguel and his descendants from the throne of Portugal. It deprived them also of all political or civil rights, prohibited them from acquiring any property in Portugal, or even from entering the country, under the penalties of treason. The sale of the national domains and of the confiscated property of the convents and monasteries was authorized; and the measure for the substitution of a metallic for the existing paper currency was confirmed, with various modifications, however, to remedy the injustice which its sudden proclamation by the Ministry had inflicted on the mercantile portion of the community. With shameful ingratitude the Ministry deliberately violated the promises made by

Don Pedro to induce the British auxiliaries to enter his service, and pleaded the pecuniary state of the Treasury as an excuse for leaving the arrears due to them unpaid. The men whose bravery had contributed not a little to the success of the queen's cause were left to wander through the streets of Lisbon in poverty and rags, almost destitute of daily bread.

As the preservation of the constitutional system depended greatly on a direct succession to the throne, no time was lost in making arrangements for the marriage of the queen. Louis Philippe, always on the outlook for good matches for his family, proposed that Donna Maria should marry his son, the Duke de Nemours. When he found this scheme impracticable, as it would have been opposed by the British Government, and would have been most unpopular in Portugal, he proposed his nephew, Prince Charles of Naples, as a candidate for the hand of the young queen. This was likewise rejected, and the choice of Don Pedro and his Ministers fell upon the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugene Beauharnois, and the brother of Don Pedro's wife. The marriage took place in the beginning of the year 1835, but the bridegroom survived it only a few months. He died on the 28th of March, much regretted, for he appeared to be a young man of good sense, and anxious to discharge with fidelity and zeal the duties of the situation in which he was placed. The Cortes, however, did not allow the widowed queen to indulge long the sorrows of her bereavement. Before the end of the year her second marriage was arranged, and in April, 1836, she was united to Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a nephew of the King of the Belgians.

The civil war was still raging in the Peninsula, and it was a curious coincidence that in Spain as in Portugal a young queen had at this time to defend her throne against her own uncle, and that in both the reigning sovereign relied for support on the adherents of Liberal principles, while her



rival was the representative of despotic power. As the pretensions of Miguel and Carlos were favoured by the arbitrary powers which had formed the Holy Alliance, it was quite natural that the cause of Maria and Isabella should be identified with freedom, and be regarded with favour by Great Britain and France; and, on the other hand, that the French Legitimists and the English Tories, as well as the despotic continental sovereigns, should earnestly desire the success of the autocratic pretenders to the thrones of the Peninsular kingdoms.

Ferdinand of Spain, shortly before his death, assembled the Cortes of his kingdom to swear allegiance to his daughter, the Infanta Isabella, and to do homage to her as their future sovereign. The ceremony was performed with great pomp and splendour in the church of the Royal Monastery of St. Jerome, on the 20th of June, 1833; but though it was accompanied by enthusiastic public rejoicings, and the apparent cordial approbation of the whole community, the peremptory refusal of Don Carlos to take the oath of allegiance to his niece was an ominous presage of the sanguinary contest that was soon to convulse the whole country.

Don Zea Bermudez, the Prime Minister of Spain, at this critical period held a very peculiar position. He was opposed to Don Carlos, but he was favourable to Don Miguel. Lord Palmerston said, 'Zea is bound to Miguel as Faust to Mephistopheles, whether merely by obstinate vanity and prejudice, or, as some people say, by promises of titles and estates in the event of Miguel's success, it is difficult to say.' Zea's policy was in consequence guided by no fixed principle; and leaning by turns to the Constitutionalists and the Absolutists, he lost the confidence of both. He was supposed to have formed the scheme of a marriage between the young queen and Don Carlos' son, and then the appointment of Carlos as a principal member of the Regency. Such a project, if it had been carried into effect, would have

practically insured the ascendancy of the Absolutists and of the priests, and the extinction of the Moderate party. Meanwhile Zea surrounded the throne with persons unfriendly to the Constitution, and intrusted them with important offices in the Government. The effect of this policy speedily appeared on the succession of Isabella to the throne, when the army was nearly disbanded, the Treasury exhausted, and upwards of two hundred thousand Royalist volunteers were in arms.

Ferdinand died on the 29th of September, 1833, and Christina, his widow, at once assumed the Government in her daughter's name. France immediately intimated her intention to acknowledge the young queen, and Britain followed her example. On the other hand, the three Northern powers made no secret of their decided leaning in favour of Don Carlos and Don Miguel, who made common cause in their efforts to eject their nieces from the sovereignty of their respective kingdoms. Don Carlos, who was at this time a fugitive on the frontiers of Portugal, lost no time in advancing his claim to the throne. His strength lay in the northern provinces of Spain—Navarre, Guipuscoa, Biscay, and Alava—which had been left without a sufficient body of troops to preserve order; and his supporters in these districts—the priests, the monks, and the Royalist volunteers—raised the standard of revolt on the 4th of October at Bilbao, and proclaimed him king by the title of Charles V. Orduna, Vittoria, and the other towns in the province followed the example of Bilbao, and General Custagnes, the Royalist commander in the north, having only a few hundred men under his charge to oppose the Carlists, who flocked in thousands to swell the ranks of the insurgents, was obliged to fall back on St. Sebastian. The Basque provinces and Navarre, with the exception of the fortress of Pampeluna, fell into the hands of the Carlists. These successes, however, were mainly owing to the neglect of the Government in leaving the disaffected districts denuded of troops.



All the other provinces of Spain declared for Queen Isabella. The captains-general continued faithful to her cause, and there was no defection in the ranks of the army.

The Government now acted with promptitude and vigour. They disarmed the volunteers, who were the zealous partisans of Don Carlos—a step which ought to have been taken at the first; and they despatched a body of troops under General Sarsfield to suppress the insurrection in the northern provinces. The Carlists retired before him without making any resolute stand till he reached Vittoria, where their leader, the noted Curate Moreno, had concentrated his followers to wait the attack of the Constitutional forces; but the Carlists were speedily and easily routed and scattered over the country. Vittoria, Bilbao, and the other towns were successively occupied and garrisoned, and by the end of December the insurrection appeared to be completely extinguished. Mr. Villiers (afterwards the Earl of Clarendon), British Minister at this time at Madrid, was of opinion that the insurrection was at first commenced, not so much from attachment to Don Carlos, as under the apprehension that the privileges peculiar to the Basque provinces, which had always been respected by the despotic kings of Spain, would, as on a former occasion, be abolished under a more liberal form of government; and he expressed his belief that a word of promise upon this subject would have sufficed to restore tranquillity.

In the existing position of affairs it was impossible that a minister like Zea Bermudez could continue to hold the reins of Government. As he openly supported the cause of the queen, the Carlists regarded him as their determined enemy. Though he refused to admit any interference with the property or privileges of the Roman Catholic Church, the clergy believed that he protected them only from motives of expediency; and as he declined to concede even the most moderate reforms, Liberals of all classes regarded him as an obstacle in

the way of all political and social improvements. Mr. Villiers also employed his influence to effect Zea's removal. He informed the Queen Regent that the British Ministry by no means considered Zea's continuance in office indispensable; and this intimation, together with the storm which assailed the Premier from all quarters, determined her to dismiss him. It had become undeniable, indeed, that a minister so generally unpopular could not be a safe ruler at the moment when the security of the throne depended on the unanimity with which it was supported by the people. Lord Palmerston, with his usual sagacity, foresaw and predicted the inevitable result of Zea's policy. 'It was too violent a system,' he said, 'to succeed long. Zea is not a man of sufficient capacity and scope of mind to play the tyrant with effect. The wine merchant and the consul (both of which Zea had been) predominate in the minister and the statesman, and he is utterly devoid of dignity of character and commanding qualities of mind.

. . . . In the meantime he is creating a union of all parties, but a union against himself, and an explosion seems not improbable.' In the beginning of January, 1834, Zea and several of his colleagues resigned, and he was succeeded by Don Martinez de la Rosa, a sound but not extreme Liberal. The new Premier had filled the same office for a short period in 1822, and obtained a well-earned reputation for a judicious and moderate policy at a time when it was extremely difficult to hold the balance fairly between violent rival parties. He was proscribed and driven into exile when the French army, under the Duke de Angoulême, destroyed the Constitution and restored the weak and worthless autocrat Ferdinand to absolute authority; and he lived in obscurity in Paris until the amnesty of 1832 enabled him to return to Madrid. He was a strenuous supporter of the Constitution as well as of the throne, was even friendly to the cause of Donna Maria in Portugal, and unlike his



predecessor, looked not to the northern autocrats, but to Britain and France for assistance in maintaining the cause of his royal mistress.

Martinez had no sooner entered upon the duties of his office than he began to reorganize the various departments of the administration, preparatory to the work of improving and regulating the constitution of the Cortes. But he saw clearly that it was impossible to introduce important constitutional reforms so long as the country was distracted by conspiracies and insurrections, and he made an immediate and earnest application to the British Government for assistance to expel Don Carlos from the Peninsula. Palmerston promptly and cordially responded to this request, and proposed that Britain, Spain, and Portugal should form an alliance for the deliverance of the Peninsula from the two pretenders, Carlos and Miguel. He carried the scheme through the British Cabinet, he says, 'by a *coup de main*, taking them by surprise and not leaving them time to make objections.' Talleyrand and the French Government had scruples as to the form in which Palmerston had proposed to make them parties to the transaction, but he says—'I have, however, at last satisfied their vanity by giving them a proper place among us. I reckon this to be a great stroke. In the first place, it will settle Portugal and go some way to settle Spain also. But what is of more permanent and extensive importance, it establishes a Quadruple Alliance among the constitutional states of the West, which will serve as a powerful counterpoise to the Holy Alliance of the East. I should like to see Metternich's face when he reads our treaty.'

Lord Palmerston might well write to his brother, 'The treaty was a capital hit, and all my own doing.' It was a full completion of Canning's policy. It brought together a combination of nations in the West in support of constitutional institutions as a counterpoise to the combination that still existed in the North against popular rights

and privileges. After the signature of the Quadruple Alliance, Lord Palmerston's reputation as a sagacious and energetic statesman stood as high on the Continent as in our own country.

The provisions of the treaty were at once carried into effect. The two usurpers were at this time at Evora, in the south-east of Portugal. Miguel had with him from 12,000 to 16,000 men, with whom he could have marched into Spain, and forty-five pieces of artillery and 1200 cavalry. Lord Palmerston was of opinion that with such a force at his command he might have protracted the war for months. 'Had he dashed into Spain and taken Carlos with him, there was only Rodil with 10,000 men between him and Madrid, and part of Rodil's army was suspected of Carlism. But the moral effect of the treaty cowed them all—generals, officers, and men; and that army surrendered without firing a shot.' Miguel, as we have seen, came to terms with the Portuguese Government, and was allowed to leave the country. Miguel's submission made Carlos' position quite untenable. He refused, however, to enter into any negotiations with the Spanish authorities, and would come under no conditions; but he was compelled to leave the Peninsula, and having embarked on board the *Donegal*, a British man-of-war, he was conveyed to Portsmouth. The civil war both in Spain and Portugal was apparently ended, and the authority of the two queens established in their respective kingdoms.

It speedily became evident, however, that the fires of insurrection still smouldered in the northern provinces of Spain, and in no long time it once more broke out into a flame. The influence of the priests among the uneducated and superstitious class of the community was zealously exerted in Carlos' behalf, and the peasantry were induced to believe that the Government was composed of atheists and infidels, sacrilegious robbers of the Church, and enemies to the ancient privileges of the people. Christinos, as the Constitutionalists were



now called, held possession of all the fortresses, but the Carlists spread themselves over the open country in small bands, against which the regular troops found it very difficult to act with effect. Hitherto the operations of the insurgents had been carried on in an unconnected and desultory manner, but they now began to act on a steady fixed plan of operations. Within a fortnight of his landing in England Carlos crossed the channel, and, passing undiscovered through France, raised his standard in Navarre. His reappearance among his partisans stimulated their efforts in his behalf. As soon as this intelligence reached the signatories to the Quadruple Alliance, they met together and agreed to some additional provisions intended to meet this unexpected and annoying occurrence. France promised to watch the frontiers, in order to prevent the insurgents from receiving any reinforcements or supplies from that country. Britain undertook to supply Spain with arms, ammunition, and stores, and if necessary, with ships, and also to guard the northern ports; while Portugal promised to co-operate with the allies by every means in her power. It was expected that these arrangements would speedily prove successful in suppressing the insurrection.

Unfortunately, at this time the Carlists found a leader in Don Thomas Zumalacarregui, who showed remarkable abilities for partisan warfare. He was intimately acquainted with the country and the character of the inhabitants, and turned his knowledge to the best account in carrying on hostilities against the Spanish Government. He had under him Zavala, Eraso, and the priest Merino, all eminently fitted for irregular warfare. They acted in concert, and yet each leader followed the plan which he considered best fitted to harass the enemy and to obtain military stores and provisions for his own men. The Carlists were usually divided into two principal bodies; the one confined its operations to the province of Navarre, falling back when pressed into the valley of Bastan and

the adjoining recesses of the Pyrenees; the other acting in Biscay and Guipuscoa. The strength of the Carlists lay, not in their numbers, or military equipment, or skill, but in their mode of warfare. Their leader's plan of fighting was to attack the Christians unexpectedly in an unprotected position, and cut off as many of them as possible before they recovered from their panic. As soon as their forces assembled in overpowering numbers, the Carlists separated and scattered themselves over the country, but only to meet again at an appointed place some miles in the rear. By this mode of warfare Zumalacarregui caused great loss to the Christians, with very little to his own band. In nearly every formal encounter the Carlists were defeated, but they generally contrived to lose very little either in killed, wounded, or prisoners. Successive generals were sent against them, but always with the same result. Valdez, Lorenzo, Jauregui, or El Pastor the famous guerilla chief, and Rodil in turn took the field against the Carlist leader, and were baffled in strategy or attacked and beaten in detail, and whenever a superior force was brought into action the insurgents took refuge in the valley of Bastan, which formed their stronghold and place of refuge. As soon as the Government troops, after their fruitless pursuit, returned to Pampeluna or Vittoria, or some other fortress, the Carlists issued from their place of retreat, and once more overran the country.

Meanwhile the Government was occupied with various political and economic improvements, including the preparation of a new charter or constitution. But it would serve no good purpose to enter into any detail of these changes, as they were all overturned in the course of two years. The attention of the Cortes was largely occupied with the financial position of the country, and particularly with the large debt which the Government owed to foreign nations. Some of the members expressed their opinion that a part of it at least was not legitimately owing, but the discussion ter-



minated in the recognition of the whole as justly due. This resolution contributed to restore the credit of Spain in foreign money markets, where it had been regarded as very doubtful, and, what was of vital importance at this period, enabled the Government to contract for a new loan.

The military operations of the Carlists were now prosecuted with great vigour; but unfortunately for their own cause and the interests of humanity, measures of the most savage and sanguinary character were adopted by them for the overthrow of the Government and the throne. A royal order was issued by Don Carlos, countersigned by his staunch supporter, the Bishop of Leon, directing that all persons found in arms for Isabella should be put to death; adding, however, that the persons of the young queen, her mother, and her sister were to be respected. Zumalacarregui followed up this decree by an ordinance declaring that all magistrates or authorities circulating the orders issued by the Government, all persons carrying letters or papers directed against the rights of Don Carlos, and all alcaldes who assist the troops of the queen, should be punished with death and confiscation of property. Soldiers belonging to the Spanish army were required under the same penalties to bear the standard of Charles V. their rightful sovereign. Similar sanguinary procedure was adopted in retaliation by the Christinos. Rebels taken in arms were ordered to be put to death, and so were all who should assist the Carlists with arms, money, ammunition, or information. Fines and imprisonment were to be inflicted on those who concealed rebels or held any communications with them. The property of the monasteries or other religious houses, that gave assistance or encouragement in any way to the Carlists, was to be confiscated—a decree which was not allowed to remain a dead letter.

These measures had no effect in bringing the war to a termination, but only served to embitter the spirit of the combatants. No mercy was shown by either party to

those of their adversaries who fell into their hands. The Carlist leader having learned that Quesada, who had been appointed to succeed Valdez, was on his march to join Lorenzo in Navarre, made a prompt and vigorous effort to cut off the division of that general before the junction could take place. On the 29th of March he attacked Lorenzo, and drove him back to the gates of Estella, but was compelled to retreat on the approach of Quesada. The new commander, advancing without due precaution, fell into an ambuscade laid for him by Zumalacarregui, and lost 200 men, who were either killed or made prisoners. Five officers who fell into the hands of the Carlists were immediately shot. The war as it proceeded assumed features of even more horrible atrocity, and in the end of May the Carlists were burning alive the queen's soldiers whom they had captured. The whole civilized world stood aghast at a mode of warfare which would have disgraced even the savages of Africa or America.

The massacre of the monks at Madrid by the populace, under the suspicion that they had poisoned the wells, and thus caused the outbreak of cholera, that was very fatal at this time in the capital, added to the horror with which the state of the Peninsula was regarded. Quesada, having failed like his predecessors to suppress the insurrection, was replaced by General Rodil. The Carlists repeated their former tactics, and baffled all his efforts to crush them. On his approach at the head of a greatly superior force they at once retreated, and dispersed among the mountains and ravines, where it was impossible for regular troops to follow them. Rodil pushed on to the frontiers of France, and made himself master of the Bastan, the Carlist stronghold. The queen's forces seemed at last to have cleared the country of the enemy without fighting, and the Carlists had apparently disappeared. But no sooner did Rodil return to his headquarters than the active mountaineers



emerged from the fastnesses in which they had taken refuge, and overran the whole province up to the neighbourhood of Estella. All that Rodil had done seemed at once undone, and a signal defeat of the queen's forces under General O'Doyle by the Carlist leader took place on the 27th of October. Zumalacarregui was marching about the plains of Vittoria, and General Osma, who thought this movement afforded a favourable opportunity for cutting him off, was proceeding to concentrate his forces with a view to a combined movement. But the wary and enterprising Carlist chief penetrated the design, and before it could be executed attacked and completely routed a body of 1400 Royalists, commanded by General O'Doyle, nearly the whole of whom were killed or taken prisoners. They lost all their artillery, arms, and ammunition. O'Doyle himself and his brother were among the prisoners, and were put to death in cold blood. Next day General Osma marched from Vittoria with his whole force to oppose the advance of the victorious Carlists; but he too was defeated with heavy loss, and was pursued even to the walls of Vittoria.

These disasters produced great alarm in Madrid, and a loud outcry was raised against the incompetency of the Ministry and the commanders to whom they had intrusted the task of expelling the Carlists from the northern provinces. The Minister of War resigned, Rodil was recalled, and the command was conferred upon General Mina, on whose skill and experience great reliance was placed. The veteran soldier did his best not to disappoint the expectations which were formed of him, and repaired at once to the seat of war. On the 12th of December he inflicted a double defeat on the Carlists. One body of them, under a leader named Eraso, was routed at the Pass of Carrascal, in the immediate neighbourhood of Pampeluna. Another, commanded by Zumalacarregui himself, was worsted at Asarte. Mina asserted that in these two actions the insurgents lost 1500 men. The Carlists, however, were not

utterly routed, as Mina fancied. Two days after this defeat Zumalacarregui was again in the field, and repulsed a division of the Christinos under General Cordova. The Carlist leader pursued his former system of hostilities with continued success. The battle of Segura cost the Christinos nearly 1100 men in killed and wounded. No quarter was given, and no prisoners appear to have been taken. A few days afterwards a regiment, which had given great offence to the Carlists by its cruel conduct at Madrid, was surrounded and cut to pieces. Only seventeen men with the colonel escaped. Captain Henningsen, an English officer who was with the Carlists at this time, says that soon after this encounter 170 prisoners were brought to the place where he was. 'They were all shot, including thirteen officers. The peasantry, as usual, took part in this horrid execution. So exasperated were they that they hung them up in their uniforms.' It was no doubt in consequence of this savage desperation of the common people in these northern provinces that Mina made a further proclamation that he would punish the inhabitants in the first instance, and not the Carlist soldiers. The latter, however, did not escape his vengeance. After repulsing Zumalacarregui at Ocaña, forty wounded Carlists were butchered by Varena, acting under Mina's orders. His threat against the peasantry was executed to the letter. At one place he burned a village to the ground, and shot every fifth inhabitant by lot, for having neglected to give him intelligence of the Carlist movements.

Captain Henningsen, whose evidence may be implicitly relied on against his own party, says that Quesada having shot a wounded Carlist volunteer and put an alcalde to death, Zumalacarregui resolved to make reprisals tenfold. At the battle of Alsasua in May, 1834, he had taken a considerable number of prisoners, among whom was Count de Lapisbal, son of the well-known General O'Donnel, who happened to be in the engagement from the



circumstance of joining Quesada in order to have the benefit of his escort to Pampe-luna, where he was going in order to be married to a wealthy heiress of that place. The Carlist chief, in retaliation for the outrage perpetrated by Quesada, now put to death in cold blood O'Donnell's son and other twenty prisoners. Lapisbal offered Zumalacarregui a ransom for himself which would have equipped all his army, but he remained inexorable, and the old count his father soon after died of a broken heart. After a successful ambushade, in which a large number of the soldiers of the queen's army were killed and sixteen officers taken prisoners, one of them, Count Via Manuel, was carried before Zumalacarregui and greatly delighted him by the 'frankness and firmness' of his behaviour. The Carlist chief was so well pleased with the openness of the count's character that he invited him to his table and treated him with every distinction. He wrote to the queen's general, Rodil, offering to exchange Via Manuel and others for an officer and some volunteers taken a few days before. They were at dinner at Lecumberri when Rodil's answer was received, containing only the following sentence—'The rebels taken have suffered death already.' Zumalacarregui handed the note to his guest, and politely but firmly expressed his regret at being obliged to perform so unpleasant a duty; but informed him he might be with his confessor till sunrise. At Via Manuel's request Zumalacarregui consented to delay his execution, while he sent a message to Don Carlos entreating his clemency. The answer was worthy of the man whose blood-thirsty proclamation led the way to this atrocious system of warfare. 'When soldiers and officers of inferior rank taken with arms in their hands had suffered death, it was impossible to pardon a Spanish grandee.' Via Manuel was in consequence shot at Lecumberri.

After the battle of the 28th of October Captain Henningsen, Carlist though he was, says an affair took place in the

army which 'makes the blood run cold at the mere recital.' Between eighty and a hundred prisoners were brought in and sent under a captain across the mountains, and having only thirty men to guard them through a rocky defile, he felt embarrassed when two made their escape, and sent to Zumalacarregui for instructions. 'Get cords,' was the general's answer; but he was told that there were none to be had. 'Then put them to death,' was the rejoinder. The messenger returned with it, but an aid-de-camp was immediately despatched after him, not, as might have been hoped, to countermand the savage order, but to say that in butchering the prisoners care must be taken 'not to alarm the division of Iturbide (another Carlist chief) by the firing.' 'The captain,' says Captain Henningsen, 'on receiving this order sent for a sergeant and fifteen lancers, and causing his men to fix bayonets, commanded them to charge into the midst of the unfortunate wretches, who were all miserably slaughtered on the spot.'

The scene which occurred at Villafranca was even more shocking. The Carlists, after a vigorous attack, took this place, and the small garrison of fifty men took refuge in the church. The gates of the building were battered down, and the men retreated into the steeple, where they barricaded themselves. There was no time for undermining, and therefore it was resolved to set fire to it. Piles of wood, tow, goat skins full of brandy, and other inflammable materials were collected at the foot of the steeple, and the Baron de Los Vallos, having just arrived with Don Carlos, had been intrusted with the commission of setting fire to it. It was soon discovered that with the garrison there were in the steeple eight women and eleven children of their families, besides two women and two monks, their prisoners. 'At about ten o'clock at night,' says Captain Henningsen, 'the tower was all in flames, but the garrison, retreating higher and higher, still obstinately held out, and kept up an incessant fire on



every object that presented itself. The shrieks of some, however, who had taken refuge in corners of the building where they were reached by the flames, as well as the women and children who saw the devouring element raging below, were now heard at intervals, and although orders were given to fire only on the men, it was often impossible to distinguish the dark figures that flitted before the light endeavouring to obtain an instant breath of air out of the smoky atmosphere.' The fire continued all night; towards morning faint cries of *Viva el Rey* proceeded from the women; but in answer to a question from the commandant as to quarter, Zumalacarregui, who commanded the Carlists in person, said 'that the men had none to hope for.' However, they at last surrendered, and it was found that three women, one of them a Carlist and a prisoner, had perished, and four children, with thirty of the garrison. The details of horror on entering the steeple, Captain Henningsen says, 'had an appalling effect on the soldiers, intent as they were in scrambling for the spoil obtained by this melancholy expedition. The inhabitants of Villafranca, however, seemed to have no such feelings, and were with difficulty prevented from massacring the prisoners.' What became of them is not stated, but the commander and his lieutenant were shot, although the father of the former was an officer with Zumalacarregui, zealous in the Carlist service, and had an affecting interview with his son previous to his execution.

Mina completely disappointed the expectations which had been formed of him when he assumed the command of the army. He was in an infirm state of health, and consequently unable to be always at the head of his forces, and to take the active and personal superintendence of affairs which the exigencies of the service required. On this account he now resigned the command. He was succeeded by Valdez, who for the second time assumed the management of the campaign against the Carlists. His speedy success in crushing the insur-

gents was confidently predicted, not only in Spain, but in Britain and France; and the failure of these expectations was followed by a commercial panic, and consequent bankruptcies among the speculators in Spanish securities in London and Paris.

On the 29th of April, Valdez, who had under his command thirty battalions, five squadrons, and a good field artillery, encountered Zumalacarregui in the valley of Amescoas. He met with a severe defeat, losing upwards of 1200 men in killed and wounded. Only eighty prisoners were made; 'so unmerciful,' says Captain Henningsen, 'was the spirit which animated our men.' 'All the wounded,' he adds, 'excepting those at the defile near Artasa, where the 6th battalion was routed, had been abandoned, and numbers lost or dispersed on the Sierra were afterwards taken or murdered without pity by the enraged peasantry, whose cottages were still smoking. I know positively that above two hundred privates and officers perished in this manner; and on one side of the Amescoas, from the extent of the ground that was the scene of action, I believe at least double that number to have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the people.'

At this period, however, the Duke of Wellington, who held the office of Foreign Secretary during Peel's short administration of 1834-35, resolved to make an effort to stop this butchery, at which the civilized world stood aghast. He commissioned Lord Eliot, eldest son of the Earl of St. Germans, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gurwood, to repair to the scene of war, and to use their efforts to induce the two commanders to agree to a convention to carry on hostilities after a less barbarous and cruel fashion. Their exertions were fortunately successful. Towards the end of April an agreement was signed by Valdez and Zumalacarregui, pledging them to abstain from putting their prisoners to death, to exchange them two or three times in each month, and to respect the sick and wounded found in hospitals,



houses, and villages. This convention was the means of saving thousands of lives on both sides, which would otherwise have been sacrificed in this war of extermination. To the great discredit of the Opposition in the Cortes, they violently assailed this work of humanity; and a furious mob in Madrid raised a riot in the streets, denounced the Government as the betrayers of their country, and attacked and nearly murdered the Premier. Martinez had already tendered his resignation more than once, and on the 7th of June it was at last accepted by the Queen Regent, and Count Torreno was appointed his successor.

The new Prime Minister was a man of great ability both as a statesman and a debater, bold, not overscrupulous, and as fond of pleasure as of business. He had spent a good many years in France, and was intimately acquainted with the leading French statesmen of that day, whose notions of government he had imbibed. As he was noble by birth, his prepossessions were naturally in favour of the aristocracy, and he had a firm idea that 'to keep combined the various elements of the Spanish monarchy, it was necessary to unite representative institutions with a strong central administration.' He was the leader of the Moderados, as they were called—the aristocratic Liberals in Spain—who were bent on resisting democratic demands and absorbing municipal powers. They professed the principles held by the party then in power in France, and, like them, declared that resistance was the essential duty of the Government.

Civil war still continued to rage in the northern provinces, and the prospect of bringing it to a successful termination seemed more distant than ever. Valdez resigned his command, in which he had been even more unsuccessful than in his first campaign, and was succeeded by Cordova, with whom was associated the celebrated Espartero. The Carlists meanwhile carried on their operations with great vigour and success. They

regained command of their former ground, and several important towns and fortresses fell into their hands. They cleared the whole of the Bastan of the queen's troops, threatened Vittoria, and blockaded Bilbao. Zumalacarregui himself marched into Biscay for the purpose of pressing the siege of that important town (June 14th), and furiously bombarded it for several days, but without much damage. The garrison had been largely reinforced by General Espartero, but its successful defence was mainly due to the assistance rendered by the crew of a ship of war commanded by Lord John Hay, which happened at that time to be on the coast of Biscay. They worked their guns with great effect, inflicting serious loss on the besiegers, and mortally wounded the Carlist chief himself. His leg was shattered by a cannon shot, and he refused to allow the limb to be amputated until it was too late. Zumalacarregui's death was an irreparable loss to the cause of Don Carlos, and their opponents made no effort to conceal the delight with which they regarded the removal of their formidable enemy. It was mainly owing to his skill in partisan warfare, and his indefatigable activity and perseverance that the insurrection had become so formidable and the struggle was so long protracted. The command of the Carlist forces devolved first on Eraso and then on Moreno, the curate; but neither of the two was possessed of any special qualifications for the post.

Shortly before this event the Government, alarmed at their failure to suppress the Carlist insurrection, had applied for aid to France and Britain. There were serious difficulties connected with the presence of a French army in Spain, which made Louis-Philippe and his Ministry unwilling to give the assistance solicited by the Spanish Premier; but the British Government, though declining direct intervention, resolved to give indirect aid to Isabella. They agreed to suspend the operation of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and to allow the Spanish ministers to raise in Britain a



body of 10,000 men to serve against the Carlists. An Order in Council was accordingly issued, authorizing 'any persons to engage during the next two years in the military and naval service of Her Majesty Isabella II., Queen of Spain.' Colonel De Lacy Evans, the Radical member for Westminster, was selected for the command of the 'Auxiliary Legion,' as it was called.

This step was strongly condemned by the Tories, and by the party who are opposed to all intervention in the affairs of other countries. The former pointed out that it was necessary to go back to the seventeenth century and the reign of an arbitrary monarch in order to find a precedent for such a step; and that while the Government had assumed the responsibility of sanctioning the auxiliary force, they had no control over its proceedings. On the other hand the Liberal party cordially approved of the policy adopted by Palmerston, which they regarded as the natural and proper result of the Quadruple Treaty, and as necessary to prevent Spain from relapsing into the bigotry, despotism, and sloth from which it was struggling to emerge. 'Is a nation,' they asked, 'to be unsympathetic when it perceives other States pursuing a system hostile to its ideas and to its institutions—a system which, if directed against itself, would destroy what it is most proud of possessing and most desirous to conserve? Is it, then, to be taught that it should have no regard for principles as principles, but simply as to the direct application of them against its own property and safety? Society would dissolve if each individual looked simply to his own throat and his own money-chest, and did not combine against murder and theft. A community prospers most where each member of it looks to the common benefit more than to his peculiar advantage. Just as a man is amongst men, so is a State amongst States; nor is there any generous sentiment that the one should entertain which the others should discourage.'

Don Carlos naturally regarded the raising of the Auxiliary Legion in a very different

light, and he issued on the 20th of June a proclamation declaring that those foreigners would not be entitled to the protection of Lord Eliot's Convention, and those of their number who should fall into his hands would be shot; and he unblushingly repeated the threat to a British officer despatched to him on the subject. But even as regards Spaniards the Convention was by this time not faithfully observed, and both parties had begun again to put their prisoners to death. A brutal massacre of thirty-six officers of the Queen's troops by the Carlists, led a mob at Barcelona to burn several convents and to murder a number of the monks who were known to be staunch supporters of Don Carlos. They also put to death in the most savage manner 160 prisoners, and among them one of the O'Donnells, a colonel in the Carlist army. Atrocities of a similarly inhuman kind were perpetrated at Saragossa and other places in the north.

Those provinces of Spain which were not the seat of actual war were at this time a prey to political anarchy. No Ministry, however constituted, was able long to hold its ground. The Queen-Regent wished to identify her daughter's throne with Liberal institutions; but the utmost diversity of opinion prevailed respecting the extent to which popular government was to be carried. The extreme democratic party endeavoured to compel by force the adoption of their views. Insurrection broke out in several districts of the country, which the Ministry was utterly powerless to suppress. A number of the provinces established a junta each for itself, which set at defiance, and in one case formally superseded the royal authority, and usurped the powers of the executive. It was even publicly proposed that Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia should be formed into a republic. A loud outcry was raised against Torreno, the head of the Moderados; and after holding office for only three months he was compelled to yield to the popular clamour, and was replaced by Mendizabel,



who had been nominated by him Minister of Finance, and was recalled at this juncture to Spain in order to undertake the duties of his office.

Mendizabel was a very remarkable man. He was of Jewish extraction, and had risen from a humble position to wealth and power solely by his talents and energy. In 1808, when the Spaniards rose in arms against Napoleon, he attached himself to the commissariat, and was ultimately placed at the head of the provisioning department of the whole forces. At the end of the war Mendizabel left the army; and on the overthrow of the Constitution in 1823 he took refuge in London, along with others of his countrymen. He suffered severe privations there, and was for a considerable time a prisoner in the King's Bench. His financial abilities, however, ultimately enabled him to overcome his difficulties, and gained him a considerable fortune, which he risked in assisting Don Pedro's operations in Portugal. The triumph of Donna Maria's cause added largely both to Mendizabel's wealth and reputation. He continued to reside principally in England as the recognized financial agent of the Portuguese Government. The part he took in settling the new Constitution for Portugal strengthened the conviction that he would obtain large concessions to the demands of the people; while his 'magnificent head,' says Lord Dalling, 'his tall and stately person, his manners (which evinced that dignity mingled with suavity which often proceeds from an inward consciousness of power, and is almost natural to Spaniards and Orientals when in authority), created for him a sort of prestige, which his undoubted talents increased. "Mendizabel is the man for Spain," every one said; and as what every one says is for a time believed, Torreno, who wanted some one who could aid him in finance without being his rival in power, thought that he could not do better than call Mendizabel into Spain, and make him Finance Minister. But he did not know

Mendizabel, who had nothing of the subaltern in him. His language, his attitude, his opinions, and more especially the belief that he would find in some way or other the money that the State ultimately required, gave him ere long an ascendancy in the court and the country which led to Count Torreno's retirement, and to his being the Count's successor.'

Mendizabel's elevation was cordially welcomed by the popular or Progressist party with which he was identified, and was earnestly promoted by Mr. Villiers the British ambassador at Madrid, who disliked Torreno both on personal and public grounds. The fallen minister, who had resided much in France, favoured French opinions and interests; while his successor cherished a great admiration for the British constitution, had adopted Whig principles, and trusted to the moral support of Lord Melbourne's Government. He at once declared himself opposed to that system of repression which Torreno's Ministry had proposed to adopt, but had not the power to carry out; and earnestly recommended compliance to a considerable extent with the popular demands. His elevation to the office of Premier produced a rapid and beneficial effect on the condition of the country. The juntas of Galicia, Cadiz, Valentia, Saragossa, and Barcelona immediately dissolved themselves; declaring that they renounced their title and authority, now that the Government was intrusted to persons worthy of public confidence.

The cause of Queen Isabella had now attained a position of comparative security. 'The enemies of her cause,' said Mr. Villiers, 'comprise that numerous class in Spain who, living by abuses, are interested in their maintenance, together with the great majority of the monastic orders as well as a portion of the secular church, who feel that only such a Government as that which Don Carlos would establish could venture any longer to postpone the ecclesiastical reforms for which the country is desirous. On the side of the queen are ranged the



whole of the grandees (with the single exception of the Duke of Granada, who is a religious fanatic), and of the wealthy, the intelligent, and the commercial and manufacturing classes of Spain—all as hostile to revolution as they are to Don Carlos; but who, if their enemies unexpectedly acquire force, would all be prepared literally to die sword in hand rather than submit to those in whose hands he would be but a blind and devoted instrument.'

The principal reforms demanded by the juntas were a new electoral law, liberty of the press, and the abolition of the monastic orders; and as these changes could only be made by authority of the Cortes, no time was lost in issuing a decree convoking the Chambers for the 16th of November. The Ministry at once brought forward a new electoral law, which was followed by the introduction of measures regarding the liberty of the press, the responsibility of Ministers, and the final suppression of the monasteries. But the official career of Mendizabel was nearly as brief as that of his predecessor, and his fall was as sudden as his rise. His immense popularity, as Lord Dalling remarks, could not be of long duration for the very reason that it was immense. People expected he would perform miracles, and miracles he could not perform. He had promised that the war should be finished in six months, and yet the Carlists were apparently as strong, and they were certainly as troublesome as ever. His despotic mode of treating the Chambers gave offence to a number of the popular leaders and orators who were accustomed to command attention; and Isturitz, who had been an Ultra-Liberal, joined the Moderado Opposition, and assisted by a French intrigue induced the Queen-Regent to dismiss her enterprising but somewhat overbearing Minister in May, 1836.

Lord Palmerston was of opinion that Mendizabel's policy was 'the only way of making the Government strong, or rather of making any Government at all.' But

when he was ejected from office by the combined influence of the Moderados and the French Ministry, the British Foreign Secretary, though provoked at the perverse, short-sighted, and selfish policy of Louis Philippe and his court, resolved, as he said, to 'make the best of what is, and to take men as one finds them.' He wrote to Mr. Aston, interim British Minister at Madrid, 'I will endeavour to persuade Mendizabel to join in saving his country; but he may differ with me as to the means most likely to conduce to that end. A Minister who has been recently expelled by intrigue is not easily persuaded that the best thing he can do for the good of his country is to help to consolidate the administration of his successful rival. However, another change of Government just now would be another misfortune; and I must say that no man could have behaved better than Isturitz has done in all matters in which we have to deal with him, and therefore we should wish him to continue in office.' But the official career of the new Minister was not of long duration. His accession to power produced fresh disorders. A military revolution, which originated with the National Guard, broke out at Malaga on the 25th of July. The governor of that town was assassinated, and a junta was appointed to proclaim the Constitution of 1812, for which the Ultra-Liberals had always intrigued against every successive Administration. Intelligence of the revolt spread throughout the country with the greatest rapidity. Cadiz and Saragossa simultaneously declared their approval of the outbreak, and their example was instantly followed by Seville, Granada, and Valencia. At length the capital itself joined the insurgent cities, and the mob there murdered Quesada, the Captain-General of Seville, who had succeeded in preserving order in Madrid. On the 13th of August Christina, deserted and helpless, was compelled to dismiss Isturitz, replacing him with Calatrava, a Progressist, and to issue a decree promising the restoration of the Constitution of 1812. This



revolution was really, though indirectly, due to the intrigues of the French Government, especially of the king, who had become jealous of British influence in Spain. It was by their assistance that Mendizabel was turned out of office and replaced by Isturitz, but they were not prepared for the serious consequences of this mistaken and selfish policy. As Lord Palmerston remarked, 'They have produced great and extensive misery in Spain during the last four months, and now they have established, nominally at least, a most absurd and stupid Constitution,' with which, however, they were greatly dissatisfied. Reasonable and honest politicians of all classes were convinced that the Constitution of 1812 was impracticable; and the Cortes were obliged at the outset to appoint a committee to consider what alterations were necessary and advisable in its provisions. The changes recommended by the committee, and finally adopted by the Cortes were—1st, That the part of the Constitution which contained mere regulations

and forms, and regarded organic bodies and laws, should be entirely abrogated; 2nd, That the Cortes, instead of forming only one body as they did under that Constitution, should now consist of two Chambers, differing from each other in the personal qualifications of their members, but neither of the two to be hereditary or possessed of peculiar privileges; 3rd, That the Crown should have an absolute vote on the laws enacted by the Cortes, and should also have the power of convoking, proroguing, and dissolving the Chambers; but in the latter case the sovereign was bound to assemble others within a given time; 4th, That the election of members of the Cortes should be direct, and not indirect, as prescribed by the Constitution of 1812. After undergoing these alterations, and some others of less importance, the new Constitution was solemnly ratified by the Queen-Regent and proclaimed to the nation. But it was as short-lived as Spanish political Constitutions have usually been.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Peel summoned from Italy to assume the Government—The Duke of Wellington interim Minister—The new Administration—Lord Brougham's offer to accept the office of Chief Baron of the Exchequer—The Russian Czar's expectations from the change of Government—The Tamworth Manifesto—Dissolution of Parliament—A Liberal majority returned—Tactics of their Leader—Defeat of the Ministry on the Speakership and on the Address—The Derby Dilly—Lord Londonderry's appointment to the Russian Embassy—Its unpopularity and withdrawal—Liberal measures proposed by the Government—Their repeated defeats on minor questions—Resolutions on the Irish Church moved by Lord John Russell and opposed by the Ministry—Their adoption by the Commons—Resignation of the Government—Earl Grey sent for by the King, but declines to take office—Lord Melbourne intrusted with the formation of an Administration—Its members—Exclusion of O'Connell and of Lord Brougham.

AFTER the passing of the Reform Bill the Duke of Wellington expressed his opinion that the Prime Minister should henceforth be in the House of Commons. Acting upon this conviction, he recommended the king, on the dismissal of the Melbourne Administration, to send for Sir Robert Peel. The great Tory leader was passing the autumn in Italy, and Mr. James Hudson, one of the royal pages, was despatched with all haste in search of him. He found Sir Robert at a ball at Prince Torlonia's at Rome on the evening of the 25th of November, but a fortnight elapsed before he reached London. The Duke of Wellington continued during the interval to perform the duties of eight offices—five principal and three subordinate. Some Liberals denounced in indignant terms this unconstitutional arrangement; others regarded it with good humour. 'The Irish held it impossible,' wrote Fonblanque, 'for a man to be in two places at once, like a bird. The Duke has proved this no joke—he is in five places at once. At last, then, we have a united government. The Cabinet Council sits in the Duke's head, and the Ministers are all of one mind.' On consultation with Wellington and Lyndhurst Peel felt that he had no alternative but to accept the office which the king forced upon him, though he must have been well aware of the difficulties he would have to encounter in attempting to make good his position. His first step was to endeavour to secure

the support of Stanley and Graham, but they declined in courteous terms to take any part in his Government. He was, therefore, compelled to construct his Administration out of the old Tory party. Peel himself became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Wellington accepted the office of Foreign Secretary, Lyndhurst resumed the Chancellorship, Aberdeen was placed at the Colonial Office, Goulburn became Home Secretary, Lord Haddington Viceroy and Hardinge Chief Secretary of Ireland, Ellenborough President of the Board of Control, Herries Secretary at War, and Knatchbull, an Ultra-Tory, accepted the office of Paymaster of the Forces.

The elevation of Lyndhurst to the Chancellorship made vacant the office of Chief Baron of the Exchequer, which he had received from Earl Grey. Brougham wrote to him proposing that he should be appointed to the vacant post, which would be a great saving to the country as he was willing to take it with no higher salary than his retiring pension and some provision for the expense of the circuit. The office, however, was intended for Sir James Scarlett, and on receiving an evasive reply to his letter the ex-Chancellor formally withdrew the offer. Friends and foes alike condemned this step. Duncannon tried to dissuade him. The rest of his colleagues only knew of it after it was done. Melbourne wrote to Lord Lansdowne—



'Brougham never mentioned to me his proposition to Lyndhurst until after he had made it. I was perfectly astonished. I think it a step which proves a greater want of judgment, a grosser ignorance of his own situation, than any which he has yet taken. The original error is in fact only made more glaring by the subsequent retraction, but I am not sure that this will be the general impression. I very much doubt whether the king would have been persuaded to have made him a common-law judge, and I am quite sure he would have been right in resisting it.' The general opinion entertained of this ill-advised step was wittily represented by H. B., who issued at the time a cartoon in which a fox, bearing the features of the ex-Chancellor, was depicted stealthily making off from the door of the Exchequer, casting at it a lingering glance, while Scarlett looked out from the foliage of the vine overhanging the portal, and the legend beneath in a phrase told the story of *Vaux and the Grapes*.

If a Tory Government had been maintained in England at this critical period, it is highly probable that the absolutist sovereigns of Europe might for a time have succeeded in their policy, but only to make their overthrow more signal in the end, and meanwhile to inflict grievous injury upon the people. The Emperor Nicholas was at Berlin when the change in the British Government took place, and he expressed his confident expectation that the foreign policy of Britain would be wholly reversed by the new Ministry—Leopold driven from Belgium, the Dutch dominion restored, the Quadruple Alliance dissolved, and a close union formed between the Northern Power and Peel's Administration. Count Bulow, who had been Prussian Minister at the British Court, tried to undeceive him, but the Czar was firm in the belief that the Tories would act in office on the principles which they had avowed in opposition. He was informed that the new Ministry would very likely not be able to keep their places,

and if they did they would be compelled to conduct the Government upon the principles of reform which their predecessors had established. Nicholas could not be made to comprehend why Wellington and Peel would be unable to carry out their own views whatever Parliament might think or vote to the contrary; for if the king had the power to dismiss the Whigs and appoint the Tories as his Ministers at his pleasure, regardless of the wishes of the House of Commons and the electors, he must have the power to maintain them in their places.\* King William soon discovered to his cost how much the Czar was mistaken in his notion, and that in attempting to follow the example of his father in 1784, which His Majesty referred to in justification of his conduct, he had brought bitter mortification upon himself, and had greatly lowered the dignity and authority of the Crown.

Peel, as we have seen, reached London on the 9th of December, and on the 17th he read to his colleagues a letter—nominally addressed to the electors of Tamworth, which he had represented since the passing of the Reform Bill, but really intended for the nation at large. He avowed, indeed, that he was addressing through his constituents 'that great and intelligent class of society' to which they belonged, and that he laid before them 'that frank exposition of general principles and views which appears to be anxiously expected, and which it ought not to be the inclination and cannot be the interest of a Minister of this country to withhold.'

The 'Tamworth manifesto,' as it was called, set out with a declaration that the

\* Greville, on whose authority this anecdote rests, says 'this account, which Bulow gave me, is more than amusing; it is instructive, because it shows which way the real wishes of the absolute sovereigns point, and makes it highly probable that they look upon the present settlement of Europe as one only *ad interim*, and to be re-modelled whenever an opportunity shall present itself. They are satisfied at present with damming and dyking out the waters of Liberalism, but they hope to drain the land in which they are collected, and to place themselves for ever out of the danger of an inundation.'



new Prime Minister would not accept power on the condition of his renouncing the principles on which he had hitherto acted. 'At the same time,' he went on to say, 'I never will admit that I have been, either before or after the Reform Bill, the defender of abuses, or the enemy of judicious reforms. I appeal with confidence, in denial of the charge, to the active part I took in the great question of the currency; in the consolidation and amendment of the criminal law; in the revisal of the whole system of trial by jury; to the opinions I have professed and uniformly acted on with regard to other branches of the jurisprudence of the country—I appeal to this as a proof that I have not been disposed to acquiesce in acknowledged evils, either from the mere superstitious reverence for ancient usages, or from the dread of labour or responsibility in the application of a remedy. But the Reform Bill, it is said, constitutes a new era, and it is the duty of a Minister to declare explicitly, first, whether he will maintain the bill itself, and, secondly, whether he will act upon the spirit in which it was conceived.

'With respect to the Reform Bill, I will repeat now the declaration which I made when I entered the House of Commons as a member of the reformed Parliament, that I consider the Reform Bill a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question—a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of this country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or by insidious means. Then, as to the spirit of the Reform Bill, and the willingness to adopt and enforce it as a rule of Government: if by adopting the spirit of the Reform Bill it be meant that we are to live in a perpetual vortex of agitation; that public men can only support themselves in public estimation by adopting every popular impression of the day, by promising the instant redress of anything which anybody may call an abuse, by abandoning altogether that great aid of Government—more powerful than either

law or reason—the respect of ancient rights and the deference to prescriptive authority; if this be the spirit of the Reform Bill, I will not undertake to adopt it. But if the spirit of the Reform Bill implies merely a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper, combining with the firm maintenance of established rights the correction of proved abuses and the redress of real grievances, in that case I can for myself and colleagues undertake to act in such a spirit and with such intentions.

'Such declarations of general principle are, I am aware, necessarily vague; but, in order to be more explicit, I will endeavour to apply them practically to some of those questions which have of late attracted the greater share of public interest and attention.'

He then proceeded to state his views respecting various important questions, which he was aware must be considered at once by the Legislature. He had approved of the step taken by the late Government in opening a commission of inquiry into the constitution and character of municipal corporations; and as soon as the commissioners' report was issued he would give it a full and unprejudiced consideration. He had supported the measure proposed by his predecessors for the abolition of church rates and the substitution of a fund out of the Consolidated Fund for the building and repair of churches. He had never entertained the slightest objection to the principle of Lord John Russell's bill, intended to relieve the conscientious scruples of Dissenters in the celebration of their marriages. He admitted that he had opposed the admission of Dissenters into the Universities, but he had at the same time expressly declared that 'if regulations enforced by public authorities superintending the professions of law and medicine, and the studies connected with them, had the effect of conferring advantages of the nature of civil privileges on one class of the king's subjects from which another was excluded,



these regulations ought to undergo modification, with the view of placing all the king's subjects, whatever their religious creeds, upon a footing of perfect equality with respect to any civil privilege.' He had, no doubt, opposed a retrospective inquiry into the pension list; but he had supported Lord Althorp's resolution that future pensions should be confined to such persons only as have just claims to the royal beneficence on account either of their public services or of their scientific or literary eminence. It was true that he had resisted the attempt to alienate Church property in Ireland from strictly ecclesiastical purposes; 'but if, by an improved distribution of the revenues of the Church, its just influence can be extended, and the true interests of the established religion promoted, all other considerations should be subordinated to the advancement of objects of such paramount importance.' He was favourable also to the commutation of tithes in the English Church, and was ready to inquire into the laws which governed its establishment. The maintenance of peace, the scrupulous fulfilment of all existing engagements with foreign Powers, the support of public credit, the enforcement of strict economy, the just and impartial consideration of what is due to all interests—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial—these were the objects which the new Government offered to the country, from which they solicited, 'not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial.'

The manifesto of Peel was followed by the dissolution of Parliament. Some shrewd politicians were of opinion that the new Prime Minister aggravated the disadvantages of his position by this step; and that if he had boldly met Parliament and been thwarted in his attempt to carry on the business of the country, he might then have fairly appealed to the country, and might possibly have had a majority in his favour. As it was, the very large majority which the Liberal party possessed in the Commons, though sensibly diminished, was

not destroyed. The Tories confidently expected that they would convert their minority into a majority, and every effort was put forth to effect this result. Loud complaints were made by the Liberal party that lavish bribery and coercion were employed in support of the Tory candidates; and the other side retorted by pointing to the riotous scenes that occurred in some of the large towns, and especially to the violence and intimidation employed by the popish and clerical agitators in Ireland. No pains was spared by the Ministry to secure the support of the press; and the *Times*, hitherto professedly Liberal, was gained over by the blandishments of Lord Lyndhurst and Charles Greville, and exerted all its influence in support of the new Government.

At the outset the Ministerialists were professedly confident of success, but their expectations were speedily shown to be ill-founded. Their request was that the Administration should obtain a fair trial; but their opponents pointed out that the men who had resisted to the last the passing of the Reform Bill, could not be relied on to carry out cordially the objects for which alone that measure was valued. 'I wish to preserve everything that is really useful,' said Mr. Grote, 'and I am for destroying everything that is really hurtful; but I will not be content to conduct the inquiry for that purpose under the auspices of any but willing ministers. I will not trust that office in the hands of men who are known to be insensible to the most hurtful abuses, for men who did not see abuses in the rotten boroughs will see them nowhere. Let the cause of reform be placed in the hands of men who are willing and hearty in carrying it forward; but it would be insanity to suppose that the cause of reform would be safe in the hands of the present Ministers.'

These sentiments obtained the decided approbation of the electors of the city of London and the other metropolitan constituencies. Mr. Ward, the only Conser-



vative member for the city, lost his seat by an enormous majority, having been ousted by Mr. James Pattison, Governor of the Bank of England. The lowest Liberal on the list was 1400 ahead of the highest Tory, and the whole of the metropolitan boroughs returned opponents of the Ministry. Most of the other great towns followed their example. In the English counties, however, the Conservatives, through the effect of the Chandos clause which conferred the franchise on tenants at will, gained a considerable number of seats. South Lancashire, East Norfolk, South Derbyshire, and South Hampshire returned two Conservatives each. Lord Palmerston was defeated in Hants, and Lord Francis Egerton headed the poll in Lancashire by nearly 1000 votes. On the other hand Joseph Hume, against whom a dead set had been made, carried his election for Middlesex; Sir George Murray, the Colonial Secretary, lost his seat for Perthshire; and the hon. James Stuart Wortley, son of Lord Wharncliffe a Cabinet Minister, was rejected by the county of Forfar—all heavy blows to the Government. Both parties professed their satisfaction with the result of the elections. 'Well, I think we are safe now,' said Lyndhurst in his off-hand way to Charles Greville, 'I have no fears.' 'Haven't you?' was the reply, 'but I have;' and the Clerk of the Council proved to be right.

Lord John Russell felt satisfied that the Liberal party had a clear majority on the elections; but that majority, he says, 'consisted of every shade, from the most moderate of the Whigs to the most resolute of the Radicals.' 'It seemed to me,' he adds, 'as commander-in-chief of an army so variously composed, that they could not be too soon brought into action, and that motions ought to be framed in which the whole party could agree.' It was accordingly resolved to propose a member of the party as Speaker, in the place of Sir Charles Manners Sutton; and after a good deal of negotiation the choice of a candidate fell upon Mr. James Abercromby, the son of the distinguished

General Sir Ralph Abercromby, and one of the members for the city of Edinburgh—an old Whig, but liberal in his views, industrious and sagacious, and possessing great weight with the House. Some disappointment was felt and expressed by Spring Rice and his friends that his claims had been passed over, but in the end all sections of the Liberal party agreed to support Abercromby. As soon as this announcement was made the press teemed with keen and vituperative discussions respecting the merits of the rival candidates, and both parties professed themselves equally confident of success. It was pleaded in Sutton's behalf, that he had discharged the duties of the Speakership for nearly eighteen years with great dignity, firmness, and courtesy; and that at the request of Earl Grey's Ministry he had consented to remain in office in 1832, after he had publicly intimated his intention to retire. On the other hand it was well known that he had taken a prominent part in the Tory counsels; that he was to have been a member of the Cabinet, if not actually Premier, if the Tories had succeeded in forming an Administration on the king's refusal to create peers. In the summer of 1834 he had presided at a great Conservative dinner, which Lord Althorp regarded as an indication that he was to be the Minister when the Whigs left office. After the dismissal of the Melbourne Government he was in almost constant communication with the leaders of the Tory party, and Sir Robert Peel invited him to join his Ministry. It was generally believed—though (as he no doubt truly affirmed) unjustly—that Sutton 'had busied himself in the subversion of the late Government, that he had assisted with others in the formation of the new Government, and that he had counselled and advised the dissolution of the late Parliament.' There were other reasons why the Opposition wished to place Abercromby in the Chair, but the main object was to inflict a damaging defeat on the Government. On



this account Stanley and Graham resolved to support Manners Sutton; and Lord Dudley Stuart, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Angerstein, and several other Liberals left the House without voting. But notwithstanding, Abercromby was elected by a majority of ten; the votes for him being 316, against 306 for Sutton. The rejected candidate was shortly after elevated to the House of Lords by the title of Viscount Canterbury.

The Government, Greville says, were grievously annoyed at their defeat, and the Duke of Wellington rejected all the common-places of consolation 'that it would turn out a good thing.' At Lord Salisbury's dinner held that evening, 'with the intention probably of celebrating their anticipated victory, they were all very dejected; and the Duke said at once it was as bad as bad could be, and the thing appeared the worse because they had been led to feel so very secure.' The moral effect of a defeat at the commencement was most injurious to the stability of the Administration. It discouraged the wavering and timid who might have felt disposed to support the Government, and it emboldened their opponents to press matters to an extremity. The Opposition resolved to follow up their victory energetically, and to inflict on the Ministry defeat after defeat, in order to exhibit to the country their own power and the helpless state of their adversaries.

The Parliament was formally opened by the king on the 24th of February. The speech from the throne, which was unusually long, repeated the promises of the Tamworth manifesto respecting the reforms meditated by the Government; and during the debate on the address the Prime Minister emphatically called attention to the great offers that he had made, and which he said should not lightly be rejected. 'I offer you,' he said, 'reduced estimates, improvements in civil jurisprudence, reform of ecclesiastical law, the settlement of the tithe question in Ireland, the commutation of

tithe in England, the removal of any real abuse in the Church, the redress of those grievances of which the Dissenters have any just cause to complain—I offer you these specific measures, and I offer also to advance, soberly and cautiously it is true, in the path of progressive improvement.' These explicit statements respecting the ministerial policy made a considerable impression on the country, but the Opposition were, notwithstanding, determined to eject the Ministry from office. Their language was this, 'We care not what are the principles now avowed by them. If they are not Reformers they cannot govern this country, and are not to be placed at the head of affairs. If they are, it is not to be endured that they should usurp our places, and then, in defiance of all their principles and in opposition to all their previous conduct, carry into effect the measures which we should with perfect consistency have brought forward. We will listen therefore to nothing. Out they shall go, and till we have got them out we will never rest nor desist from our attacks.'

In accordance with this policy, Lord Morpeth, who represented the West Riding of Yorkshire, proposed an amendment to the address, expressing regret that the progress of certain specified reforms had 'been interrupted and endangered by the unnecessary dissolution of a Parliament earnestly intent upon the vigorous prosecution of measures to which the wishes of the people were most anxiously and justly directed.' The Opposition had confidently expected a majority of from thirty to forty votes; but much to their disappointment, the amendment was carried by a majority of only seven.

This unexpected result was mainly owing to the efforts of Stanley and Graham to organize a middle party composed of moderate men from both sides. About fifty members were at first inclined to place themselves under Stanley's leadership, and to do what they could to 'save the Government, not from love to it, but from



fear of its opponents.' But at the outset, during the debate on the address, with his characteristic rashness, their leader gave offence to both parties by jeering the 'Top-boot Tories' who held fast by too much, and the 'Out-and-out Radicals who would leave nothing alone.' The Ministerialists were especially annoyed at the mode in which Stanley assailed and sneered at the Duke of Wellington, and the moderate Whigs could not understand what the leader of a middle party could mean by voting twice in the same week with the Government. The smallness, and still more the diminution in the numbers of the Opposition majority, showed the necessity of a closer combination of the Whigs with the Radicals. A meeting of members of all shades hostile to the Government was therefore held at Lichfield House, the town mansion of the Earl of Lichfield, the late Master of the Buckhounds, where, as Shiel expressed it, 'a compact alliance was formed' between the various sections of Liberals, including Repealers as well as Whigs and Radicals, for the purpose of ousting the Conservatives and forming an administration founded on the general principles in which all sections could consistently agree. The alliance between the old Whig party and the Irish Roman Catholics was long made the theme of invective and reproach by the Tory orators and organs, and afforded a tempting subject for the caricaturists of that day. In a clever sketch by H. B., entitled 'Coalition,' a sable wolf with a visage bearing an unmistakable likeness to the Irish Agitator, was represented as engaged in parleying with the foremost of a flock of sheep, whose features were those of their late shepherd. 'Let us,' he exclaimed, 'merge all our trifling differences, and make a common war upon those tyrannical watchdogs.'

All the advantage which the Government had gained by the insignificance of the Opposition majority on the Speakership and the address, was more than lost by the egregious blunder which they made in

nominating Lord Londonderry as ambassador to Russia. There were cogent reasons which made this injudicious appointment obnoxious to the Stanleyites and moderate Tories, as well as to the Liberals. When it was first rumoured that the Duke of Wellington had nominated a nobleman so unpopular and unqualified to this important embassy, it was declared by the *Times* to be an 'absurd report' and 'a sorry joke,' and it was thought incredible until the Duke of Wellington admitted that the appointment had really been made. Lord Londonderry belonged to that section of extreme Tories of which the Duke of Cumberland and the Earl of Eldon were the recognized leaders. His opinions regarding both domestic and foreign policy had been formed in the school of his brother Lord Castlereagh, and he had obtrusively declared his strong disapproval of the measures of the Whig Government, especially in their separation from the despotic sovereigns of the continent. He had served under the Duke of Wellington as adjutant-general from 1809 to 1813, and had shown himself an active and efficient officer. After the conclusion of the Peninsular war he was raised to the peerage and appointed Minister at Berlin, and in the following year (1814) was nominated ambassador to Vienna. On his retirement from the service in 1823 he sent in an application for a pension, which Lord Liverpool endorsed with the words, 'This is too bad.' On a subsequent occasion Lord Dudley, Canning's Foreign Secretary, justified the refusal of the pension, and stated that during the few years the Marquis had been in the public service he had received £160,000 of the public money. Lord Londonderry, however, did not concur in the opinion that his services had already been amply rewarded, and he complained bitterly that he had been passed over when the Tories returned to office in 1828. Peel was quite well aware that it was impossible to confer office at home on a man who had always been constant in his opposition to reforms of every kind, but he acquiesced in



his nomination by the Duke of Wellington to the mission at St. Petersburg.

No sooner was the appointment announced than a storm burst upon the heads of the Ministry. The subject was brought before the House of Commons on the 13th of March by Mr. Shiel, who argued that in the existing relations between Russia and Turkey it was indispensably necessary that the British representative at the Russian Court should be wise, sagacious, firm and discreet, and inflexibly attached to those principles to which the great mass of the people of this country were devoted. Mr. Cutler Ferguson reminded the House that in the previous year the Marquis of Londonderry had termed the Poles the 'rebellious subjects' of the Russian Czar, and he insisted that the person who had dared to justify the brutal treatment that gallant but unfortunate nation had met with from the Russian Government was unfit to represent Britain at St. Petersburg. 'The noble Marquis,' said Joseph Hume, 'had invariably been against all amelioration of the political circumstances of the people. He had opposed everything connected with human freedom—even the humane designs of others to mitigate the sufferings of the afflicted Poles. What, then, could these persecuted people—what could Europe—expect at the hands of the present Government when they saw it sending out such a man to represent it at the Court of Russia?' Stanley said, the 'Marquis of Londonderry, who had declared his opinion to be unfavourable to the Poles, was the last person whom England ought to send to Russia to represent there the feelings of the people of this country.' Other members expressed similar opinions, and the feeling of the House seemed to be that Lord Londonderry's sympathies qualified him rather for the post of Russian ambassador in England than British ambassador in Russia.

Greville, who was exceedingly anxious that the Ministry should keep their ground, expressed the opinion entertained of the appointment even by the great mass of the

Tory party. 'Last night,' he wrote, 'was a terribly damaging night to the Government, and fully justifies all that I, in common with almost everybody else, thought of that miserable appointment of Londonderry. Shiel brought it forward, and a storm burst from every side. Stanley made a strong speech against it, and Mahon (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) totally broke down. Peel spoke cleverly as usual, but fighting under difficulties, and dodging about and shifting his ground with every mark of weakness. The result is that Londonderry cannot go, and must either resign or his nomination be cancelled. This is miserable work on the part of the Government, and an awkward position to be placed in. . . . It serves the Government right, and the Duke especially, for having built up such a wall to run their heads against. They knew the loathing people had for the man—how odious and ridiculous he had made himself, how obnoxious and indefensible the appointment would be; and yet, though there was no reason or occasion for it, and their circumstances were so difficult that the utmost caution and prudence were requisite in all their subordinate and collateral proceedings as well as in the great and essential ones, they had the blind and obstinate folly to make this appointment. . . . The debate has made a great sensation, and is a source of prodigious triumph to the Opposition. Nobody doubts that Londonderry cannot go, whether he resigns voluntarily or not; but end how it may, it is a disastrous occurrence. If the Government should persist in the appointment they would be beaten by a great majority; if it is given up, it is a monstrous concession to the violence and power of the House of Commons.' Londonderry himself quailed before the storm which his appointment had raised, and voluntarily withdrew from the post that had been bestowed upon him. His withdrawal, however, did not repair the evil that his nomination had done. The precedent was a very dangerous one, and it was not without reason that the



king was very angry, and that Lord John Russell said that 'in the experiment they are now making they were running considerable hazard that the most useful prerogatives of the Crown would lose that dignity and respect in which they had formerly been held.' Every one felt the truth of the remark that 'the king appointed Londonderry ambassador to Russia, and the House of Commons cancelled the appointment.'

Though the Government was both weakened and discredited by this ill-managed affair, Peel was determined to continue the struggle. He had promised to bring forward a series of Liberal measures for the removal of grievances, and in fulfilment of his engagement his Attorney-General, Pollock, on the 12th of March, introduced a measure for the constitution of a consolidated ecclesiastical court, in order to improve the administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, and the better maintenance of the discipline of the Church of England. Peel himself, on the 17th, explained the measure which he had prepared for the removal of the grievance of which Dissenters complained in regard to their marriages. He proposed that marriage, as far as they were concerned, should be regarded as a purely civil ceremony, a religious ceremony to follow if the parties wished it, and that they should have full liberty to marry in their own chapels. They complained that permission to marry by civil contract was not extended to Churchmen as well as Dissenters, and that their marriages still required to be registered by the Established Church clergy. 'The Dissenters are pleased,' said Lord Eldon, 'but they seem not to disguise that they are not satisfied. I take it that the true friends of the Church are neither pleased nor satisfied. As to the Dissenters, it is their nature not to be satisfied, as I can judge from my long experience.' On the 20th Sir Henry Hardinge, the Irish Secretary, moved a series of resolutions on which an Irish tithe bill was to be founded, and on the 24th the Prime Minister him-

self stated to the House the nature of the measure which he intended to bring in for the voluntary commutation of tithes in England, offering facilities and inducements which he hoped would lead to such a settlement. It was well received, though a pretty general feeling prevailed that a compulsory measure would alone lead to a general commutation.

The measures thus promptly brought forward by the Government were all in themselves excellent and important; but they did not serve in any degree to mollify the hostile feelings of the Opposition, and they lost no opportunity of humiliating and defeating the Ministry. Peel had to sustain the conflict almost single-handed against a phalanx of able and experienced debaters, and he did so with remarkable readiness, vigour, and resolution. On the 24th of March he was beaten on a division about a charge of intimidation at the late Chatham election—an affair of little or no consequence in itself, and he would have given way; but 'his Whips told him he was strong enough in the House to carry it, which only shows how stupid they are.'

The proper course for the leader of the Opposition to follow would have been to propose a vote of no confidence in the Ministry, and thus to have brought the matter to a direct issue at once; but he chose rather to raise debate after debate upon every question that was brought forward, and to outbid the Ministry on the various reforms which they proposed. It was evident, indeed, that Sir Robert Peel had not the confidence of the House of Commons, but he insisted on retaining his position until that want of confidence was explicitly declared by some overt act. Lord John Russell admits that he found it very difficult to frame a resolution which would have this effect, for a notion prevailed even among Liberals that Sir Robert Peel should have a fair trial. It seemed to him, he said, that this fair trial would be given, and the House of Commons would still have in its hands the power of the purse—



the citadel of its strength—if the supplies were only voted for three months. But when the party was consulted upon this suggestion, it was found that there were several who feared that any limitation of the ordinary vote on supply would affect public credit and alarm the country. Lord John therefore reluctantly renounced this intention.

Two days after their defeat on the Chatham election, the Government met with another and much more serious reverse on the question of the London University Charter. One of the grievances of the Dissenters related to their exclusion from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A bill for admitting them to these academical institutions had been rejected in 1834 by the House of Lords, by a majority of 187 votes to 85. Now that a Liberal had been replaced by a Tory administration, the friends of religious liberty had no hope of being able to carry a measure of this kind even in the Lower House. They proposed, therefore, that Nonconformists should obtain the advantages connected with a University education through the medium of the recently established London University; and a motion had been made both in 1833 and in 1834 by Mr. Tooke, the member for Truro, that a charter should be conferred on that institution, and that it should be empowered to grant degrees. The proposal was not regarded with favour by the old Universities, and they, along with the medical bodies, petitioned against any permission being given to the new University to grant degrees of the same denomination as those which they themselves conferred. These petitions had been referred to a committee of the Privy Council, which had heard Counsel upon the question, but had made no report, though it was understood that the committee were opposed to the charter. In these circumstances Tooke renewed his proposal, and moved an address to the Crown praying that the University should receive a charter of incorporation. The motion was resisted by the Govern-

ment, but it was carried by a majority of 246 votes to 136. The charter, however, was not granted until November, 1836, some time after the restoration of the Melbourne Ministry.

The Government had now suffered half a dozen defeats on a variety of questions, and it had become evident that they were at the mercy of their opponents. They had no power to carry their measures either great or small, and both the dignity of the Crown and the authority of the Executive were suffering in their hands. Still Peel refused to resign, and declared that, unless the House of Commons should declare their want of confidence in his Administration, he would not retire until he had laid all his measures before Parliament and the country. In these circumstances the Opposition resolved to take another forward step, and the question of the Irish Church seemed to afford the best test to bring matters to a decisive issue.

On the 20th of March, Sir Henry Hardinge had introduced an Irish tithe bill, which was substantially the same with the measure which the Whigs had brought forward and the Tories had thrown out the previous year. The conduct of the Government, in now adopting the scheme of commutation which they had resisted in Opposition, was commented on with great severity as a glaring violation of principle. The Liberals, however, could not throw out a measure which in all its essential provisions was identical with their own; but they resolved to append to it an amendment which their opponents must resist to the utmost. The question of the perpetual endowment and preservation of the revenues of the Irish Church was regarded as marking the frontier line between Liberal and Tory principles. The proposal for a commission to inquire into the temporalities of that Church had brought about the resignation of four members of Earl Grey's Cabinet, and every thorough-going Liberal was convinced that some portion of the surplus revenues of the Established Church



of Ireland should be appropriated to secular purposes. A proposal that this step should be taken would, therefore, combine in its support all the Liberal party.

The assault was led by the leader of the Opposition in person. On Monday, the 30th of March, Lord John Russell moved that 'the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the present state of the Church Establishment in Ireland, with the view of applying any surplus of the revenues not required for the spiritual care of its members to the general education of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion.' In support of his motion Russell declared that he held the argument in favour of a Church Establishment to be complete and unanswerable, and adopted the statement of Paley respecting the objects of such an institution; but he contended that the Irish Church had completely failed to gain those objects. It had not merely failed to diffuse religious doctrine among the great mass of the nation; it had produced a system which continually brought the clergy into collision with the people, which had led to scenes of civil strife and bloodshed, and had brought about a state of things utterly irreconcilable with the true ends of all Church Establishments. He contended that the revenues of the Church had increased, and now amounted to £800,000 a year, while the number of Episcopalians in many districts of Ireland had decreased, and did not now amount to more than 750,000, more than half of whom were in the province of Armagh. Reform was clearly necessary; but in this case reform involved reduction, and a reduction involved a surplus, and that surplus ought to be devoted to the development of the mental and moral capacities of the inhabitants of Ireland.

The debate lasted four nights, and all the leading members on both sides of the House took part in it. The Ministerialists endeavoured to show that the annual revenues of the Church amounted to only £450,000. Some of them insisted that ecclesiastical

property was sacred, and could not lawfully be devoted to any other than religious purposes. The Prime Minister dwelt upon the compact which, he alleged, had been made with the Church in the Act of Union with Ireland. Compacts, he said, might be broken, as there were circumstances which might justify the overthrow of a constitution; but he affirmed that no proof had been adduced in the present case that such a sacrifice was required, and he was confident that no such proof could be given. Before a proceeding like that now proposed could be resolved on, the innovators should be prepared with a comprehensive and complete new scheme to supersede the existing compact; but though he had repeatedly challenged the leaders of the Opposition, no such plan had been produced. He expressed his confident belief that on this question his opponents did not represent the opinion of the nation, and withal his deep regret that they should seek to eject the Ministry from office by an attack on the Irish Church rather than by the proper constitutional mode of a declaration of a want of confidence in the Government. There is no reason to believe that the speeches, able as they were, changed a single vote on either side, and on the morning of the 3rd of April Lord John Russell's motion was carried by a majority of thirty-three in a House of 611 members, 322 having voted for it and 289 against. The minority included Stanley and Graham and their followers, now dwindled down to the half-dozen passengers by the Derby Dilly.\* But there was a majority of nine of the English members against the motion. On

\* This famous designation originated in an application by O'Connell to the Stanleyites of a well-known line—

'Down thy romantic vale, sweet Ashbourn, glides  
The Derby Dilly, carrying six insides.'

H. B., as usual, caught up the allusion, and represented the Dilly as stopping at a turnpike gate, kept by John Bull, who interrogates the coachman (Stanley) respecting his passengers. He has got six, he says, and hopes to pick up more by the way. John informs him that the Ministerialist has not yet come up, but that the Opposition has just passed, heavily laden, and looking dangerous.



the other hand, thirty-two of the Scottish representatives supported and seventeen voted against it. Of the Irish members sixty-four followed Russell and thirty-seven went into the lobby with Peel.

This division decided the fate of the Government, but the Premier thought it his duty to hold out to the last. The next step taken by the leader of the Opposition was to propose the motion of which he had given notice, 'that any surplus that might remain after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the Established Church in Ireland, ought to be applied to the general education of all classes of Christians.' In compliance with the suggestion of Mr. Fowell Buxton, he substituted the words 'moral and religious instruction for 'general education.' On the division in committee on the 6th of April only 499 members were present, of whom 262 voted in favour of the resolution and 237 against it. Next day Lord John moved, that 'it is the opinion of the House that no measure on the subject of tithes, in Ireland, can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution.' This motion was carried by a majority of 285 votes against 258, and on the following morning the Ministry resigned.

Sir Robert Peel had fought the battle of his party with extraordinary ability, tact, and temper, and with indomitable resolution—his opponents themselves being judges. In his speech announcing the resignation of the Government, he avowed that he had taken this course with great reluctance, because, enjoying as they did the confidence of the king and the support of a great and powerful party in the country, they could have speedily disposed of several important and urgent questions, especially that of Irish tithes, which must now be left unsettled. 'For myself,' he said, 'the whole of my political life has been spent in the House of Commons. The remainder of it shall be spent there; and whatever may be the conflicts of parties, I for one would

always wish to stand well with the House, whether in a majority or in a minority. Under no circumstances, under the pressure of no weight, would I ever have advised the Crown to resign that great source of moral strength which consists in a strict adherence to the practice, to the principle, to the letter, and to the spirit of the constitution of the country. . . . Although I sincerely regret the necessity which has compelled me to abandon His Majesty's service at the present moment, yet, upon the balance of public consideration, I feel that I have taken a course which is more likely to sustain the character of a public man, and promote the ultimate interests of the country, than if I had persevered in what I believe would have been a fruitless attempt in the face of the opposition which has hitherto obstructed the satisfactory progress of public business while I and my colleagues have been in office.'

This retiring address was received with enthusiastic applause from all sides of the House, and Lord John Russell declared as his opinion that Sir Robert had acted entirely in the spirit of the constitution. The sentiment expressed by Guizot met with a general response—that Peel had proved himself 'the most liberal of Conservatives, the most conservative of Liberals, and the most capable man of all in both parties.' Lord Mulgrave declared that Peel had done admirably—had given proof of his perfect sincerity, and acted in accordance with all his declarations and professions. 'I am astonished,' he said; 'nothing in Peel's past political career led me to expect that he would have done so admirably as he has. He has raised himself immensely in my opinion.' 'When did a statesman enter office,' said Sir Henry Bulwer Lytton, 'more triumphantly than Sir Robert Peel left it?' On the other hand the Tories, not much to their credit, were furious at his resigning, and insisted that he ought to 'set the House of Commons at defiance and stick to his post,' and not abandon his party and the king. 'It is very evident,' said Greville,



'that many of them are desirous of continuing the fight under the Duke of Wellington, if they could prevail on him to try it, and to dissolve Parliament and get up a "No Popery" cry. They say that the country (by which they mean their own faction) looks up to the Duke, and that Peel has really no interest there. The fact is that they cannot forgive him for his Liberal principles and Liberal measures. They feel (not without reason) that they cannot follow him in the broad path he has entered upon without abandoning all their long-cherished maxims of exclusion and ascendancy, and that in so doing they would incur much odium and disgrace. It is no wonder that he is anxious to break up this unmanageable force, and he probably would rather trust to that increasing feeling and opinion about himself which is so apparent among all classes of politicians, to place him by and by at the head of a party formed upon Conservative principles and embracing a much wider circle of opinions.'

The Duke of Wellington was no way disheartened at the overthrow of the Ministry, but said 'he considered the country on its legs again.' The experiment of a Conservative Government, though it had failed in the meantime, had made it evident that the party was still very powerful in the country, and could without difficulty prevent the passing of any hasty or revolutionary measures; and that with a great majority in the one House and nearly an equality in the other, they could render it no easy task for their successors to carry on the Government on Liberal principles. The king was bitterly mortified at the signal defeat and humiliation which he had brought upon himself by his ill-advised attempt to imitate the conduct of his father, and to dismiss at his own pleasure a Ministry supported by the great majority of the House of Commons and enjoying the confidence of the country. He was now compelled to bring back the Whigs in triumph, and they were not indisposed to make him feel that he was wholly in their power.

'Notwithstanding the good face which the king continues to put upon the matter in his communications with his hated new-old Ministers and masters,' wrote Greville, 'he is really miserable; and the Duchess of Gloucester, to whom he unbosoms himself more than to anybody, states that with her he was in the most pitiable state of distress, constantly in tears, and saying that he felt his crown tottering on his head.'

Earl Grey was first summoned (April 9) to the assistance of the perplexed and humbled sovereign; but he firmly declined to return to office, and recommended that Lord Melbourne should be intrusted with the task of forming a Government. The king was still harping on a Coalition Ministry, composed of the moderate men of both parties. But Melbourne and Lansdowne, who had also been invited to wait on His Majesty, told him that the resolutions adopted by the House of Commons respecting the Irish Church formed an insuperable obstacle to such a coalition of parties. On the 11th Melbourne was instructed to form a Government. His first step was to urge Lord Grey to assume once more the office of Prime Minister, but without effect, and Melbourne had to carry through the task himself. The new Ministry differed very little in its arrangements from the administration which had been so unceremoniously dismissed six months before. Melbourne himself, of course, resumed his former position as First Lord of the Treasury, Lord John Russell became Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons, Spring Rice was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Palmerston received again the seals of the Foreign Department, Charles Grant became Colonial Secretary, Lord Howick Secretary at War, Hobhouse was placed at the India Board, Poulett Thomson at the Board of Trade, and Lord Duncannon at the Woods and Forests. The Marquis of Lansdowne was nominated Lord President of the Council, Lord Auckland First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Holland Chancellor of the Duchy of Lan-



caster. Lord Mulgrave, who had discharged efficiently the duties of Governor of Jamaica, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Plunkett Chancellor, and Lord Morpeth Irish Secretary. The Marquis of Wellesley expected to be restored to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and was mortified when he was offered instead the office of Lord Chamberlain. He accepted it, however, and held it for a few weeks, when owing, it was suspected, to the connection of the Ministry with O'Connell, he suddenly resigned that situation, and never again held office. After Earl Grey had peremptorily refused to return to the Premiership, a strenuous effort was made by the Whig leaders, especially by Melbourne and Holland, to induce him to accept a seat in the Cabinet with the Privy Seal; but the venerable peer announced that he had finally relinquished official life. As his support was certain to contribute greatly to strengthen the Government, he was not only gratified by the appointment of his eldest son to the office of Secretary at War, with a seat in the Cabinet, but one of his nephews (Sir George Grey) was nominated Under-Secretary of the Colonies, one son-in-law (Charles Wood) was appointed Secretary to the Admiralty, and another (Earl Durham) was made Ambassador to the Russian Court.

A serious difficulty arose respecting O'Connell, who expected to be appointed Attorney-General for Ireland. A general impression prevailed that he must have office, and it is alleged that Mulgrave led him to expect that the office for which he was specially fitted, the Attorney-Generalship, would be offered him. There can be no doubt that the nomination of the great Roman Catholic leader to a situation in the Government would have highly gratified the mass of the Irish people, as a proof that the barriers which had hitherto excluded them from office had been really thrown down, and that the Emancipation Act was now a reality. It would have withdrawn O'Connell himself from a career of agitation,

which was now productive of much evil, though not wholly unmixed with good, and would have enlisted his great abilities and influence on the side of law and order. It would also have compelled him to moderate his language as well as his actions, and to enforce upon his followers a regard to order and law, and the peace of the community. 'He longed,' he said, 'for the opportunity of proving to the Protestants of Ireland that when in power he could and would do them justice,' and there is every reason to believe that he would have carried out his intention. But unfortunately the king was doggedly bent on O'Connell's exclusion from office, and became furious at the very suggestion that the 'Liberator,' as he was termed, might be proposed to him as Attorney-General for Ireland. 'Lord Grey would never have done this,' he exclaimed, and he would never sanction it; and he wrote Melbourne a letter of six pages about O'Connell and Hume and the Irish Church. Melbourne sent a short and very decided reply, informing His Majesty that he would not submit to have any one excluded, but that there was no intention of appointing either O'Connell or Hume. The fact was that a number of the Whig magnates, notably Earl Grey, cherished such a strong antipathy to the Irish leader that there is reason to believe his appointment to office would have made it impossible for Melbourne to form a Government, and the violence of his language and behaviour had so strongly exasperated, not only the king and the court, but the great body of the educated classes, that no premier could at this time have ventured to place him on the Treasury bench. Lord Lansdowne mentions, as an example of the strong dislike entertained towards him, that after Lord Melbourne's Government was formed, and O'Connell became one of its supporters, 'Mr. Thomas Grenville, with whom,' he says, 'I had been most intimate for many years, wrote to me, saying that he regretted he could no longer visit my house, as he could not go anywhere where he incurred the risk of meeting



O'Connell.' Edward Ellice was employed to inform the formidable ally of the Whigs that they were under the necessity of excluding him; that his friends were unable to overcome for the moment the prejudices against him; and that, unless he consented to waive his personal claims, all hope of forming a Liberal Ministry must be abandoned. O'Connell behaved, as one of the party said, 'admirably well,' declared that he waived all claim to employment, and promised his gratuitous assistance.

A more serious difficulty was the course to be followed with regard to Lord Brougham, who was confidently expecting his restoration to the Woolsack. No one could deny that the ex-Chancellor was a man of stupendous ability, and that he had rendered eminent services to the country by his long-continued and strenuous efforts to procure the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery, the improvement of law, the reform of charitable trusts, the promotion of education, and the furtherance of civil and religious liberty. But, as Lord John Russell said, 'Lord Brougham's vast powers of mind were neutralized by a want of judgment, which prevented any party from placing entire confidence in him, and by a frequent forgetfulness of what he himself had done or said but a short time before. . . . His faults were a recklessness of judgment which hurried him beyond all the bounds of prudence, an omnivorous appetite for praise, a perpetual interference in matters with which he had no direct concern, and, above all, a disregard of truth.' For these reasons, many weeks before the change of Government, Lord Melbourne resolved not to offer the Great Seal to Lord Brougham, and mentioned this resolution to Lord John

Russell, and probably also to other leading members of the party. 'If Brougham were left out,' he said, 'he would indeed be dangerous; but if taken in he would simply be destructive. We may have little chance of being able to go on without him, but to go on with him would be impossible. Even if all the rest agreed to let in Brougham, I could not,' he added, 'bring myself to force him upon the king.' But of 'all the rest' who were immediately concerned or consulted there does not appear to have been any one who proposed that the ex-Chancellor should be recalled. Even Lord Spencer, who was warmly attached to him, wrote to Spring Rice (April 19, 1835), 'I suppose I must say I believe you right; but I cannot but be grievously sorry for poor Brougham. I see, of course, his glaring defects. I know the mischief these defects are calculated to do to himself and to every one with whom he is acting; but still I have worked with him for so many years, and have at different times lived on such intimate terms with him that I must lament, though I by no means censure, his being thrown overboard, when I fear there is no whale ready to receive him, and after a limited time to replace him on dry land.' The bitterness of the disappointment was somewhat softened by the resolution of the Prime Minister to keep the Chancellorship vacant for a time, and the Great Seal was accordingly put in commission. Brougham cherished the hope that the king's prejudice against him, to which he ascribed his exclusion, would gradually wear away, and that he would ultimately be reinstated in his former position; but his official career was in reality at an end.



## CHAPTER IX.

Condition of the Established Churches in the three Kingdoms—The Irish Tithe system—Controversy respecting Church Establishments in Scotland—Supremacy of the Church of England—Its supineness, negligence, and jobbery—Its revival—The Evangelical Party—Their zeal and success in benevolent Schemes—Style of preaching and living among the High Church Clergy—Patronized by the Government—Rise of the Tractarian Party—Their opinions and objects—Apostolic Succession—Sacramentarianism—Tradition—The *Via Media*—Origin of the Tractarian movement—Rose, Hurrell Froude, Pusey, Keble, Newman—Tracts for the Times—Number *xc.* condemned by the Hebdomadal Council—Discontinuance of the Tracts—Origin of Irvingism—Edward Irving's Ministry in London—His extraordinary popularity—Personal appearance and character—His notions of Prophecy—Mr. Henry Drummond—Manifestations at the Gareloch—The Gifts of Tongues and of Healing—Manifestations in Irving's Church—He is in consequence excluded from the building by the Trustees—His Deposition by the Annan Presbytery—The Albury School of Prophets—Their treatment of Irving—Character of the Manifestations—Irving's illness and death—Carlyle's description of his character—First Meeting of the British Association at York—Great impetus given to Science by means of the Association—The Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—Mechanics' Institutes—Cheap Literature.

WHILE a revolution so extensive was taking place in the political and social institutions of Great Britain, changes scarcely less important were in progress in the ecclesiastical establishments of the country. It will now be admitted on all sides that, at the era of the Reform Bill, the state of the Churches in the United Kingdom was the reverse of satisfactory. In Ireland the Roman Catholics, numbering five millions and a half, had declared open war against the Established Church, which, though in the possession of revenues yielding £800,000 a year, included within its pale only a comparatively small proportion of the Irish people. It had become impossible to collect tithes even at the point of the bayonet, and the clergy were in consequence reduced to a state of the greatest distress—almost to starvation. The most prudent and steadfast friends of Protestant supremacy had come to the conclusion, that 'the only way to afford the Irish Church the least chance of a permanent existence was to abolish tithes entirely, and to cut down her other emoluments very low indeed; that is to say, to reduce them until they amount to no more than a fair equivalent for the services which she can render in return for them.' Even the Archbishop of Dublin declared that he spoke the opinion of many of his clerical brethren, as well as his own, when he said in his evidence before the Committee of

the House of Lords, 'As for the continuance of the tithe system it seems to me that it must be at the point of the bayonet—that it must be through a sort of chronic civil war. The ill feelings that have so long existed against it have been embodied in so organized a combination that I conceive there would be continually breakings out of resistance, which must be kept down by a continuance of very severe measures, such as the Government might indeed resolve to have recourse to for once, if necessary, but would be very unwilling to resort to habitually, so as to keep the country under military government. And the most intelligent persons, and the most experienced, I have conversed with, seem to think that nothing else will permanently secure the payment of tithes under the present system.' In such circumstances as these it was impossible that a religion of 'peace and good-will to men' could flourish.

In Scotland a fierce controversy was now raging between Churchmen and Dissenters respecting the Scriptural character, the justice, and the expediency of Church Establishments. The Seceders, who had been driven from the national Presbyterian Church by the arbitrary manner in which the law of patronage was enforced by the ecclesiastical courts, had now become hostile to the entire system, and denied, on the one hand, the right of the State to interfere



with the Church, and on the other, the claim of the Church to receive support from the State. After the extension of popular power and privileges by the passing of the Reform Bill, a number of Liberal politicians began to contend against the endowment of the Church from national funds. 'Voluntary Church Societies,' as they were called, sprang up throughout the Lowland districts of Scotland, and a fierce assault was made on the connection between Church and State, which religious Dissenters regarded as inconsistent with the freedom and spirituality of Christ's kingdom, and therefore unscriptural, and Liberal statesmen denounced as an ecclesiastical monopoly, as a violation of the principles of free trade, as the imposition of a tax on one section of the community for the benefit of another sect, and therefore as both unjust and inexpedient. The controversy, which raged with great fury for several years, contributed to some extent to the policy that ultimately led to the disruption of the Scottish Church.

Down to the close of the first quarter of the present century the Church of England retained, not only the supremacy, but all the privileges with which it had been endowed at the restoration of the Stewart dynasty. Its members, both lay and clerical, were legally entitled to honours, offices, and endowments, from which both Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics were rigidly excluded. No person who had not received the sacrament of the Lord's supper at the hands of an Episcopal clergyman was legally eligible for any public office, civil or military or naval, or for any office in a municipal corporation or in the Bank of England. No minister except one connected with the Established Church could celebrate a marriage; and the only funeral service which could be read over the dead was that contained in the English Prayer Book, and was confined to those who had been baptized in the Church of England. Members of that Church alone were admissible to the National Universities, or indeed

to any of the endowed schools, which were all under the control of Episcopal clergymen. The resources of the Church were enormous; but while its dignitaries and a few fortunate incumbents were in the receipt of almost fabulous incomes, the great body of the clergy were in extreme poverty. The evils of pluralities and non-residence were flagrant, and were sanctioned instead of being restrained by the Bishops. There were 10,421 benefices in England and Wales; and in 1811 6311 of the incumbents were non-resident. The best livings were bestowed, not on pious and learned divines, but on the relations and proteges of powerful noblemen, and politicians, and clerical dignitaries. The fortunate candidates for these preferments restricted their professional duties to those services which the law required them to perform on Sundays, or at funerals on week days, and spent the most of their time in hunting, shooting, or fishing. The picture which the poet Crabbe has painted of the parish priest in the 'Village' is not at all overdrawn. He describes him as

'A jovial youth, who thinks his Sunday task  
As much as God or man can fairly ask;  
The rest he gives to loves and labours light,  
To fields the morning, and to feasts the night.  
None better skilled the noisy pack to guide,  
To urge their chace, to cheer them or to chide.  
A sportsman keen, he shoots through half the day,  
And, skilled at whist, devotes the night to play.'

A distinguished scholar and clergyman—the late Mr. Conybeare—describes in indignant terms the 'jobbing and corruption' which at that period prevailed in the Church, 'when the money-changers not only entered the temple, but drove out the worshippers; when ecclesiastical revenues were monopolized by wealthy pluralists; when the name of curate lost its legal meaning, and instead of denoting the incumbent of a benefice came to signify the deputy of an absentee; when Church services were discontinued; when University exercises were turned into a farce; when the holders of ancient endowments vied with one another in evading the intentions of their founders;



when everywhere the lowest ends were most openly avowed, and the lowest means adopted for effecting them; and when, in their preaching, nineteen clergymen out of twenty carefully abstained from dwelling upon Christian doctrines. Such topics exposed the preacher to the charge of fanaticism. All religious men, indeed, at that time were branded by such persons with the epithets of enthusiasts, fanatics, and Methodists.' The fundamental doctrines of the Gospel were rather tacitly ignored, however, than openly contradicted. By most the Articles were neither believed nor disbelieved. 'The mass of the clergy troubled not their souls with theological difficulties, but hunted and tiddled peacefully with the squirearchy.'

This state of stagnation was disturbed in the first instance by the rise of the Evangelical party which, no doubt, was indirectly due to the influence of Wesley and Whitefield and the Methodists, especially among the ignorant and degraded portion of the population of England. The four Evangelists of that party, as Sir James Stephens terms them, were John Newton, Thomas Scott, Joseph Milner, and Henry Venn. 'Newton held himself forth, and was celebrated by others as the great living example of the regenerating efficacy of the principles of his school, Scott was their interpreter of Holy Scripture, Milner their ecclesiastical historian, and Venn their systematic teacher of the whole Christian institutes.' These men, aided by Wilberforce in the Senate and by Simeon in the University, were undoubtedly the 'second fathers of the Church of England. If not entitled to the praise of genius, of eloquence, or of profound learning, they were devout, sincere, and genuine men—the doctrines of the New Testament were to them a reality, and the English Liturgy a truth; their public ministrations and their real meaning were in exact accordance. They rose as much above the *Hoadleian* formality as above the *Marian* superstition. They revived amongst us the spirit of Paul and Peter, of Augustine and Boniface, of

Wicliffe and Ridley, of Baxter and Howe. They burned with a loyal and enlightened zeal for the kingdom of Christ, and for those eternal verities on which that kingdom is founded. Their personal sanctity rose to the same elevation as their theological opinions; and in all these respects they formed a contrast, as cheering in one light as it was melancholy in another, to the spirit which in that age characterized their clerical brethren.'

The Evangelical party, though a comparatively small minority among the Church clergy, exercised an important influence on its teaching, and contributed not a little to make it more in accordance with its formularies; but its influence was mainly felt in the changes which it effected in the social condition of the English people, and the efforts to extend Christianity in our Colonial dominions. Their representatives in Parliament—Wilberforce, Stephen, Thornton, Buxton, and Sir Thomas Acland—were the leaders in such philanthropic movements as the reform of prison discipline, the amelioration of the severity of the criminal law, the mitigation of the sufferings and hardships of the mining and factory operatives, the suppression of the slave trade, and the abolition of slavery. They were the founders of the Church Missionary Society, which now maintains more than 2000 ministers and teachers, and has established upwards of 100 stations in India, Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. The devoted and lamented Henry Martyn was one of their agents. They were chiefly instrumental in establishing the Bible Society, which has translated the Holy Scriptures into almost every language in the world. The Church-Building Societies owe their origin to the same source, and so do Sunday Schools, Infant Schools, Lending Libraries, Scripture Readers, District Visitors, Ragged Schools, the Pastoral Aid Society (which supports more than 300 clergymen and above 100 lay assistants), and other institutions for promoting the temporal and spiritual welfare of the poorer classes of



the community. In enumerating the eminent services which the 'Clapham Sect' rendered to the cause of religion and humanity, it must not be forgotten that Mr. Simeon spent his whole private fortune in purchasing in Bath, Bradford, Clifton, and other populous towns, from forty to fifty advowsons, which he vested in trustees in order that these places might be supplied with a body of laborious, zealous, and devout ministers.

The terrors inspired by the French Revolution put an end to the dilettante scepticism which for a time was fashionable in English society, and roused the High Church clergy out of the lethargic slumber into which they had fallen. They became more decorous in their conduct, and more attentive to their duty. They had always professed to hold the very same doctrines which the Evangelical clergymen held, but with this important difference that the latter held in 'cordial and prolific vitality' what the former held only in 'dull and barren formality.' They had always been compelled, in conducting the religious services of the Church, to repeat the great truths 'embodied in her formularies, enforced in her formularies, and stereotyped in her liturgy;' but they were now constrained to desist from preaching against the doctrine of the Church's creed. Henceforth, instead of contradicting in their pulpit what they were obliged to affirm in their reading-desk, they now confined their instructions to the exposition of moral duties. They studiously avoided all disquisitions on the mysteries of religion and the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, and exhorted their hearers to be faithful and honest, respectful to their superiors, obedient to their masters, and kind and helpful to their relatives and neighbours. The High Church incumbent of 1830 differed widely from his prototype of A.D. 1800, and still more from his successor of 1850. Mr. Froude, who was the son of a clergyman, the rector of a parish, an archdeacon, and a justice of the peace, says most of the

magistrates' work of the neighbourhood passed through his father's hands. 'In his younger days he had been a hard rider across a country. His children knew him as a continually busy, useful man of the world, a learned and cultivated antiquary, and an accomplished artist.' The clergy of that day, he adds, 'were generally of superior culture, manners, and character.' Many of them were 'country gentlemen of the best kind, continually in contact with the people, but associating on equal terms with the squires and the aristocracy. The average English incumbent of fifty years ago was a man of private fortune, the younger brother of the landlord perhaps, and holding the family living; or, it might be, the landlord himself, his advowson being part of the estate. His professional duties were his services on Sundays, funerals and weddings on week-days, and visits when needed among the sick. In other respects he lived like his neighbours, distinguished from them only by a black coat and white neck-cloth and greater watchfulness over his transactions. He farmed his own glebe; he kept horses; he shot and hunted moderately, and mixed in general society. He was generally a magistrate; he attended public meetings; and his education enabled him to take a leading part in county business. His wife and daughters looked after the poor, taught in the Sunday school, and managed the penny clubs and clothing clubs. He himself was spoken of in the parish as "the master"—the person who was responsible for keeping order there, and who knew how to keep it. The labourers and the farmers looked up to him. The "family" in the great house could not look down upon him.'

With regard to the laity in those days, they went to Church 'because they liked it, because they knew that they ought to go, and because it was the custom. They had received the creeds from their fathers, and doubts about them had never crossed their minds. Christianity had wrought itself



into the constitution of their natures. It was a necessary part of the existing order of the universe, as little to be debated about as the movements of the planets or the changes of the seasons.' On a Church thus quiet, comfortable, and dominant, the agitation connected with the Reform Bill fell like a thunder-bolt out of a clear sky. It disturbed and annoyed both the clergy and the laity. The great body of the national clergymen were staunch Tories, detesting those who were 'given to change;' and the more elevated their position, the more intolerant were they of Reformers of all classes and of Reform in every shape. High Churchmen and Tories, generally of the most extreme type, alone were to be found on the Episcopal bench or among the Deans and Prebendaries of the Cathedrals. No Evangelical clergyman, no matter how learned or laborious, needed to look for promotion at the hands of a Tory Premier or Lord Chancellor in those days. The hierarchy, as a body, were the steadfast supporters of the successive Tory ministers, and the opponents of popular rights and claims. They aided and abetted the majority in the Upper House in resisting the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and indeed nearly every measure for the advancement of either civil or religious liberty. They voted almost in a body against the first Reform Bill, and drew down upon themselves such an amount of public indignation that for some time it was unsafe for any of them to appear in the street. Clamorous demands were made for the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords and the reform of the Church. An agitation was even commenced for the abolition of the Establishment, and the appropriation of its revenues to secular purposes. For once the oft-reiterated cry of 'The Church in danger' seemed to be really well founded.

There can be no doubt that 'the strength' of the English Church at this period was 'to sit still.' The reaction in the public

mind, which in the course of a brief space brought back the great Conservative party to office and power, would have told still more powerfully in favour of the Church. 'Custom, tradition, conservative instinct, and natural reverence for the truth handed down to it,' would very speedily have rallied round the Church the great body of the people of England, and 'would have sufficed more than amply to meet such danger as then existed.' But unfortunately both for the welfare of the National Church and of religion, a small body of able and energetic young men at the University of Oxford were panic-stricken at the perils which seemed to environ the Church of England, and originated a movement in her defence which has exercised a most momentous and injurious influence both on the interests of that Church and on the religious character of the present age. The repeal of the Test Acts and the abolition of the civil disabilities of Dissenters, Roman Catholic emancipation, the suppression of the Irish Sees, the clamour for the reform of the Church were all the fruits of that 'Liberalism' which was now abroad, and which, in their eyes, was the impersonation of Antichrist. In their opinion, the evils which sprung from the prevalent notion of liberty, 'false liberty of thought,' the 'supposed right of men to think for themselves and act for themselves,' could be counteracted only by the authority of the Church. But the Church itself had been corrupted by the spirit of Protestantism. That spirit must be expelled before the Church could be fit for its great work. This, then, was the first step to be taken; and then when this evil spirit which had crept into her was exorcised, and her Apostolic Succession owned and proclaimed, the authority divinely intrusted to her Bishops acknowledged, and the efficacy of her sacraments believed and felt, she would bring back the nation to its true position—she would 'rise up and claim and exercise her lawful authority over all persons in all departments.'

Ideas of this kind had been floating in



the minds of a number of young men at Oxford during the excitement caused by the Reform Bill and the attacks upon the Irish Church, and at length three of them—Arthur Percival, Richard Hurrell Froude, and William Palmer—held a conference at Hadleigh in July, 1838, with the Rev. Hugh Rose, editor of the *British Magazine*, as to the steps which should be taken to maintain and diffuse the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, and to defend the Church against the attacks of the Liberals. Mr. Rose was a person of considerable ability and scholarship, and was conversant with German theology—a rare accomplishment at this time; and had been the first, Newman says, ‘to give warning of the perils to England which lay in the biblical and theological speculations of Germany.’ He became subsequently Professor of Theology at Durham, Principal of King’s College, London, and chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Newman says Rose ‘was the man above all others fitted by his cast of mind and literary powers to make a stand, if a stand could be made, against the calamity of the times. He was gifted with a high and large mind, and a true sensibility of what was great and beautiful; he spoke with warmth and energy, and he had a cool head and a cautious judgment; he spent his strength and shortened his life for the Church of God, as he understood that sovereign idea.’ Rose possessed great influence in the University, and but for him it is probable that the movement would not have been commenced at this time.

It was mainly through Hurrell Froude, however, that Newman was induced to enter upon that course which has led to such momentous results, both as regards himself and the English Church. Froude was undoubtedly a man of singular gifts—brilliant, enthusiastic, self-willed, and imperious. Newman, who cherished an unbounded admiration of him, says, ‘He was a pupil of Keble’s, formed by him, and in turn reacting upon him. He was a man of the highest gifts, so truly many-sided that

it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to describe him, except under those aspects in which he came before me. Nor have I here to speak of the gentleness and tenderness of nature, the playfulness, the free, elastic force and versatility of mind, and the patient, winning considerateness in discussion, which endeared him to those to whom he opened his heart. . . . I speak of Hurrell Froude in his intellectual aspects—as a man of high genius, brimful and overflowing with ideas and views in him original, which were too many and too strong even for his bodily strength, and which crowded and jostled against each other in their effort after distinct shape and impression; and he had an intellect as critical and logical as it was speculative and bold. Dying prematurely as he did, and in the conflict and transition state of opinion, his religious views never reached their ultimate conclusion by the very reason of their multitude and depth. His opinions arrested and influenced me, even when they did not gain my assent. . . . He had a most classical taste, and a genius for philosophy and art, and he was fond of historical inquiry and the politics of religion. He had no turn for philosophy as such.’ Hurrell Froude’s mother, in a remarkable letter published in his ‘Remains,’ gives a more discriminating view of the character of her son, and of his peculiar temper—‘impatient under vexatious circumstances, very much disposed to find his own amusement in teasing and vexing others, and almost entirely incorrigible when it was necessary to reprove him. I never could find a successful mode of treating him. Harshness made him obstinate and gloomy; calm and long displeasure made him stupid and sullen; and kind patience had not sufficient power to force him to govern himself. . . . In all points of substantial principle his feelings were just and high. He had (for his age) an unusually deep feeling of admiration for anything which was good and noble; his relish was lively and his taste good for all the



pleasures of imagination; and he was also quite conscious of his own faults, and (untempted) had a just dislike of them.'

Mr. J. A. Froude, in his interesting 'Reminiscences of the High Church Revival,' says, with a telling side-stroke at the other Tractarians, that 'no one ever recognized facts more loyally' than his brother 'when once he saw them.' If it had become clear to him that 'he must renounce his theory' as to the rights and position of the Church of England 'as visionary, and join another communion, he would not have "minimized" the Roman doctrines that they might be the more easy to swallow, or have explained away plain propositions till they meant anything or nothing. His course, whatever it was, would have been direct and straightforward; he was a man far more than a theologian.' Hurrell Froude's papers, which were never intended for the public eye, and which Newman and Keble most unwisely and improperly published, would seem to indicate that his spirit, haughty though it was, and indeed arbitrary and intolerant, was not sustained by genuine self-confidence, but gloried in subjection to the will of other men. But his brother says that 'he had the contempt of an intellectual aristocrat for private judgment and the rights of a man. The right of wisdom was to rule, and the right of ignorance was to be ruled; but he belonged himself to the class whose business was to order rather than obey. If his own bishop had interfered with him, his theory of Episcopal authority would have been found inapplicable in that particular instance.'

Such was the man who, though he was during the last four years of his life an invalid in search of health, and was cut off in 1836 at the age of thirty-three, contributed largely to the origination of the Tractarian movement, and whose influence helped not a little to turn Newman into the road to Rome. 'He made me,' says Newman, 'to look with admiration towards the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He

fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence.' Froude himself wrote, 'Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more, and have almost made up my mind that the Rationalist spirit they set afloat is the false prophet of the Revelations.' It need excite no surprise that the disciples who were willing to sit at the feet of such a Gamaliel soon came to boast, 'We are Catholics without the Popery, and Church of England men without the Protestantism.'

Newman was travelling on the Continent with Hurrell Froude, who was in bad health, at the time when his friends held their memorable conference at Hadleigh, and had formed the resolution to unprotestantize the English Church. He returned home soon after, and at once threw himself with characteristic ardour into the movement. During his residence abroad he had cherished 'fierce thoughts against the Liberals,' and had said to himself that when he returned they should know the difference. He was incomparably the most able of the band who had solemnly bound themselves, as by an oath, to effect a 'second Reformation,' and to turn back the current of public religious opinion and feeling. He was already distinguished for his wide scholarship, his extensive reading, his clear intellectual perception, his wilful and somewhat imperious temper, and his singleness of aim and purpose. In his early days he had embraced the Evangelical creed, and had been deeply impressed by the writings of Thomas Scott the commentator, 'to whom,' he says (humanly speaking), 'I owe my soul.' At the University he came under the influence of Whately, adopted many of the Broad-Church views of that original thinker, and found himself drifting in the direction of Liberalism. Then Dr. Hawkins, vicar of St. Mary's, began to 'give him new ideas and to instil into him new phases of thought.' A 'Treatise on Apostolical Preaching,' by Sumner, which Hawkins



lent him, induced him to renounce his remaining Calvinistic opinions and to embrace the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and tradition; to believe that the Bible was not intended to teach doctrine, but only to prove it; and that the doctrines of the Church were to be found in its formularies, the Catechism, and the Creeds. Hurrell Froude, as we have seen, taught him to cherish devotional feelings towards the Virgin Mary, and to believe that Christ is personally present in the sacramental elements. He now formed intimacies of the closest and most influential kind with Dr. Pusey, Professor of Hebrew, a young divine of great ability and vast learning, and Mr. Keble, the author of 'The Christian Year,' who were all deeply imbued with Patristic notions, and bent on restoring the primitive authority of the Church. 'In and from Keble,' says Newman, 'the mental activity of Oxford took the direction which issued in what was called Tractarianism.' Though Keble was held in reverence by the other members of the Anti-Protestant League, they did not estimate his intellectual power and influence so highly as Newman did. Hurrell Froude used to say, 'Poor Keble, he was asked to join the aristocracy of talent, but he soon found his level.' 'The Christian Year' has indeed attained an extraordinary popularity, but this is largely owing to the fact that it reflected the feeling of a large section of the community at that time, and embodied in a poetical form the sacramental doctrines and the pretensions of the Anglo-Catholic party. Much of it is nebulous, hazy, and almost unintelligible; but there can be no doubt that it contributed not a little to prepare the public mind for the theories afterwards promulgated by Keble's associates, and was to some extent instrumental in forming a school which detested 'heresy, insubordination, resistance to things established, claims of independence, disloyalty, innovation, and a critical censorious spirit.' Keble's poetry breathes the most refined and beautiful sentiments, and he was himself

genial and affectionate to his friends; but he was narrow-minded, prejudiced, and intolerant towards those who differed from his opinions. Mr. Froude mentions a characteristic instance of his narrowness. A member of a family with which he had been intimate had adopted Liberal opinions in theology. Keble probably did not know what these opinions were, but regarded this person as an apostate who had sinned against light. He came to call one day when the offender was at home; and learning that he was in the house, he refused to enter, and remained sitting in the porch.

The Sunday after Newman's return to England (July 14th), Mr. Keble preached the assize sermon in the University pulpit. It was published under the title of 'National Apostasy,' and Newman always kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833. There appears to have been considerable difference of opinion at first among the associates as to the mode in which they should carry out their scheme; but Newman, by his great intellectual ability, scholarship, and courage, speedily became the leader of the party, and had his own way. Compared with him, Keble, Pusey, Williams, Palmer, and the others were 'but as ciphers, and he the indicating number.' 'The triumvirs, who became a national force,' says J. A. Froude, 'and gave its real character to the Oxford movement, were Keble, Pusey, and John Henry Newman. Newman himself was the moving power; the two others were powers also, but of inferior mental strength. Without the third they would have been known as men of genius and learning, but their personal influence would have been limited to and would have ended with themselves.' The case was altogether different with respect to Newman. He had been appointed in 1828 incumbent of St. Mary's Church, and his remarkable sermons, as well as personal character, had gained him supreme influence over the undergraduates, who 'came to regard him with the affection



of pupils for an idolized master. The simplest word that dropped from him was treasured as if it had been an intellectual diamond. For hundreds of young men, "Credo in Newmanum" was the genuine symbol of faith.' Blomfield, Bishop of London, said in his characteristic way that 'the whole movement was nothing but a Newmania.'

Newman at once threw himself into the movement with characteristic ardour, and employed all his influence to make converts to his views, especially among the clergy, on not a few of whom in various parts of the country he made a personal call, whether he was acquainted with them or not. He wrote letters to others on whom he could not personally wait. He commenced a series of letters in the *Record* on Church Reform and Church Discipline. He waxed fierce, almost to slaying, against the Liberals, and was especially indignant at Dr. Arnold, whom he scarcely thought a Christian. 'I do not shrink,' he said, 'from affirming my firm conviction that it would be a gain to the country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion than at present it shows itself to be.' 'A heresiarch,' he contended, 'should meet with no mercy: he assumes the office of the Tempter; and so far forth as his error goes must be dealt with by the competent authority as if he were embodied evil. To spare him is false and dangerous pity. It is to endanger the souls of thousands, and it is uncharitable towards himself.' 'When one of my friends,' he says, 'of liberal and evangelical opinions, wrote to expostulate with me on the course I was taking, I said that we would ride over him and his as Othniel prevailed over Chushan-rishathaim, King of Mesopotamia. Again, I would have no dealings with my brother. I dissuaded a lady from attending the marriage of a sister who had seceded from the Anglican Church.' Such was the spirit—narrow-minded, bigoted, and intolerant—in which Newman commenced his assaults upon Liberalism, and took

part in the effort to unprotestantize the English Church.

The celebrated series of 'Tracts for the Times' was commenced at this period by Newman out of his own head, as he expressed it. They were looked upon with considerable alarm by Palmer, Percival, and other friends of the movement, who earnestly entreated Newman to put a stop to them; but, encouraged by Keble and Froude, he resolved to continue the series. The foundation of the Tractarian system, as set forth by its founders in these and other papers, was the doctrine of Apostolical Succession. In the first tract, which was written by Newman, the question is put, 'On what are we to rest our authority when the State deserts us,' and the answer given is 'On our Apostolical descent.' The Tractarians affirmed that Christ had instituted in his Church a special body of men, deriving their authority by unbroken succession from the Apostles through Episcopal ordination and the imposition of hands. This order of men, it is alleged, are first, priests mediating between Christ and his people, with the right and power to offer sacrifice, to dispense the sacraments, and to grant absolution of sins; and secondly, they are the sole legitimate rulers and governors of the Christian Church. 'As to the fact of the Apostolical Succession,' said one of Newman's associates, '*i.e.*, that our present Bishops are the heirs and representatives of the Apostles by successive transmission of the prerogative of being so, this is too notorious to require proof. Every link in the chain is known from St. Peter to our present Metropolitan.'

Each Bishop, according to this theory, from the Apostolic times down to the present day received in his consecration a mysterious 'gift,' which he transmits in turn to every priest whom he ordains, indicated by the words, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' conferring upon him the power to bind and to loose, to administer the sacraments, and to preach. Ministers not Episcopally ordained have no right to preach the Gospel or to administer the sacraments, let them be as



holy as they may. On the other hand, no matter how ungodly and openly wicked a properly ordained minister may be, divine grace will be communicated through the sacraments dispensed by him, and falsehood from his lips will have the effect of truth to the hearers. 'The unworthiness of man,' it was asserted, 'cannot prevent the goodness of God from flowing in those channels in which he has destined it to flow;' and the Christian congregations of the present day, who sit at the feet of ministers duly ordained, 'have the same reason for reverencing in them the successors of the Apostles, as the primitive Churches of Ephesus and Crete had for honouring in Timothy and Titus the Apostolic authority of him who had appointed them.' So consistently did they carry out this theory to its logical conclusion, that they affirmed that even when a 'duly ordained minister exhibited in his sermons a wrong system of doctrine, the Church would certainly receive profit from his preaching.' 'When everything,' it was said, 'seems against the true followers of Christ, so that on a carnal calculation you would suppose the services of the Church stripped of all efficacy, then by acting faith in the Head of the ministry they are instructed and nourished, though in the main the given lesson be falsehood and the proffered sustenance little better than poison.' Holding this theory it was natural that Mr. Newman, in the first Tract, should ask, 'Why should we talk so little of an Apostolical Succession? Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with this plain truth, that by separating themselves from our communion they separate themselves not only from a decent, orderly, useful society, but from the only Church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure she has the Lord's body to give to his people?'

Closely connected with this theory of Apostolical Succession is the notion entertained by Tractarians respecting the nature and validity of the sacraments. In their opinion Baptism and the Lord's Supper are

not simply expressive rites symbolical of religious doctrines, and capable of awakening religious emotion through the medium of the senses and imagination; they are themselves the channel through which a 'supernatural grace' is communicated, but only when they are administered by a minister who is in the line of Apostolic Succession. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is held by a large party in the English Church who are not Tractarians; but the leaders of that party contend not only that regeneration is effected in every case of baptism administered by a properly ordained minister, but that there is no certain hope of the pardon of sin wilfully committed after that rite has been administered. 'The Church,' says Dr. Pusey, 'has no second baptism to give, and so she cannot pronounce him who sins after baptism altogether free from his past sins. There are but two periods of absolute cleansing—baptism and the day of judgment.' If this doctrine were true, another leading Tractarian would have been warranted to speak, as he has done almost blasphemously, of 'the vastness of the power claimed by the Church—a power which places it almost on a level with God Himself—the power of forgiving sins by wiping them out in baptism, of transferring souls from hell to heaven without admitting a doubt of it.'

As to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the doctrines taught by the Tractarians differed only in the language employed to describe it from the Roman Catholic tenet of Transubstantiation. When the founders of this school met in council to organize its operations, they pledged themselves to the belief that 'the participation in the body and blood of Christ is essential to the maintenance of Christian life and hope in each individual,' or, as Mr. Keble expressed it, is 'the only way of salvation;' and 'that it is conveyed to individual Christians only by the hands of the successors of the Apostles and their delegates'—that is, Bishops and Priests. They contend strongly for the mysterious and miraculous character of the



Eucharist, and ask, 'Is there all the difference, or indeed anything more than the difference, between things seen and unseen (a difference worth nothing in faith's estimate), between healing the sick and converting the soul, raising man's natural body and raising him in baptism from the death of sin? Is the wonder wrought at the marriage of Cana a miracle, and *the change which the holy elements undergo as consecrated by the priest* and received by the faithful no miracle, simply because the one was perceptible to the natural eye, while the other is discerned by the spiritual alone?'

As these notions have received no countenance from the Holy Scriptures, the Tractarians asserted that the Bible is not the sole or a perfect rule of faith, and that it is to be supplemented by tradition, which is exalted by them into a co-ordinate authority. Hence the reverence with which they regard the Fathers as the historians of tradition, whose most childish fancies, stories of pretended miracles, and whimsical and ridiculous interpretations of Scripture they adopt and eulogize. Hence, too, the doctrine of development on which the Papal Church lays such stress, and has turned so largely to account. The doctrine of 'reserve' in the mode of exhibiting, or rather veiling Christian truth, was also borrowed from Rome, and it was even contended that the doctrine of the atonement should not be set forth by ministers in an explicit and prominent manner. Prayers for the dead were openly justified as being, in the opinion of Newman, 'Catholic and apparently Apostolical;' and with regard to the Popish doctrine of Purgatory we are told that, 'taken in the mere letter, there is little in it against which we shall be able to sustain formal objections.' It was strongly recommended that the image of the cross—'a holy and efficacious emblem'—should be multiplied far and wide, and 'with the cross should be associated other Catholic symbols. For these painted windows seem to furnish a suitable place. They should at all events be confined to

the most sacred portion of the building. Such are the lamb with the standard, the descending dove, the anchor, the triangle, the pelican, the fish, and others.' The absence of anointing at baptism and confirmation was lamented as the 'loss of a privilege.' It was recommended that 'two wax candles should be placed upon the altar,' that is, over the communion table, and to use altar-cloths, flowers woven into wreaths and chaplets, the dedication by private Christians of particular days to the religious commemoration of deceased saints, and to employ in their honour a service after the pattern of an office in the breviary of a Roman saint. 'Days and places,' it was said, 'specially dedicated to the saints, are means to us of communion with them. They not only remind us of them, and lead us to contemplate their lives, but they give us a special interest in the prayers which these blessed spirits offer up day and night before the throne.' Some of the Tractarian writers pleaded openly for the restoration of Monasticism; others expressed their predilection for the celibacy of the clergy. In short, as the system was developed they gradually adopted one by one all the essential principles of Romanism, except submission to Papal authority, and not a few of its rites and ceremonies.

The Tractarian movement at Oxford was regarded at first with curiosity or surprise rather than with apprehension; but as the views and aims of its leaders expanded, and the number of their followers rapidly increased, the public began to suspect the integrity of the authors of the Tracts and of kindred articles in periodicals devoted to the advocacy of their tenets, and to perceive that they were steadily advancing Rome-ward. They talked indeed of a *Via Media*—a middle path between Protestantism and Popery, which they argued was the proper road for the English Church to follow; and their leader spoke of the 'Papal Apostasy,' 'the corrupt system of the Papacy,' declared that Rome was 'heretic,' was 'invaded by an evil genius,' that she



had 'apostatized in the Council of Trent,' that 'she had joined herself in perpetual league to the cause of Antichrist,' and that 'her communion was infected with heresy, and ought to be shunned like the plague.' The sincerity of these strong sentiments was doubted at the time, and it was uncharitably alleged that they were used merely as a blind—not altogether without reason; for their author subsequently acknowledged that he justified himself in publishing such opinions by the excuse that he was not speaking his own words, he was but following a consensus of the divines of his Church. They had ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most able and learned of them. 'I wish,' he said to himself, 'to throw myself into their system. While I say what they say, I am safe.' He now frankly admits, however, that he had reason to fear that such language was to be ascribed in no small measure to a hope of approving himself to persons he respected, and a wish to repel the charge of Romanism. When told, therefore, that the tenets he was advocating were 'sheer Popery,' he replied, 'True; we seem to be making straight for it; but go on a while, and you will come to a deep chasm across the path which makes real approximation impossible.'

These excuses and pleas served their purpose for a time, all the more readily that the efforts of the Tractarians seemed likely to counteract the movements in an opposite direction of the Broad Church party, headed by such men as Arnold and Whately. But when the system was further developed, and the Tracts were devoted to the advocacy of doctrines and ceremonies which had hitherto distinguished the Romish from the Protestant Church, such as auricular confession, prayers for the dead, the intercession of saints, a rigid observance of fasts, the priest praying with his back to the people, the elevation of the bread at the Communion in imitation of the elevation of the host, placing lighted tapers at noonday on the Communion table,

and other similar innovations; when a clergyman holding office in the English Church was seen proceeding through the streets in his surplice, with a crucifix in his hand, to administer the sacrament to a dying parishioner; when the Church of England was described to be in a state that required 'means of *recovery* and *re-establishment* to make her a *pure* branch of the Catholic Church;' when leading Tractarians were heard to declare that they 'hated the Reformers and the Reformation more and more;' when the Reformation was spoken of as all but a fearful judgment, and it was declared that the 'unprotestantizing of the National Church' was an object which they should strain every nerve to accomplish—then it became evident to the most unsophisticated and simple-minded that the alleged 'deep chasm' did not exist, and that the *Via Media*, after striking off at a large angle from the Protestant path, was now leading direct into the broad road which conducted pilgrims to Rome. In short, the 'Anglican Church,' as it was termed by the Tractarians, was to be regarded, according to the Tractarian theory, as a definite society endowed with high gifts exclusively limited to the clergy ordained in an unbroken succession from the Apostles, out of which there is no salvation; it was affirmed in their Tracts that the ministers of this Church possess the gift of inspiration, and are authorized collaterally with the Bible to declare the revealed will of God, not only in the way of interpretation, but also in the assertion of doctrines which are not actually found in Scripture; that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the appointed channel for man's salvation, and that none but an apostolically ordained minister can administer it; that there is a real presence of Christ in the consecrated elements; that General Councils are infallible; that works of penance procure pardon of sins; that there is a Purgatory for the purification of the saints; that there is a sacrifice of the Mass, wherein offering is made to God for the remission of sin; that



celibacy is a holier state than marriage; that the blessed saints intercede with God for men, and that prayers for the dead are desirable. When these tenets were publicly professed and advocated, it became evident to the 'meanest comprehension' that Anglicanism and Romanism were twin sisters.

Meanwhile the Tractarians, emboldened by the manifest reluctance of the Bishops to interfere with them, proceeded to develop more and more clearly their system in all its principles and details, either unconscious or regardless of the growing indignation of the people. Tract number lxxx., written by Mr. Isaac Williams, which advocated 'reserve' in communicating religious knowledge, and contended that the 'mysteries' of religion should not be made known to the general public, provoked a serious outcry, and was understood, not without reason, to recommend that their most unpopular doctrines, leading direct to Romanism, should be kept back till the public mind was prepared to receive them. A tract by Newman, on the Breviary, was so Romanizing that it drew down a remonstrance even from Dr. Bagot, the High-Church Bishop of Oxford; and Tract lxxxix., on 'the Mysticism of the Fathers,' not only defended but eulogized many of the stupendous errors of patristic allegory, which to sober-minded interpreters of Scripture seem the merest dreams of a crazed fancy. But Tract number xc. brought matters to a crisis. Crosses, crucifixes, triangles, anchors, doves, fishes, garlands, and other ecclesiastic frippery, had excited a strong feeling in the community; and when one after another of the more forward and hot-headed Tractarians went over to Rome, no one could doubt what was the tendency if not the object of the system. But the publication of the notorious tract referred to elicited a burst of public indignation which seems to have astonished and overawed the leaders of the party.

The object of the Tract, as Mr. Newman its author declares, was to 'minimize'

the teaching of the Articles, in order to induce the members of his party who were inclined to go over to the Romish communion to remain within the pale of the English Church. He aimed at showing that a clergyman could subscribe to the Articles of the Established Church, and yet hold almost all the Popish doctrines against which these Articles were regarded as a protest. He maintained that the Thirty-nine Articles were not really opposed to the Romish doctrines, but might be subscribed by those who were in heart at one with the Papal system. It was confidently asserted by him that these Articles were directed, not against the doctrines of Popery, but only against the popular abuses of these doctrines; that they condemned Masses, but not the Mass; that they were not written against the creed of the Romish Church, but only against actual existing errors in its practice; that a clergyman may subscribe these Articles and yet believe in the Mass, in Purgatory, indulgences, worshipping and adoration of relics, and the invocation of saints; may hold that confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction are sacraments, though the Articles expressly declare that they 'are not to be counted for sacraments of the gospel;' and may contend that General Councils 'gathered together in the name of Christ' are infallible, though the Articles affirm that such councils 'may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God.' The attempt thus made to explain away the plainest and most explicit statements of these Articles, and to reconcile the creed of the Episcopal Church with the dogmas of Popery, was received with a storm of indignation the violence of which startled Newman himself, who says, strangely enough, that he was 'quite unprepared for its violence.' The 'priestly glossing' of the Tract was compared to the moral jugglery and the mental reservations of the Jesuits, as saying one thing and meaning another and vitally different thing, as destructive



of public truth and morality, and as fitted to destroy all confidence in the honour and good faith of mankind.

The University of Oxford was thrown into a fever of excitement, and clamorous demands were made that adequate punishment should be inflicted on 'the traitor who would betray the citadel he was sworn to defend.' Four of the leading tutors, of whom the present Archbishop of Canterbury was one, published a letter stating that the Tract had a tendency to 'mitigate' the differences between Roman and Anglican doctrine; and the Hebdomadal Council, consisting of the vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors, held a meeting (March 15, 1841) to consider the complaint of the four tutors, and passed the following resolution—'Considering that it is enjoined in the statutes of the University that every student shall be instructed and examined in the Thirty-nine Articles, and shall subscribe to them; considering also that a Tract has recently appeared, dated from Oxford, and entitled "Remarks on certain passages in the Thirty-nine Articles," being Number Ninety of Tracts for the Times, a series of anonymous publications purporting to be written by members of the University, but which are in no way sanctioned by the University itself: Resolved that modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the same Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes.'

A great outcry was made at the time by the Tractarians and their friends that the action of the Hebdomadal Board was precipitate, and that they refused to delay even for a day their decision on the subject. But no explanation whatever could have rendered the Tract less offensive or jesuitical, and the all but universal opinion now, after the lapse of forty years, is that the sentence was just. As one of the

Bishops said, 'Under the specious pretence of deference to antiquity and respect for primitive models, the foundations of the Protestant Church are undermined by men who dwell within her walls, and those who sit in the Reformers' seat are traducing the Reformation.' The strong feeling which this attempt to explain away the meaning of the Articles excited, at length compelled the High-Church Bishop of the Diocese to intimate his strong desire that the Tracts should be discontinued, and this step was accordingly taken. From this time onward the views of the party were set forth mainly in the *British Critic*, of which Newman was the editor. But their zeal was in no degree checked by the disapprobation of 'the successors of the Apostles,' to whose authority they had hitherto professed almost slavish obedience. One after another, the leaders of the party found their appropriate asylum in the bosom of the Papacy; but the great majority retained their livings, though they had abandoned the principles of the Church whose bread they eat, and from the vantage-ground of the parishes, the pulpits, the Universities and the Sees of the National Church they have continued most dishonestly to undermine the Protestant faith, and to propagate all the essential principles of the Romish system.

At this period of restlessness and excitement, both religious and secular, another sect sprang into existence, which for several years attracted a good deal of attention and led to not a little angry controversy—the Irvingites, as they were termed, from the most eminent person connected with the society. Edward Irving, one of the most powerful and impressive pulpit orators of his day, began his remarkable career in London in 1822, where he was appointed minister of a little Scottish Church in Hatton Garden. His personal appearance, commanding, prophet-like manner, and peculiar mode of thought and language speedily made an impression on the public, notwithstanding the disadvantageous posi-



tion in which his ministry in London began. But the immediate origin of Irving's sudden and remarkable popularity, and the circumstance which led to a crowd of noble and fashionable hearers pouring in upon his chapel, is said to have been a speech of Canning's in the House of Commons. Sir James Mackintosh had accidentally been led to hear the new preacher, and was much struck with the words uttered by Irving in his prayer, describing a family of orphans as now 'thrown upon the fatherhood of God.' He repeated the words to Canning, who 'started,' as Mackintosh said, and made an engagement to accompany the philosophic historian to the Scottish Chapel next Sunday. Shortly after, a discussion took place in the House of Commons, in which reference was made to the resources of the Church and the necessity of liberal endowments, in order to secure eminent clerical abilities. Canning told the House that so far from universal was this rule that he himself had lately heard a Scottish minister, trained in one of the most poorly endowed of Churches and established in one of her outlying dependencies possessed of no endowment at all, preach the most eloquent sermon he had ever listened to. The curiosity awakened by Canning's speech was the first beginning of the invasion of 'Society' on the mean and dingy-looking Caledonian Chapel and its gifted minister. Crowds of people, mainly of the intelligent, the learned, the intellectual, and the noble—statesmen, poets, painters, philosophers, literary men, merchants, members of Parliament, peers and fashionable ladies, mingled with shopkeepers and mechanics—flocked to hear the Scottish orator, who thus at a bound 'sprang out of obscurity with a sudden unexampled leap to the giddiest height of popular applause, abuse, and idolatry.' Irving's tall and stalwart figure, rich deep-toned voice, remarkable countenance, and prodigious energy heightened the effect of his fearless denunciation of everything, civil or ecclesiastical, which he considered wrong;

while his style, which was formed on the model of the old Puritans, attracted attention by its quaint phraseology and abrupt simplicity. The attacks made upon him by the wittlings of the metropolis, squibs and caricatures, as well as the criticism of all the leading periodicals, including the *Quarterly* and *Westminster Reviews*, contributed not a little to the extraordinary sensation produced by Irving's remarkable style of oratory. In the zenith of his fame he published a volume of discourses under the title of 'For the Oracles of God; Four Orations: For Judgments to Come; an Argument in Nine Parts,' three editions of which were called for in little more than six months. It excited greater attention, was more extensively criticised with a greater diversity of opinion, than probably any other volume of sermons ever published in the English language. The work has now sunk into oblivion; but though disfigured by numerous and glaring faults in style and manner and taste, it contains many passages of extraordinary beauty and spirit-stirring eloquence, which deserved to survive.

Irving's popularity continued with no abatement for about two years, and a new and stately church was erected for him in Regent Square, capable of accommodating at least two thousand persons. But unfortunately his thirst for applause had grown morbid, and strong excitement had become a necessity of his nature. 'There was now,' says Carlyle, 'the impossibility to live neglected; to walk on the quiet paths where alone it is well with us; singularity must henceforth succeed singularity.' The crowd of frivolous sight-seers and fashion-hunters soon flocked elsewhere in pursuit of some new object of attraction; and Carlyle, who was Irving's early and intimate friend, was of opinion that it was his eager and vain attempts to retain his hold on the class who at one time thronged his church which led him astray from the path of sober and sound doctrine, and entangled him inextricably in absurdity and error. There can



be little doubt that the excitement which he had created had been too powerful for even his strong understanding and noble spirit to control, and that he now found it impossible to pause in his fervid career. But there were other and more potent causes at work, hurrying him on towards the goal which he was soon to reach. Irving had become a most enthusiastic disciple of Coleridge, and the influence of the Highgate sage contributed not a little to increase the tendency the Scottish minister had already manifested to mysticism and obscurity. Though Irving's sermons and prayers still manifested power, and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, their mysticism and extreme allegorization rendered them always wearisome, and often unintelligible. He now devoted himself with characteristic ardour to the exposition of unfulfilled prophecy, and through that medium sought to explain the difficulties of the Bible, and the condition and prospects of humanity. In a bulky volume entitled 'Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed by God,' published in 1826, he ventured to predict the exact date of the final overthrow of Popery and Infidelity, and confidently fixed upon the year 1868 as the period when the Millennial reign of Christ on earth was to commence. He next adopted the opinion that it was the want of faith alone which prevented the miraculous gifts conferred upon the primitive Church from being enjoyed by the Church in modern times, and the ministers of the one from doing what had been done by the Apostles of the other. Having for some time earnestly prayed for and eagerly expected the return of these miraculous gifts, it was natural that he should ere long believe that they had been again bestowed upon the Church.

Shortly before this period Irving had come under the influence of Mr. Henry Drummond, a banker and member of Parliament, a very remarkable man. He was the recognized head of a small body of religious men, whose principal bond of union

seems to have been a confident belief in the Second Advent of Christ. His character presented a curious combination of a believer in all the mysteries of religion, and a shrewd caustic man of the world. His wealth, high social position, and restless activity, combined with his impatient, fastidious, and wilful disposition, made him very arbitrary in his dealings with others, and especially with those whose connection with him arose out of their common religious belief. He held conferences of students of prophecy, lasting for six days at a time, at his country-seat, Albury in Surrey, which were regularly attended by Irving, and of course served to confirm him in his expectation that the Millennium would commence at no distant day. The influence of the impetuous and imperious Albury religious potentate on the simple-minded, tender-hearted Scottish preacher was not beneficial, and tended to make him plunge deeper and deeper into mystical and prophetic speculations, and as his biographer says, 'to cast wistful looks over all the world, not only for prophecies fulfilled, but for signs approaching—watching the gleams upon the horizon which should herald the advent of the Lord.' When Irving was in this state of mind, a kind of religious frenzy broke out at Row, on the Firth of Clyde. A girl of the name of Mary Campbell was supposed to be dying of consumption. 'One of her sisters, along with a female friend who had come to the house for that end,' wrote Irving, 'had been spending the whole day in humiliation and fasting, and prayer before God with a special respect to the restoration of the "gifts." They had come up in the evening to the sick chamber of the sister, who was laid on a sofa, and along with one or two others of the household they were engaged in prayer together. When in the midst of their devotions the Holy Ghost came with mighty power upon the sick woman, as she lay in her weakness, and constrained her to speak at great length and with superhuman strength in an unknown tongue, to the



astonishment of all who heard and to her "own great edification."

The excitement soon spread to the opposite shores of the Firth of Clyde. A family in humble life, of the name of Macdonald, contained an invalid sister who one day addressed her two brothers, James and George, at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James that he might *at that time* be endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost. Almost instantly James calmly said, 'I have got it.' He walked to the window and stood silent for a minute or two. He then walked up to his sister's bedside, and addressed her in these words, 'Arise and stand upright.' He repeated the words, took her by the hand, and she rose. The next step taken by James Macdonald was to write to Mary Campbell, conveying to her the same command which had been so effectual in the case of his sister. On receipt of this letter she too rose up, and declared herself healed. 'Whatever the cause,' says Irving's biographer, 'the result was real. Mary Campbell, who before this time had been confined to bed, from this moment without any interval returned to active life; became, as was natural, the centre of double curiosity and interest; spoke, expounded, gave forth the utterances of her power in crowded assemblies, and entered into the full career of a prophetess and gifted person.' The whole country was speedily ringing with the tale of these wondrous events, and not a few implicitly believed that a new miraculous dispensation, embodying the gifts of Tongues and of Healing, was inaugurated in all the power of Apostolic times.

It is not difficult to understand the effect which the news of these manifestations had upon a mind like Irving's, in the state in which it then was. 'A subtle agitation of hope, wonder, and curiosity pervaded the Church, which, under Irving's half miraculous realizations of every truth he touched, must have been fully prepared for the entirely miraculous whenever it should appear with reasonable warrant and wit-

ness.' Instances of miraculous healing were now alleged to be taking place on the banks of the Thames, of the same nature with those that had been witnessed on the shores of the Gareloch, and these were followed by manifestations in Irving's own congregation. 'Two of my flock,' he wrote to a friend in July, 1831, 'have received the gift of tongues and prophecy.' They had prayed for these gifts, and had not, he said, 'dared to believe that when we asked for bread He gave us a stone, and when we asked fish He gave us a serpent.' 'The Spirit took them, and made them speak in a tongue—sometimes singing in a tongue, sometimes speaking words in a tongue, and by degrees this gift was perfected until they were moved to speak in a tongue even in the presence of others. Then in process of time, perhaps at the end of a fortnight, the gift perfected itself so that they were made to speak in a tongue and to prophesy; that is, to set forth in English words for exhortation, for edification, and comfort.' Irving then proceeded to 'try the spirits,' but, as his biographer says, 'his was not a mind judicial, impartial, able to confine itself to mere evidence,' and prepossessed as he was with the notion that these gifts were directly sent in answer to prayer, he had no misgivings as to the genuineness of the manifestations, which had now become frequent at his prayer meetings. He hesitated, however, for some weeks to suffer the utterances in his Church even in the morning meetings; but the warning and reproving voices which interrupted his prayers and exhortations in private meetings were not to be restrained. These prophets told him, in mournful outbursts, that he was restraining the Spirit of God. He could not bear this reproach; and believing that the exhortations and reproofs came from God, he felt that he had no choice but to obey them.

Matters soon came to a crisis. Early in November Irving delivered two sermons on the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and both at the morning and evening services



the congregation was disturbed by individuals pretending to the miraculous gift of tongues. In the morning a lady, unable as she said to restrain herself, rushed into the vestry, and spoke for some time in an unknown tongue, while another from the same impulse ran down the side aisle out of the church. 'The sudden, doleful, and unintelligible sounds,' said an eye-witness of the scene, 'being heard by all the congregation, produced the utmost confusion; the act of standing up, the exertion to hear, see, and understand, by 1600 or 2000 persons, created a noise which may be easily conceived.' Irving paused in his preaching when this strange interruption occurred; and when order was restored he stated that the occurrence was not new except in the congregation, where he had been for some time considering the propriety of introducing it; but though satisfied of the correctness of such a measure, he was afraid of dispersing the flock. Nevertheless, as it was now brought forward by God's will, he felt it his duty to submit.

In the evening there was a tremendous crowd, and great excitement. Mr. Irving had nearly finished his discourse when another of the ladies spoke. Then a gentleman in the gallery rose from his seat, and commenced a violent harangue in the unknown tongue. The confusion occasioned was extreme. The whole congregation rose from their seats in affright. Several ladies screamed aloud, and others rushed to the door. 'There was, indeed, in the strange, unearthly, and extraordinary power of voice, enough to appal the most stout-hearted.'

There was considerable difference of opinion respecting the precise nature and meaning of the sounds thus uttered by the prophets and prophetesses. Some asserted that the 'tongue' was real language. Mary Campbell affirmed that the tongue given to her was that of the Pelew Islands, of which she was not likely to know much; while others expressed their conviction that it was the Turkish or Chinese language. A third class declared that it was mere

gibberish, utterly devoid of meaning. But in the end the devout believers in the miraculous character of these manifestations came to the conclusion that the tongues were not actual languages, but only 'a supernatural sight attestation' of the intelligible prophecy which followed. But when the unintelligible utterances did pass into English they were found to contain exhortations, warnings, or commands of the most commonplace character, which it required no supernatural power to discover and set forth.

The die was now cast; the door once opened could not be shut. The manifestations grew in number and intensity, and were completely beyond Irving's control. He became a spectator, rather than an actor, in the strange scenes that were now regularly witnessed in his church. The prophets assumed a higher authority than his in the regulation of its proceedings, and not unfrequently addressed him in the language of warning, admonition, and rebuke. A Mr. Baxter, in particular, carried matters with a high hand, and not only interpreted prophecy, but uttered predictions. He fixed the day and the year when the 'rapture of the saints' was to take place; he laid claim to the character of an apostle, declared 'in the power' that the Church no longer retained the privilege of ordaining, and that all spiritual offices were henceforth to be filled by the 'gifted,' or those specially called through the gifted by the Spirit of God. Irving was troubled, and no wonder, at some of these manifestations; and when addressed in 'a commanding tone' by Baxter, who afterwards confessed that he had been all along under a delusion, 'he was much startled, and doubted whether it was of God or of the enemy,' and said to the prophet, 'Faith is hard;' but in the end he always submitted to 'the gifted brethren.' About this time the exorcism of an evil spirit was attempted by Mary Campbell (afterwards Mrs. Caird) and Mr. Baxter, who stood over the supposed demoniac, adjuring the devil to come out of him, but without



success. Irving, who was a looker on, only ventured to utter the significant suggestion, 'This kind goeth not forth but with prayer and fasting.' He looked on helpless, and doubting, and 'trying the spirits with anxious scrutiny,' while 'prophet after prophet, with convulsed frame and miraculous outcry, took up the burden and enforced the message of his predecessor, by times electrifying the little assembly with sudden denunciation of some secret sin in the midst of them, or of some intruding devil who has found entrance into the sacred place.'

Irving's conduct had long been regarded with uneasiness and suspicion by the Church of Scotland, and it was at length brought under the notice of the London Presbytery by the trustees of his church in Regent Square, in accordance with the advice of Sir Edward Sugden; and by the decision of that court he was excluded from the building on the ground of the irregular and improper proceedings permitted in the public worship. He and those who still adhered to him found refuge for a time in a large room in Gray's Inn Road, and afterwards, in 1833, in a large picture gallery in Newman Street which had belonged to West the painter. The Presbytery of Annan, by which Irving was licensed, in compliance with the injunction of the Commission of Assembly, summoned him to appear before them on a charge of heresy arising out of his opinions respecting the human nature of Christ. The proceedings terminated in his deposition from the office of the ministry, and his final separation from the Scottish Church.

It is a significant fact most characteristic of the 'Albury School of Prophets,' as they were termed from their rich and powerful patron, that on Irving's return to Newman Street after his deposition, sad and weary, and with a sorely wounded heart, 'he was received, not with extraordinary honours as a martyr, but with an immediate interdict "in the power," forbidding him to exercise any priestly function, to administer sacraments, or to assume anything out of the province of the deacon, the lowest office in

the newly-formed Church.' He was not even permitted to preach except in those 'less sacred assemblies in which the outer world of unbelievers were admitted to meet the Church; but in the Church itself he sat silent, deprived of his office, no longer the angel to whom the apostle himself had to bow, but a simple servant—doorkeeper in the house of the Lord.' He had no expectation of so extraordinary a proceeding; but not a syllable of complaint upon the subject ever came from his lips. 'The prophets spoke and elders ruled; but in the midst of them Irving sat silent, listening wistfully, if perhaps the voice from heaven might come to restore him to that office which was the vocation of his life.' At last, while he sat in the lowest place, and waited with rare humbleness of mind, the 'utterance' called him to resume his office. As the authorized 'Chronicle' of the Church expressed it, by 'the concurrent action in manifested supernatural power, both of prophet and apostle, he was called and ordained angel or chief pastor of the flock assembled in Newman Street.' The sacred office was restored to him by 'the apostolic hands of Mr. Cardale, at the command of one of the ecstatic speakers;' and Irving humbly accepted that re-ordination.

The general public continued still to take an interest in these 'spiritual manifestations,' and the place of meeting was generally crowded with curious spectators who seem to have been at a loss whether to ascribe the 'utterances' to imposture or fanaticism. Among others the Clerk of the Council found his way to Newman Street, and his description of the 'exhibition of tongues' which he witnessed represents it correctly as it appeared to the outer world. 'The chapel,' he says, 'is oblong, with a semicircular recess at one end. It has been fitted up with galleries all round; and in the semicircle there are tiers of benches, in front of which is a platform with an elevated chair for Irving himself, and a sort of desk before it; on each side of the chair are three arm-chairs, on which three



other preachers sat. The steps from the floor to the platform were occupied by men (whether peculiarly favoured or not, I don't know); but the seats behind Irving's chair are evidently appropriated to the higher class of devotees, for they were the best dressed of the congregation. The business was conducted with decency, and the congregation was attentive. It began with a hymn, the words given out by one of the assistant preachers and sung by the whole flock. This, which seems to be common to all Dissenting services, is always very fine, the full swell of human voices producing a grand effect. After this Irving delivered a prayer in a very slow drawling tone, rather long, and not at all striking in point of language or thought. When he had finished, one of the men sitting beside him arose, read a few verses from the Bible, and discoursed thereon. He was a sorry fellow, and was followed by two others not much better. After these three Spencer Perceval\* stood up. He recited the duty to our neighbour in the Catechism, and descanted on that text in a style in all respects far superior to the others. He appeared about to touch on politics, and (as well as I can recollect) was saying, "Ye trusted that your institutions were unalterable; ye believed that your loyalty to your king, your respect for your nobility, your"—when suddenly a low moaning voice was heard, on which he instantly stopped, threw his arm over his breast, and covered his eyes in an attitude of deep devotion, as if oppressed by the presence of the Spirit. The voice, after ejaculating three "Oh's," one rising above the other in tones very musical, burst into a flow of unintelligible jargon, which whether it was in English or gibberish I could not discover. This lasted five or six minutes, and as the noise was silenced, another woman, in more passionate and louder tones, took it up; this last spoke in English, and words though not sentences

were distinguishable. I had a full view of her, sitting exactly behind Irving's chair. She was well-dressed, spoke sitting, under great apparent excitement, and screamed on till from exhaustion, as it seemed, her voice gradually died away, and all was still. Then Spencer Perceval in slow and solemn tones resumed, not where he had left off, but with an exhortation to hear the voice of the Lord, which had just been uttered to the congregation; and after a few more sentences he sat down. Two more followed him, and then Irving preached. His subject was God's love, upon which he poured forth a mystical, incomprehensible rhapsody, with extraordinary vehemence of manner and power of lungs. There was nothing like eloquence in his sermon, no musical periods to captivate the ear, no striking illustrations to charm the imagination; but there is undoubtedly something in his commanding figure and strange wild countenance, his vehemence, and above all the astonishing power of his voice, its compass, intonation, and variety, which arrests attention and gives the notion of a great orator. I dare say he can speak well, but to waste real eloquence on such an auditory would be like throwing pearls to swine.'

The 'Albury School of Prophets' were of opinion that before the Second Advent took place there would intervene a time of great tribulation and a brief triumph of evil, and this notion was shared by not a few who had no sympathy with their peculiar opinions. At the time when the cholera was raging and the whole country was in a state of commotion, and 'men's hearts were failing them for fear and for looking after the things that were coming on the earth,' the large-hearted, liberal-minded Dr. Arnold wrote in reply to a question about the alleged Irvingite 'gift:—'If the thing be real, I should take it merely as a sign of the coming of the day of the Lord—the only use, as far as I can make out, that ever was derived from the gift of tongues. I do not see that it was ever made a

\* Son of Mr. Spencer Perceval, the well-known Prime Minister, 1809-1812.



vehicle of instruction or ever superseded the study of tongues, but that it was merely a sign of the power of God—a man being for the time a mere instrument to utter sounds which he himself understood not. However, whether this be a real sign or no, I believe that “the day of the Lord” is coming—that is, the termination of one of the great “ages” of the human race, whether the final one of all or not: that I believe no created being knows, or can know. The termination of the Jewish “age” in the first century, and of the Roman “age” in the fifth and sixth, were each marked by the same concurrence of calamities—wars, tumults, pestilences, earthquakes, &c.; all marking the time of one of God’s peculiar seasons of visitation . . . My sense of the evil of the times, and to what prospects I am bringing up my children, is overwhelmingly bitter. All the moral and physical world appears so exactly to announce the coming of “the great day of the Lord,” that is, a period of fearful visitation to terminate the existing state of things—whether to terminate the whole existence of the human race, neither man nor angel knows—that no entireness of private happiness can possibly close my mind against the sense of it.’

Meanwhile affairs were proceeding from bad to worse with Irving. If the Church of his fathers had chastised him with whips, his new associates were chastising him with scorpions. They required him to be instructed in the duties and position of this new office of Angel, which at first it appears he did not understand to be anything more than that of a Presbyterian minister. He had to reconcile himself to the newly bestowed spiritual functions (much more wide than those which belonged to the same offices in the Church of Scotland) of the elders and deacons, which their Chronicler declares, and no doubt truly, ‘he had not the least conception of, and at first entertained the utmost repugnance to,’ and no wonder. He had to learn besides that ‘after the apostolic office had

been brought out,’ it was no longer his part to draw conclusions from the prophecies or to follow their guidance upon his own authority; and so contrary was it to his views and practice to ‘await the Apostles’ decision upon these matters, that he still continued to judge and act upon words spoken in his flock, whereby great trouble and perplexity were occasioned to himself and to his people.’ It is added, however, that ‘he at length perceived his error.’ In other words, this large-hearted, simple-minded, really great man was compelled to submit to the dictation of the wretched fanatics whom he had exalted to office and power, and to bow to decisions against which his reason and his heart revolted, because he had brought himself to believe that they were ordained by God.

The end was, however, now at hand. His iron constitution began to give way under his incessant labour and excitement, and premature old age crept upon him. ‘The last time I saw him,’ says Carlyle, ‘friendliness still beamed in his eyes, but now from amidst unquiet fire. His face was flaccid, wasted, unsound; hoary, as with extreme age, he was trembling on the brink of the grave.’ In the month of January, 1834, feeble as he was, he was sent on a message to Edinburgh by the Newman Street conclave, and returned very ill with threatenings of disease in his chest; and it soon became apparent that his wearied frame and broken heart were unable to strive longer with the griefs and disappointments which encompassed him. His medical advisers earnestly warned him that he could not live over the winter, unless he retired to a milder climate and was entirely at rest. But some of the oracular voices proclaimed it to ‘be the will of God that he should go to Scotland and do a great work there.’ The leaders of the community seem, in fact, to have felt his presence among them a restraint; but Irving, the most guileless and simple-minded of men, had no suspicion of their motives, and yielded a prompt and unhesitating obedience to their commands in defiance of the prohi-



bition of his medical attendant, and though scarcely able to walk through the room. The season was inclement, the weather boisterous and stormy; and he reached Glasgow completely exhausted. He died there on the 8th of December. His last words were, 'In life and in death I am the Lord's.' He was only fifty-two years old at the time of his death. He at last found a resting-place in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral. 'Devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.'

Edward Irving, with all his frailties, was a man of devout and earnest spirit, honest, simple-hearted, and bold as a lion. He had a vivid imagination and great power of eloquence, and was a profound and original though not a sound thinker. 'He strove,' says his friend Carlyle, 'with all the force that was in him to be a Christian minister. He might have been so many things; not a speaker only, but a doer—the leader of hosts of men. For his head, when the fog of Babylon had not obscured it, was of strong far-searching insight. His very enthusiasm was sanguine, not *atrabiliar*; he was so loving, full of hope, so simple-hearted, and made all that approached him his. A giant force of activity was in the man; speculation was accident, not nature. But above all, be what he might, to be a reality was indispensable for him. But for Irving I had never known what the communion of man with man means. His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with. I call him on the whole the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world or hope to find.'

So ends one of the strangest, saddest episodes in the history of religious thought during the nineteenth century. At the time of Irving's death it was estimated, that about 50,000 persons throughout Great Britain had adopted his views. These adherents are now known by the designation of the 'Catholic Apostolic Church.'

It is satisfactory to notice that amid the political and ecclesiastical excitement and

controversies at this period, literature and science were making rapid progress. In 1831 took place the first meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The idea of an annual congress of the cultivators of science originated with Professor Oken of Jena, and the first meeting was held at Leipsic in 1822. It was attended by only twenty individuals belonging to that city and twelve strangers. The apparent insignificance of the Association proved its safety, for if it had been attended by a large concourse of members from every part of Germany it would, without doubt, have been suppressed at once by the arbitrary rulers of that country. The Association assembled in successive years, and with continually increasing numbers, at Halle, Wurzburg, Frankfort, and Dresden. In 1827 it met at Munich, where it was cordially patronized by the King of Bavaria. The assemblage at Berlin in 1828 was presided over by the illustrious Humboldt, and its meetings were graced by the presence of the King of Prussia, the Heir-apparent of the Crown, and the other princes of the royal family, as well as by the Prussian nobility and the foreign princes and foreign ambassadors. The *savans* who attended the Berlin meeting amounted to 464, and the strangers to 269. Meetings were subsequently convened at Heidelberg and Hamburg, and the tenth anniversary was fixed to be held at Vienna; but it did not assemble, on account of the prevalence of cholera, at that time, in the Austrian capital and throughout the rest of Germany.

The success of the German Association encouraged four eminent British philosophers and *savans*—Sir David Brewster, Sir John Herschel, Sir Humphry Davy, and Mr. Babbage, who deeply lamented the decline of science and scientific arts in their own country—to try a similar experiment in Great Britain. The honour of originating the scheme belongs to Sir David Brewster. In one of his appeals to the public respect-



ing the neglect of scientific pursuits and the urgent need of prompt measures to arrest its downward course, that distinguished philosopher declared 'that the sciences and arts of England were in a wretched state of depression, and that their decline is mainly owing to the ignorance and supineness of the Government, to the injudicious organization of our scientific boards and institutions, to the indirect persecution of scientific and literary men by their exclusion from all the honours of the State, and to the unjust and oppressive tribute which the patent law exacts from inventors.' He proposed as a remedy for these palpable evils that the example of Germany should be followed in holding annual meetings of eminent cultivators of science and literature, which he was confident would be attended with the most beneficial results. 'An Association,' he said, 'of our nobility, clergy, gentry, and philosophers can alone draw the attention of the sovereign and the nation to this blot upon its fame. Our aristocracy will not decline to resume their proud station as the patrons of genius; and our Boyles and Cavendishes and Montagues and Howards will not renounce their place in the scientific annals of England. The prelates of our national Church will not refuse to promote that knowledge which is the foundation of pure religion, and those noble inquiries which elevate the mind and prepare it for its immortal destination. If the effort fail we must wait for the revival of better feelings, and deplore our national misfortune in the language of the Wise Man, "I returned and saw under the sun that there is neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill."'

The objects of the Association, as defined by its founder, were to revive science from its decline and the scientific arts from their depression; to instruct the Government when ignorant, and stimulate it when supine; to organize more judiciously our

scientific institutions and the public boards to which scientific objects are intrusted; to sweep away the oppression of the patent laws; and to raise scientific and literary men to their just place in society, and vindicate their claims to the same honours as any other class of national benefactors.

Sir David Brewster's appeal excited a strong feeling throughout the country, and in a month or two after its publication (October, 1830) he issued a proposal for a great scientific meeting to be held at York in 1831. York was selected as the most central and convenient point for such a scientific reunion, and because it possessed an active Philosophical Society, at whose apartments the meetings might be conducted. The invitation met with a cordial response from the cultivators and friends of science in every part of the United Kingdom, and accordingly a congress assembled at the place proposed on the 29th of September, at the time when the country was in a state of the greatest excitement respecting the fate of the first Reform Bill. The members of the Association who were present at the first meeting did not exceed 200, but they cherished an enthusiastic admiration of science, and were sanguine as to the usefulness and success of the Institution. Among them were men of the highest scientific eminence, such as Dalton, Brisbane, Brewster, Greenough, Murchison, Harcourt, Lloyd, Pritchard, Howard, Pearson, Smith, Robinson, and Scoresby, with younger men of great promise, who found it equally pleasant and instructive to sit at the feet of these scientific Gamaliels. The Universities, however, stood aloof, Oxford having sent only one representative, Dr. Daubeny, while Cambridge was entirely unrepresented.

In the following year the Association held its second meeting at Oxford on the 18th of June. Dr. Buckland was President, and Sir David Brewster and the Rev. Dr. Whewell Vice-presidents. Although Parliament was sitting at the time, and the Reform excitement had not yet subsided, it was attended by upwards of 700 members,



including a large number of the members of both Houses of Parliament. The meeting was regarded as in all respects most successful. The third meeting was held at Cambridge on the 18th of June, 1833, under the presidency of Professor Sedgewick and the vice-presidency of Dr. Dalton and Professor Airy. The proceedings were carried on with great spirit, and the scientific reports were both able and interesting. The meeting was attended by upwards of 900 members. The 'fourth congress of British philosophers' was held at Edinburgh on the 8th of September, 1834. Sir Thomas Brisbane was President, and Sir David Brewster and the Rev. Dr. Romney Robinson Vice-presidents. This meeting was graced by the presence of a number of distinguished foreigners, the chief of whom were M. Arago, whose splendid discoveries in optics and magnetism had placed him among the first philosophers in Europe; M. Agassiz, the eminent naturalist; Professor Moll, and M. Treviranus. Lord Brougham, who was also present, and was admitted a member by acclamation, added not a little to the interest of the meeting by his powerful eloquence, and eulogized the Association as having brought together 'on the neutral ground of science men of all countries, of all religions, and of all shades of political opinion. Nations and communities and individuals, separated by exasperating feuds, by religious creeds, by speculative differences, and by personal distastes, find here one kindly tie which unites them in the common brotherhood of intellectual natures.' The rapid progress of the Institution was indicated by the gratifying fact that the Edinburgh meeting was attended by 1268 members.

Objections were brought against the Association at the outset, mainly by those who were jealous of its founders and envied their success, to the effect that such a large assemblage must in reality be more an imposing show than a truly valuable and working institution; that its meetings were calculated to encourage and

to bring into notice forward and shallow declaimers, to the exclusion of modest merit, and to lower the character and true dignity of scientific men by giving them inducements and opportunities to make public displays for which their habits are not at all suited. It was further objected that an institution of this kind has a tendency to generate cabals and jealousies amongst its members. There is no doubt some force in these allegations, and experience has proved that a good deal of quackery, of ostentatious display and boasting, has been shown by the unscientific and less qualified members of the scientific world; that there has been a great deal too much of mere talk at the meetings of the Association; and that the modest and patient investigators have been too often thrust aside by forward, presumptuous, and fluent sciolists. But after all deductions have been made on these accounts, it cannot be denied that by bringing together 'a congress of ardent minds willing to impart to each other their intellectual stores, comparing and combining their views and their methods and their objects, animating each other's ambition by the interchange of original discoveries, and uniting their common efforts for promoting the interests of scientific and literary men,' the British Association has to a large extent fulfilled the objects for which it was professedly instituted; has given a stronger impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific inquiry; has promoted the intercourse of scientific men in different parts of the British empire with one another and with foreign philosophers; and has obtained a more general attention to the objects of science, and a removal of not a few of the disadvantages of a public kind which impeded its progress. The originator of the Association, on surveying its progress and the benefits which it has conferred on the scientific world, could say with no less truth than eloquence, 'The primary and grand object of the Congress, that of collecting in the focus of an annual weekly



meeting the lights and the fuel of British science, has been nobly and successfully pursued. This is her vestal fire which will ever burn; this is the true origin of that impulse of high pressure which can alone elevate the prostrate science of England, which can give speed to the faltering steps of its hard-working sons, and which will ultimately wring from a reluctant Government that liberality which every other Government and every other sovereign have voluntarily proffered to the living stars of their empire. Those who have enjoyed the happiness of sitting down at these intellectual banquets can alone judge of the strength and fervour which they infuse into ardent and ambitious minds. To discuss the topics of abstract or natural science at the same board with the Daltons, the Aragos, the Herschels, the Faradays, the Browns, the Airys of modern science, is a privilege of immeasurable value. A light from the union of such minds, or even a spark from their *collision*, would rouse the decaying fires of the oldest sage, would excite the dullest flame of the youngest aspirant, and summon to fresh triumphs the surviving faculties of the most exhausted mind. But besides this electric influence which darts through kindred spirits, the communion of eminent great men presents more direct and durable advantages. At the sectional meetings we have listened for hours to the details of original research; we have examined fine instruments and apparatus; we have been taught new methods of observation; and have witnessed instructive and brilliant experiments. Thus was knowledge added to enthusiasm, and thus was the excited and improved mind sent back to pursue its inquiries with a stronger impulse and in a more systematic direction.

‘But there are other incitements to labour presented by the congenial intercourse of the cultivators and the friends of science. While popular assemblies afford abundant orifices for the discharge of shallow declamation, and sufficiently numerous occasions

for the gratification of pompous vanity modest merit is brought forward even by its own silence; and he whose youthful and unpatronized genius has never had a friend to guide or a patron to approve will here find his labours appreciated, his friendship courted, and his fame extended. Nor are these advantages conferred by his fellow-labourers alone. Rank, and wealth, and official dignity add their applause, and the young philosopher resumes his toils under the strongest and the noblest impulse which can be applied to a generous mind.’

The impetus now given to the extension of knowledge was not limited to men of learning and science. Mechanics’ Institutes may trace their origin to the efforts of Dr. Birkbeck in Glasgow, in the year 1800, to give instruction in the elements of natural and mechanical philosophy to a class of mechanics formed in connection with the Andersonian Institution; but they existed only in an embryotic state until the year 1823, when societies of this kind were organized in many of the large towns of England. Their primary object was to impart instruction to working men in the rules and principles of the various mechanical arts with which they were already practically acquainted. Lectures were given on the elements of natural philosophy, on chemistry, on mechanics, on geometric drawing, and on a variety of other topics bearing more directly upon the occupations of the artisans. Libraries were collected to carry out the instruction suggested in the lectures, and the books were lent out to the members for a small sum. At a subsequent period works on light literature, music, and poetry were introduced and circulated. But the operations of these Institutes and Reading Societies were greatly hampered by the difficulty of obtaining good books on science and literature at a moderate price. Elementary treatises on scientific subjects, adapted to the comprehension of mechanics and artisans, did not in fact exist at this time, and the zealous advocates of national edu-



cation saw that it was absolutely necessary that this want should be supplied.

The first suggestion as to the mode in which works truly elementary could be issued so cheaply as to meet the demands of the members of Mechanics' Institutes was made by Mr. Brougham in his 'Treatise on Popular Education,' published in January, 1823. A most essential service, he said, would be rendered to the cause of knowledge by the person who should prepare elementary treatises on the mathematics sufficiently clear, and yet sufficiently compendious, to exemplify the method of reasoning employed in that science, and to impart an accurate knowledge of the most useful fundamental propositions, with their application to practical purposes; and similar treatises on natural philosophy, which may teach the great principles of physics and their practical application to readers who have but a general knowledge of mathematics, or who are even wholly ignorant of the science beyond the common rules of arithmetic. Mr. Brougham also recommended that political as well as scientific works should be published in a cheap form; treatises on the history and the principles of the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, and the doctrines of political economy would be of great service, he said, both to masters and men, expounding to them the true principles and mutual relations of population and wages. He expressed his hope that a Society would be formed for promoting the composition, publication, and distribution of cheap and useful works for the wide diffusion of solid and practical information among the working classes of the community.

A few months after the publication of this appeal (April, 1825), Mr. Brougham, Lord John Russell, Dr. Lushington, William Allen, and other well-known friends to the education and improvement of mankind, formed themselves into an association under the name of the 'Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.' But the commercial crisis of that year arrested

the progress of the work, and it was not till November, 1826, that the organization of the Society was completed. Large subscriptions were offered by the Duke of Bedford and other liberal friends of education, and in March, 1827, their treatises were initiated by a 'Discourse upon the Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Scientific Pursuits,' intended to prepare the public for the series of dissertations which were to be published upon all branches of physical science. This introductory discourse was followed by treatises published fortnightly, of unexampled cheapness, upon hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, and heat. After the series on natural philosophy was concluded a few were issued on general subjects, and then came a series on the different branches of mathematics. The promise was held out at the commencement that it was the intention of the Society to teach the elements of all the sciences, moral as well as natural, politics, jurisprudence, and universal history, as well as physical science. But for some reason or other, probably connected with the popular excitement at that period and the jealousy with which the proceedings of the Society were regarded in various influential quarters, the projected historical and political treatises were not issued.

The treatises on the various branches of natural philosophy, setting forth profound scientific views in plain and pure English diction, brought these views down to the level of the most ordinary capacity, and for the first time pointed out how advantageous such knowledge is to every class of workmen. Chemistry was shown to be practically useful and immediately profitable to the bleacher, the dyer, the painter, the glass-maker, and the brewer; a knowledge of mechanical powers to engineers; of hydraulics to the canal men; and of vegetation, of zoology, and of mineralogy to the agricultural labourer who has to deal with plants, and with cattle, and with manure. Such knowledge is more important now than ever, for it has become evident that if



our manufacturers are to compete successfully with the industrial productions of other countries; and if our farmers are to hold their ground against the competition of American, Russian, Canadian, and colonial exporters of agricultural produce, it will be absolutely necessary that practical instruction of the kind referred to shall be given to agriculturists, manufacturers, engineers, and mechanics—in short, to handicraftsmen of every grade.

Down to this period the popular literature was of a coarse, vulgar, and degrading character, and if not positively immoral, was fitted to debase rather than to instruct or elevate the character of the poorer classes of the community. But the general thirst for instruction which now began to manifest itself did not long remain ungratified. An immense number of cheap periodicals were originated, but were almost as short-lived as Jonah's gourd, which sprang up in a night and perished in a night. They were started without capital, or any definite plan, or the co-operation of any writers of talent and experience, apparently under the impression that, as their price was small, voluntary and unpaid contributions and extracts from books were all that could be expected or were desired by their readers. The credit of establishing the first really good and cheap periodical belongs to Mr. William Chambers of Edinburgh, with whom was speedily conjoined his younger brother Robert. Mr. Chambers had the sagacity to perceive that a small profit from each copy of a widely circulated publication would amount to a larger sum than the profit derived from a high-priced work of limited circulation. But that in order to procure and sustain a large circulation it was indispensably necessary that the articles which it contained should be written with ability, and should contain useful and agreeable information suited to the taste of the class for whom it was designed. At the commencement of the year 1832 he issued the prospectus of 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,' intended

to 'supply intellectual food of the best kind, and in such form and at such a price as would suit the convenience of every man in the British dominions.' He promised that the Journal should contain original and select papers on literary and scientific subjects, including articles on the formation and arrangement of society, on trade and commerce, observations on education, sketches in topography, and statistics relative to agriculture, gardening, planting, sheep-farming, the making of roads, bridges, and canals; the establishment of ferries, the best means of conveyance by land and water, increase of population, the use of machinery to simplify human labour, manufactures, &c.; information to artisans on the various branches of their industry, and notices of new inventions in mechanics; to the naturalist sketches illustrative of his pursuits; and all this solid and instructive information was to be enlivened by memoirs of eminent men in every walk of life, traditionary anecdotes, and amusing tales and accounts of voyages and travels for the young. The promise thus held out has been amply fulfilled in every department during a period of fifty years, and the extensive circulation which the Journal obtained almost from the first, and retains to the present day, shows that the public has fully appreciated the laborious and persevering efforts of the conductors of the Journal to minister to their intellectual instruction and moral improvement.

Other works, eminently fitted to promote the elevation of the industrial classes of the community, have followed the Journal in steady succession. In 1834 the brothers Chambers issued a series of popular, scientific, and historical treatises entitled, 'Information for the People,' of which the sale of each number averaged 30,000 copies. The 'Cyclopædia of English Literature;' the 'People's Editions' of Standard English Works; the 'Educational Course,' designed to form a complete set of text-books for public or private tuition; 'The Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts;' 'The



Popular Library; 'The Juvenile Library;' 'The Papers for the People,' and numerous other works of a similar kind which followed, have all attained a wide circulation. The efforts of these public-spirited publishers and authors have given to the system of cheap and popular literature a healthy and beneficial direction, and have contributed largely towards the substitution of entertaining and useful works for the coarse and degrading publications which were previously extensively read by the working classes of this country.

Very shortly after 'Chambers's Edinburgh Journal' had been started, the 'Penny Magazine' began to be issued under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, but at the risk of Mr. Charles Knight, an enterprising bookseller who had already published, in 1828, for that Society the 'British Almanac'—which had the effect of at once extinguishing the 'absurd old-world' almanacs—and, still more important, the 'Companion to the Almanac,' an annual publication full of useful general information on the legislative statistics, &c., of each year, which could not be procured elsewhere, and united to valuable original papers all of an instructive kind. In 1831 Mr. Knight wrote and published a very popular and useful work, the 'Results of Machinery,' followed by the 'Rights of Industry, Capital, and Labour.' In the same year he began, for the Useful Knowledge Society, the publication of the 'Library of Entertaining Knowledge.' The 'Penny Magazine,' instituted in 1832, speedily reached a weekly circulation of 200,000 copies, and retained one of 25,000 when it stopped in 1846. A still more important publication was the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' commenced on the 1st of January, 1833—a work at once popular, original, and exhaustive, sold at a penny a number. The total cost of authorship and engraving of this Cyclopædia was not less than £42,000, and the excise duty for the paper used in it amounted to £16,500. It was

not without reason that the enterprising publisher complained that, so far from receiving any encouragement from the Government in his efforts to disseminate useful information, and to promote the intellectual, moral, and industrial interests of the people, he had been compelled in the course of twenty years to contribute to the public revenue in paper duty the large sum of £50,000, while he had spent £80,000 on copyright and editorial labour.

It was stipulated in the charter of the Useful Knowledge Society that there was to be no division of profits. The gains, therefore, from their more popular works were devoted to the publication of more costly works, which could not be expected to yield any pecuniary profit, such as the 'Statistics of the British Empire.' The publication of the Society's Atlas led at once to a reduction in the cost and an improvement of the quality of maps. The same remark holds good with respect to the Society's Geographical and Astronomical Maps, its 'Cyclopædia,' its 'Library of Entertaining Knowledge,' 'Journal of Education,' and other valuable works brought out under its patronage. Other societies followed its example. The Christian Knowledge Society, for instance, established their 'Saturday Magazine' after the model of the 'Penny Magazine;' and numerous interesting and instructive periodicals have since been instituted on a similar pattern. But to the Useful Knowledge Society belongs the credit, not of being the founders of the system of cheap literature, but of both stimulating and supplying the demand for sound information on an immense variety of interesting and important subjects, and of driving out of the field the debasing works which had previously formed the staple literature of the common people in England. No act of the Legislature, no efforts of a public police, could have accomplished what was effected by simply affording the community a more agreeable and improving means of entertainment.



## CHAPTER X.

Difficulties of the Melbourne Ministry—Hostility of the King and Court—Character of the Premier—Defeat of Lord John Russell and Mr. Charles Grant—Irish Ministerial appointments—Lord Auckland nominated Governor-General of India—The Irish Tithe Bill—The Appropriation Clause rejected by the Lords—The Bill in consequence withdrawn—Ecclesiastical Controversies in Scotland—Church Extension—Appointment of a Commission to inquire into the subject—Dissatisfaction of the Clergy—State of Municipal Corporations—Inquiry into their condition—Bill for the reform of the Scottish Burghs carried—Abuses in the English Municipalities—Bill for their reform carried in the Commons—Mutilated in the Lords—The Government, supported by Sir Robert Peel, reject the amendments of the Peers—The Bill becomes law—Insulting and imprudent conduct of the King towards the Ministry—Orange Lodges—Their illegal constitution and conduct brought before the House of Commons—Their existence in the Army—Treasonable Intrigues of their Leaders—Condemned by the House of Commons—Dissolution of the Lodges—Agricultural Distress—Motion of the Marquis of Chandos—Death of William Cobbett—Mr. Robinson's motion for the Taxation of the Country—Unpopularity of the House of Lords—O'Connell's Tour of Agitation in the North of England and Scotland—Attacks upon him by the Tories—His abuse of Lord Alvanley—Carlow Election—Charge brought against O'Connell by Raphael—His acquittal by a Committee of the House of Commons.

WHEN Lord Melbourne announced to the House of Lords the formation of his Government, he spoke of the difficulties he would have to encounter as 'great and arduous—many, indeed, of a peculiar and severe kind.' And there could be no doubt of the accuracy of his statement. The king and the court were bitterly hostile to the new Administration; so were the great majority of the House of Lords, led by one of the greatest generals England had ever produced, along with one of the most formidable masters of argument and biting sarcasm that ever adorned that assembly. In the Lower House they had to encounter the opposition of a compact and powerful minority irritated, but not discouraged, by defeat, under the leadership of one of the most skilful Parliamentary tacticians and powerful debaters of modern times, aided by the fiery eloquence of Lord Stanley and the cogent and impressive arguments of Sir James Graham. This most serious difficulty of the Ministry, as usual, arose out of the state of affairs in Ireland—the alliance with O'Connell, who was peculiarly obnoxious to the great body of the people of England, and the necessity of effecting a settlement of the tithe system in that disturbed country, and of combining with that measure the appropriation clause, which the Lords were certain to reject. The Prime Minister, however, was not a man to be dismayed by

difficulties. His abilities and attainments and fitness for the position in which he was placed were as yet only partially known to the nation, but his friends and associates had long been aware that he possessed not a few qualities of a first-rate kind, which are not often found in combination. He had an intellect of a high order, which had been improved by careful cultivation, a cool and courageous temperament, a dispassionate and unprejudiced mind, and a remarkably good-humoured and conciliatory manner. He was an excellent classical scholar, was familiar with all the best English writers and with those of France and Italy; he also possessed an extraordinary amount and variety of general and miscellaneous knowledge, and, strange to say, was fond of controversial divinity and church history. In private life his manners were singularly graceful and agreeable. His mirth was natural and sparkling, and the picturesque drollery of expression and genial wit which characterized many of his sayings rendered him a most delightful companion. Though not deficient either in feeling or imagination, he had no pretensions to eloquence. His speeches usually consisted of short and striking sentences, expressing home-truths or common-sense conclusions, and, occasionally, philosophic views in terse, familiar, and idiomatic language. In the House of



Commons, and indeed at first in the Upper House, though an effective he was a very rare speaker. But when he was placed at the head of affairs he soon displayed some of the most useful and telling qualities of a good debater—a thorough knowledge of his audience; a frankness and good nature which disarmed an enemy; a ready wit, which was always at hand to encounter an obstinate antagonist; and such sound and statesmanlike views on all important subjects as gave the tone of wisdom to his raillery and the air of dignity to his ease. His handsome and manly countenance and noble figure, his melodious and resonant voice, and his manner, at once frank and spirited, no doubt contributed not a little to the effect of his speeches. Add to all this that Lord Melbourne was remarkably straightforward and upright in all he said and did—had no selfish or sinister ends to pursue—was so utterly without vanity that he could not even comprehend its influence upon others; and though not without ambition, ‘the last infirmity of noble minds,’ it was always directed to worthy and noble ends.

Lord Melbourne’s dislike to all exaggeration and false pretension led him not unfrequently to conceal his real feelings, and to pretend to be careless and indifferent about matters in which he really cherished a deep interest. This affectation of indolence and negligence, so unworthy of his good sense and so foreign to his real character, is amusingly described by Sydney Smith in his well-known humorous and not greatly exaggerated sketch of the Premier. ‘If the truth must be told,’ he said, ‘our Viscount is somewhat of an impostor. Everything about him seems to betoken careless desolation. Anyone would suppose from his manner that he was playing at chuck-farthing with human happiness; that he was always on the heel of pastime; that he would giggle away the great charter, and decide by the method of teetotum whether my lords the bishops should or should not retain their seats in

the House of Lords. All this is the mere vanity of surprising, and making us believe that he can play with kingdoms as other men can with nine pins. Instead of this lofty nebulo, this miracle of moral and intellectual felicities, he is nothing more than a sensible, honest man, who means to do his duty to the sovereign and to the country. Instead of being the ignorant man he pretends to be before he meets the deputation of tallow-chandlers in the morning, he sits up half the night talking with Thomas Young\* about melting and skimming, and then, though he has acquired knowledge enough to work off a whole vat of prime Leicester tallow, he pretends next morning not to know the difference between a dip and a mould. In the same way when he has been employed in reading Acts of Parliament, he would persuade you that he has been reading “Cleghorn on the Beatitudes,” or “Pickler on the Nine Difficult Points.” Neither can I allow to this Minister, however much he may be irritated by the denial, the extreme merit of indifference to the consequences of his measures. I believe him to be conscientiously alive to the good or evil that he is doing, and that his caution has more than once arrested the gigantic projects of the Lyncurgus of the Lower House. I am sorry to hurt any man’s feelings, and to brush away the magnificent fabric of liberty and gaiety he has reared; but I accuse our Minister of honesty and diligence; I deny that he is careless or rash; he is nothing more than a man of good understanding and good principle, disguised in the eternal and somewhat wearisome affectation of a political *roué*.’

The Government met with a mortifying rebuff at the outset of their career. A good many new elections took place, as usual, on the acceptance of office by the new members. Lord John Russell represented South Devon, which had always been a Tory stronghold, and the electors preferred an obscure country squire to the leader of

\* Lord Melbourne’s private secretary.



the House of Commons. Mr. Charles Grant sat for Inverness-shire, which had a comparatively small constituency of a purely agricultural, or rather pastoral character, and was mostly in the hands of a few great Tory proprietors like the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Seafield, and Lord Macdonald. He was elected by a very small majority, but a petition having been presented against his return, he declined to defend his seat, and was raised to the Upper House with the title of Lord Glenelg. Littleton, whose indiscretion had brought about the retirement of Earl Grey and nearly upset the Government, could not be again intrusted with office, but he was solaced with a peerage, and was succeeded in the representation of Staffordshire by Sir Henry Goodricke, a Conservative. These defeats, of course, not only encouraged the opponents and disheartened the supporters of the Ministry, but caused them a good deal of inconvenience, as they were compelled to meet Parliament without the assistance of Russell or of Palmerston, who had lost his seat for Hampshire at the general election. The Foreign Secretary found a comfortable and secure seat in the small borough of Tiverton, which he retained until the end of his career; and Russell found a place of refuge in Stroud, which was vacated by Colonel Fox, who became Secretary to the Ordnance.

The chief weapon, which was employed in season and out of season by the Conservatives against the Government, was their alliance with O'Connell. Lord Melbourne, on being challenged by a Tory peer to explain the terms on which he had secured the assistance of the Irish agitator, replied with his usual straightforwardness and spirit that he had made no terms with O'Connell, and had taken no means to secure his support. No one doubted the truth of Melbourne's statement; but there is reason to believe that Mulgrave had, without any authority, held out to the 'Liberator' the hope that he would be appointed to office should the Liberals come into power. It was undeniable that,

without the aid of the Irish popular party, the Conservative Government could not have been overthrown or a Liberal administration formed. And as soon as Mr. Perrin was appointed Attorney-General for Ireland O'Connell, with his sons and Parliamentary friends, quitted the place he had occupied for some time below the gangway on the Opposition side of the House, and took his seat on the Ministerial side, as an expression of his satisfaction with the Irish appointments. Mr. O'Loughlen, a Roman Catholic barrister of high standing, was nominated Solicitor-General. Mr. Drummond, the new Under-Secretary, was a very remarkable man—clear-headed and highly accomplished, judicious and impartial, and possessing a thorough knowledge of the country and the people. He made a noble use of the influence and the opportunities which his office afforded him; and though his career was prematurely cut short, the zeal and energy with which he devised and carried practical remedies for existing evils entitles him to a permanent position in the annals of Irish administration. The appointment of the accomplished and large-hearted Lord Morpeth to the office of Secretary gave general satisfaction, but the selection of a Viceroy was less fortunate and was severely censured. Lord Mulgrave (afterwards the Marquis of Normanby) was the author of several clever novels depicting the manners and habits of fashionable society, and was well known in London as a man of fashion and popular manners. He was besides, as Greville says, 'hospitable, generous, courteous, and agreeable in private life.' But he had no pretensions to statesmanship, or to the qualifications required at this critical period to govern Ireland with firmness and impartiality. He had, however, secured the goodwill of O'Connell, and, no doubt for that reason, received on his arrival at Dublin an enthusiastic welcome from the Irish people. He was escorted to the Castle by a procession, in which banners were displayed bearing inscriptions in favour of the repeal of the



Union and the extinction of tithes. Not a few of Mulgrave's own friends expressed strong disapprobation of his conduct in entering the city in procession with the Dublin mob; and the Protestants in Ireland, not unnaturally, were highly incensed at a demonstration which partook so much of a partisan character.

The indignation of the Conservatives and the dissatisfaction of the king and the court were greatly increased by another injudicious step taken by the Government at this time. Shortly before the overthrow of the late Administration Lord Heytesbury, a sensible, cautious, painstaking man, was appointed Governor-General of India. But Sir John Hobhouse, the new President of the India Board, grudged this splendid prize to a Conservative, and proposed that Lord Heytesbury, who was already on his way to the East, should be recalled. The other members of the Cabinet acquiesced in the proposal, and a fast-sailing vessel was despatched after the new Viceroy and overtook him at Lisbon. On his return to England, Lord Auckland was appointed in his room. The Chairman and Deputy-chairman complained, not without reason, of this proceeding; and the public did not approve of the new appointment, which was mainly ascribed to the undue partiality of Lord Lansdowne. Auckland, who had held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty in Melbourne's first Administration, was a person of very moderate abilities and no great experience. As Mr. Torrens says, 'It must be owned that Lord Auckland was a bad appointment. He had not earned it by any services worth naming; he did not vindicate it by the display of any qualities worth recording.' It would have been well for India and Great Britain both if the history of his viceroyalty had been merely negative; but it cannot be forgotten that the first Afghan war, with its terrible disasters, was owing to Lord Auckland's incapacity and erroneous policy.

The Ministry had resolved to limit the work of the remainder of the session to

two important measures—the settlement of tithes in Ireland, and the reform of the municipal corporations. The commutation of tithes, the abolition of church rates, and the reform of the marriage laws, were necessarily postponed till 'a more convenient season.' Some time unavoidably elapsed before the Irish Tithe Bill was brought before Parliament. It was not until the 26th of June that Lord Morpeth, the Irish Secretary, introduced a bill regarding tithes in Ireland, founded on the late resolutions of the House of Commons. The Bill consisted of two distinct sets of arrangements. The first of these provided for the conversion of tithe into a rent charge, in much the same way as had been proposed in the previous measures, but on terms less favourable to the clergy. In the Bill brought in by the Melbourne Government in 1834, as it was originally framed, a deduction of 20 per cent. was to be made from the total amount of the tithe; but this was altered to 40 per cent. before it passed the Commons. The tithe-owner, however, was to be partly compensated for this loss out of the Perpetuity Purchase fund. In the Bill brought in by the Conservative Administration it was proposed that 25 per cent. should be deducted from every £100 of tithe when it was converted into a rent charge. Morpeth proposed that every £100 of tithe should be commuted for £75 of rent charge, but that the tithe-owners should pay the expense of collection, which was estimated at sixpence in the pound, thus leaving the sum of £68·5 as the net amount to be paid to the tithe-owner for every £100 of tithe. It was considered proper, however, to make a distinction between existing and future incumbents; and in order that the change in the law might press less heavily on the former, Morpeth proposed that existing clerical tithe-owners should receive an additional five per cent. out of the Perpetuity Purchase fund, thus allowing them £73·1 for every £100 of tithe. Under the first scheme, the existing incumbents were to receive £77½ per cent.; under the second,



£75 per cent.; but under the third, only £73¼ per cent. of their tithe. The old story of the Sybilline books was repeated in the dealings of the Government with the Irish clergy.

There can be little doubt that if Morpeth's scheme had included nothing more than the commutation of the tithes it would, in the critical position of the Irish Church, have been adopted by both Houses of Parliament. But the great mistake committed by the Liberal party, in conjoining the effort to expel the Conservatives from office with the measure for the settlement of Irish tithe, compelled the Melbourne Ministry to insert in the Bill a provision for devoting the surplus revenue of the Irish Church to the general education of the people. This proposal was of course resisted by Peel, who, however, expressed his willingness to support that portion of the Bill which commuted the tithe into a rent charge. He therefore allowed the Bill to be read a second time without discussion; but on the motion for going into committee, he moved an instruction to the committee to divide the Bill into two parts, in order that he and those who agreed with him might have an opportunity of supporting the provisions in which he was willing to concur, and of opposing that part of the measure which would appropriate to other purposes the revenues of those benefices, 860 in number, which did not contain fifty members of the Episcopal Church. The debate on Peel's motion was protracted over three nights. It was supported by Sir Robert H. Inglis, Mr. Goulbourn, Sir James Graham, Lord Stanley, and other leading members of the Opposition; while the Ministerial scheme was advocated by Spring Rice, Lord Howick, Lord Morpeth, Lord John Russell, Mr. Hume, Mr. Shiel, and Mr. O'Connell. Peel's proposition was rejected by 319 votes to 282. Attention was pointedly called to the fact that of the English members a majority of eight voted in favour of the motion; of the members for Eng-

land and Scotland the majority against it was only eight; but of the Irish representatives only thirty-four were in favour of Peel's motion, while sixty-three voted against it.

The Bill was carried through the House of Commons without any further opposition on the part of the Ministry. It passed the Commons on the 12th of August, and was sent up to the House of Lords, where the second reading took place on the 20th. But in committee the course which Peel had proposed was followed. All the clauses relating to the appropriation scheme and the suspension of church revenues were struck out by a majority of 138 votes to 41, and that portion of the Bill which referred to the substitution of a rent charge for tithe was alone retained. The measure was in consequence abandoned by the Government.

The rejection of the Tithe Bill made it legally necessary for the Ministry to take proceedings against the Irish clergy for the recovery of the sums advanced to them out of the million fund. But the clergy were in such a state of destitution that it was utterly impossible for them to repay the money, unless the House at the same time furnished them with the means of compelling the payment of the arrears of tithe, which had been found utterly impracticable. A Bill was therefore brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer empowering the Government to suspend the claim for the instalment which was due. In the end, as is usual with loans from the Exchequer for Irish purposes, payment of the money had to be remitted altogether. It was afterwards discovered that a considerable part of the million voted by Parliament for the relief of starving clergymen had been appropriated, much to their discredit, by wealthy dignitaries of the Church, and by peers, the possessors of large estates, who were tithe-owners.

The Church question in Scotland was now creating a bitter controversy, and contributed to increase the troubles of the Ministry. The clergymen of the Estab-



lished Church had, in retaliation of the attack made by Voluntary Churchmen on its endowments, devised a Church Extension scheme for building and endowing new places of worship in destitute localities, and in places where the Church was weak and Dissent was strong. They proposed to supply the funds required for the erection of the buildings, but during Lord Melbourne's first administration they made application for an annual grant from the Exchequer to assist in paying the stipends of the new clergymen. No definite answer was given to their claim; and when Sir Robert Peel came into office it was suggested to him, that if he were to hold out a hope that it would now be granted, additional support would be obtained to the Conservative party in Scotland. Accordingly, in the royal speech at the commencement of the session, His Majesty was made to say, 'I feel it also incumbent upon me to call your earnest attention to the condition of the Church of Scotland, and to the means by which it may be enabled to increase the opportunities of religious worship for the poorer classes of society in that part of the United Kingdom.' The Conservatives did not remain long enough in office to take any steps to carry this recommendation into effect, and on the formation of the Liberal Government the demand for additional endowments was again urged upon them. In the interval, however, the Scottish Nonconformists, who were on principle opposed to all religious endowments, had raised their voice against any grant of public money to the Established Church; and as they were almost to a man the most strenuous and stanch supporters of the Liberal party, the Ministers were naturally reluctant to offend their best friends in order to gratify those who were their most violent opponents. Sir William Rae, the late Lord Advocate, as the representative of the Scottish Church party, moved 'that the petitions for a grant to that Church should be referred to a select committee, to inquire and report how far the building and endow-

ing places of worship is required for the moral and religious instruction of the lower orders of the people of Scotland.' The Government refused to accede to this proposal, on the ground that it was impossible for a committee of the House of Commons to ascertain the state of every parish in Scotland, to decide in what parishes it was necessary to build new churches, and in what parishes it was only necessary to repair or enlarge old ones, and to ascertain the exact state of matters amid the conflicting averments of the two opposing parties. It was ultimately agreed, on the motion of Lord John Russell, that 'a humble address be presented to His Majesty, praying that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to appoint a commission to inquire into the opportunities of religious worship, and the means of religious instruction, and the pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, and how far these are available for the religious and moral improvement of the poor and working classes; with a view to obtain information with respect to the state of their attendance in places of worship, and their actual connection with any religious denomination; to inquire what funds are, or may hereafter be, available for the purposes of the Established Church of Scotland, and report from time to time in order that such remedies may be applied to any existing evil as Parliament may think fit.'

The General Assembly of the Established Church were dissatisfied with the resolution of the Government to refer the investigation into the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland to a commission instead of a select committee of the House of Commons; and when the names of the commissioners were made known they sent up a violent remonstrance against their appointment. The Commission consisted of the Earl of Minto, who was chairman, Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Mr. Hope Johnston, member for Dumfriesshire, the Procurator of the Church, and five or six advocates, one of whom was a Dissenter, and had written a



work on ecclesiastical polity against the theory of Church establishments. The Dissenters, on the other hand, complained that they had only one representative on the Commission, while all the rest were members of the Established Church. The Ministry, however, refused to make any change in the composition of the Commission, and it soon became evident that, whatever might be the private opinions of its members, they had discharged their duties with exemplary diligence and impartiality. But the great body of the Established Church clergy, partly on this ground, became hostile to the Liberal Government, and exerted all their influence for its overthrow.

The only other important measure brought forward by the Ministry this session was a Bill for the reform of the municipal corporations of England, which indeed was a necessary result of the reform of the system of Parliamentary representation. The old boroughs were incurably corrupt, and most of the new boroughs constituted under the Reform Act had no proper municipal government. It was impossible, indeed, for that Act to obtain fair play, or the electors to exercise their newly conferred privileges freely and effectually, so long as the self-elected members of the corporation squandered the public funds in bribing the freemen and pot-wallopers of the borough, and the town clerks and other corporation officials were the most active agents in the work of electioneering corruption. Under the old system a large portion of the Parliamentary representatives of the English boroughs were simply the nominees of a few influential individuals, who had the entire control of the revenues, and employed them and all corporate rights and privileges for their own personal benefit or the interests of their political party.

The condition of these municipalities had long been a matter of public scandal and of loud complaints from the citizens, who groaned under the oppressive burden

of these evils; and Earl Grey's Ministry lost no time in taking steps to effect a thorough reform. In the first session of the Reform Parliament Lord Althorp moved that a commission should be appointed under the Great Seal of twenty gentlemen, who were charged 'to proceed with the utmost despatch to inquire as to the existing state of the municipal corporations in England and Wales, and to collect information respecting the defects in their constitution; to make inquiry into their jurisdiction and powers and the administration of justice, and in all other respects; and also into the mode of electing and appointing the members and officers of such corporations, and into the privileges of the freemen and other members thereof, and into the nature and management of the income, revenues, and funds of the said corporations.'

The commissioners divided the country into districts, and made local investigation through the agencies of some of their number into each municipality. The inquiry was searching and complete, and brought to light a mass of abuses of the most scandalous description, exceeding both in number and magnitude all that had been alleged or suspected to exist. Corruption and jobbery; malversation of trust funds, which had been bequeathed for the aged, the infirm, and the sick, and the instruction of the young, in lavish or costly entertainments or in bribing the most degraded class of electors; the perversion of the privileges of the freemen to serve political purposes; embezzlement of the public property by the officials or members of the corporation; and other practices equally immoral and discreditable — were found flourishing in rank luxuriance in every district of England. The elaborate report of the commissioners, which was not issued until 1835, laid before the Parliament and the country a bold and unsparing exposure of the system that had grown up under the shelter of the unreformed House of Commons, and had contributed not a little



to demoralize the lower classes in the large towns.

‘Even where these institutions,’ they said, ‘exist in their least imperfect form and are most rightfully administered, they are inadequate to the wants of the present state of society. In their actual condition, where not productive of evil, they exist in a great majority of instances for no purpose of general utility. The perversion of municipal institutions to political ends has occasioned the sacrifice of local interests to party purposes, which have been frequently pursued through the corruption and demoralization of the electoral bodies. In conclusion, we repeat to your Majesty that there prevails among the inhabitants of a great majority of the incorporated towns a general, and in our opinion, a just dissatisfaction with their municipal institutions; a distrust of the self-elected municipal councils, whose powers are subjected to no popular control, and whose acts and proceedings, being secret, are unchecked by the influence of public opinion; a distrust of the municipal magistracy, tainting with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with contempt of the persons by whom the law is administered; a discontent under the burdens of local taxation, while revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people. We therefore feel it to be our duty to represent to your Majesty that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence and respect of your Majesty’s subjects; and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become what we humbly submit to your Majesty they ought to be—useful and efficient instruments of local government.’

It was proposed when the Commission

was appointed that Scotland should be included in its inquiries; but it was intimated that the Government had already obtained full information respecting the Scottish burghs, and that Jeffrey, as Lord Advocate, would bring in a Bill for their reform. The information referred to had been obtained in 1819 by the activity of Lord Archibald Hamilton. The disclosures made at that time respecting the state of Montrose, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and other municipalities of Scotland had made a profound impression, both on the country and the House. Mr. Fletcher, advocate, an indefatigable champion of burgh reform, who had for many years devoted his energies to this cause, exerted himself vigorously to rouse popular feeling on the subject. Numerous petitions were presented from Scotland in favour of a thorough inquiry into the abuses of the corporate bodies, and Lord Archibald Hamilton moved that those petitions should be referred to a select committee ‘to examine the matter thereof, and to report their observations and opinions thereon to the House.’ The Ministry of course opposed the motion and resisted all change, but greatly to their surprise and mortification they were defeated by 149 votes to 144.

A committee was accordingly appointed, to the great delight of the Scottish people, and practically continued its labours for three years. Numerous abuses of the most scandalous kind were brought to light. The revenues of the corporations were jobbed and squandered in the most extravagant and reckless manner. Considerable sums were regularly spent in expensive entertainments; the ecclesiastical and civic patronage of the Town Councils was almost always exercised, not for the public good, but to promote the private and selfish interests of the councillors; and a great deal of the property of the burgh was found to have been alienated to powerful patrons, or hospitable entertainers of the councils. Four of the burghs whose affairs were investigated were clearly proved to be bank-



rupt. Lord Archibald Hamilton, finding his views thus strengthened by the disclosure of the numerous abuses set forth in the reports of the Committee, early in 1822 moved that 'the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon the royal burghs of Scotland.' But the Government dreaded that burgh reform would lead to Parliamentary reform, and that popular election of the members of the Town Councils would inevitably involve the election of Liberal members of Parliament. Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion was therefore resisted, and defeated by a majority of thirty-five. The old system was maintained. The Town Councils were allowed to go on in their old evil ways, and the people were compelled to return to their old bondage.

The evil day of reform, however, was only postponed till a greater mass of abuses had accumulated, and a more favourable hour for a thorough reform had arrived. The result was that municipal reform in Scotland was carried out two years before the English corporations were cleansed, and the work was performed more completely and effectually.

The Bill for the reform of the Scottish burghs was brought in by the Lord Advocate on the 12th of March, 1833, without any discussion, and the second reading took place in the same quiet and comfortable way. 'The secret of this is,' Jeffrey says, 'that we finally arranged to send it after the second reading to a special committee up stairs, consisting of all the twenty-three burgh members for Scotland, who may there discuss and suggest at their leisure, and having so exhausted themselves, will not be much disposed or readily allowed to bother about it in the House.' Lord Cockburn archly suggests, that it may be owing to their anticipating this result that the members took their own way in committee. The Lord Advocate, he says, 'seems to have been absolutely worried—not so much by the direct opposition of those who were against the measure, as by the restless conceit and

intolerance of its friends. Every man in every town thought this was a matter on which he was entitled to speak, and confidently; and as there was little analogy to be affected by it in England, it was not adequately taken charge of by Government.' The labour and worry connected with the discussion of the Bill in committee were most distressing to the Lord Advocate. 'Our Committee,' he wrote—'I mean the Scottish Burgh Committee—goes on as ill as possible, and it is difficult to say who behaves worst. They chatter and wrangle, and contradict and grow angry, and read letters and extracts from blockheads of town-clerks and little fierce agitators; and forgetting that they are members of a great legislature, and (some of them) attached to a fair Ministry, go on speculating, and suggesting, and debating more loosely, crudely, and interminably than a parcel of college youths in the first novitiate of disceptation.'

The Bill, however, emerged from this crucible a really good measure. It swept away at once the whole abuses of the old corrupt system, and intrusted the election of the Town Councils in the royal burghs to the Parliamentary constituency. The provost and bailies were to be chosen by the councillors. One-third of the Council were to retire annually. Municipal institutions on the same principle were provided by a separate bill for the new Parliamentary burghs.

Two years elapsed before a similar reform was effected in England. The Bill for the reform of the English municipalities was introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, on the 5th of June, 1835. It was founded on the report of the Commissioners, and adopted the greater part of their recommendations. The Bill proposed to deal with 183 boroughs (exclusive of the metropolis), containing a population of at least two millions. Russell entered into numerous details to show the gross abuses that prevailed under the existing system, and to make it plain that a total change was imperatively required. 'In Bedford,' he



said, 'the corporate body is only one-seventeenth of the population, and one-fourth of the property of the place. In Bedford there are 1400 electors; but a great many of these are not rated inhabitants, and generally there has been so much treating and so many corrupt practices at elections, that seldom more than 500 can be said to be free from them. In Norwich there are 4231 resident freemen, but of these 1123 are not rated at all, and out of the 1123 three hundred and fifteen are paupers; and it is stated that out of £25,541 raised by rates, no less than £18,224 is on the property of persons who do not in any way belong to the Corporation. At Lincoln three-fourths of the corporate body are not rated, and nearly four-fifths of the population are excluded from it. At Ipswich there are 2000 ratepayers, but only 187 of them belong to the corporation. At Cambridge the population is about 20,000, and there are 1434 ten-pound houses; but there are only 118 freemen. The property produces in rates £25,499, of which not more than £2111 is paid by freemen. It should be the object of these Corporations to represent the property, to share the general feelings, and to take care of the interests of the town over which they are placed. There are two modes of excluding this wholesome sympathy between the governors and the governed. The one—the more obvious and common mode—is, where the Corporation is an entirely select body, where there is no appearance of popular election, and where the government is carried on in total defiance of the general body of the inhabitants; the other and, in my opinion, still more glaring abuse, is that which connects a few persons carrying on the government for their own benefit with a portion of the lower class of the people belonging to the town, whose votes they buy and whose habits they demoralize. The consequences of these various modes are, that the grossest and most notorious abuses have prevailed. In the distribution of charitable funds, two-thirds, three-fourths,

and sometimes a larger portion, have been delivered to the Blue party, or to any other colour that is the favourite symbol of the local government. The charitable estates, instead of being employed for the general benefit of the town, have been consumed for the partial benefit of a few individuals, and not unfrequently in the feasting and entertainments in which the mayor and other corporators have been in the habit of indulging. In some not very large boroughs the expenses have amounted to £500 or £600 a year, and the enjoyment has been confined to the freemen on one side, as some inducement to stand by that side, and not to desert the Corporation in any political emergency. These facts are so fully established in the reports of the Commissioners that I do not purpose to enter into them; yet I think I may venture to state one or two instances which are particularly striking proofs of the way in which, in some of the smaller places, corporate funds have fallen into the hands of persons who have assumed the duties of corporators, but have totally neglected them. One of these is Aldborough, where the corporators have been continually changed. They used to ask a regular sum: the price of "an honest burges" (such are the terms of the charter) was £35, and one the most "respectable, honest, and discreet burgesses" asked for, and was rewarded with influence to obtain a chancellor's living for a clergyman worth £100 a year. Whenever the patron of the borough was changed, all considered themselves bound in honour to resign. The members of the Council are the Marquis of Hertford, two members of his family, his solicitor, the superintendent of his estates there, his steward, the right hon. John Wilson Croker, a captain in the army or navy, and the chamberlain of the Corporation. The details respecting Oxford are nearly similar. The Marquis of Hertford is one of the honest men of Oxford, and the others consist of four or five members of his family, his present steward, his former steward, the superintendent of his



estates, and the right hon. John Wilson Croker. To some future antiquary, who should not carry his researches completely into the history of the present age, it might seem that to find a noble lord and the right hon. John Wilson Croker devoting their talent and attention to the business of the borough was a proof of most extraordinary and exemplary kindness. I mention these cases because the main facts apply to a hundred other boroughs that I could name, which formerly returned members to Parliament. It has been proved by the investigations of the Commissioners that, in large towns and in small, the municipal corporations have not employed the powers with which they have been invested that their boroughs might be "well and quietly governed"—to use the words of some of the charters—but for the sole object of establishing an influence for the election of members of this House.'

With regard to the measure which the Government had brought forward for the abolition of these glaring abuses, it was declared in the first enacting clause that all powers in the charters of the 183 boroughs dealt with by it, and all practices under them inconsistent with the provisions of the Bill, are null and void. It was proposed that there should be one uniform system of government and one uniform franchise for the purpose of election. The governing body was to consist of a mayor and council. Their numbers were to vary, according to the population of the boroughs. They were to be elected by rate-payers who had been for three consecutive years rated to the relief of the poor. The boroughs—twenty in number—containing a population of above 25,000 were to be divided into wards, and a certain number of councillors were to be chosen by each ward. In all the other boroughs the whole common council were to be elected in a body. The mayor was to be chosen annually by the council, who were also to have the right to appoint the town-clerk and treasurer. If the present town-clerks were removed from

office, they were to obtain compensation. The pecuniary rights of existing freemen were to be maintained; but in future no peculiar privileges were to be conferred, and all the old modes of acquiring the freedom of a corporation were to be abolished. All exclusive rights of trade were also to be abrogated. The charity estates placed at the disposal of corporations had hitherto been scandalously mismanaged. They were now to be put under the control of separate committees chosen from the burgesses. The power of granting ale-house licenses was to be vested in the Council. A recorder, nominated by the Crown, who was to be a barrister of five years' standing, was to be allotted to any borough which chose to provide an adequate salary for the office. The boundary of the municipality was, in the majority of cases, to be the same as the boundary of the Parliamentary borough—in the other instances it was to be defined by the Crown.

This radical measure of corporation reform, affecting as it did the pecuniary interests of a great number of persons, and certain to have a powerful influence on the Parliamentary representation of all the royal boroughs in the kingdom, caused extraordinary excitement, and was violently denounced by the extreme Tories of the Eldon school. The venerable ex-Chancellor himself regarded the measure with mingled horror and indignation, as furnishing one of the worst precedents to be found in the Journals of the proceedings of Parliament. 'I must maintain,' he said, 'that it is no other than a bill of pains and penalties.' It is stated in a contemporary sketch of the old lawyer, that 'he protested loudly in private with feverish alarm' against the measure. 'Its interference with vested rights shocked his sense of equity even more than the sweeping clauses of the Reform Act. To set at nought ancient charters as so many bits of decayed parchment, and destroy the archives of town-halls, seemed in the eyes of the old magistrate, for so many years the guardian



of corporate rights, a crowning iniquity. Pale as a marble statue, and confined to his house in Hamilton Place by infirmity, he would deprecate equally the temerity of Ministers and the madness of the people; and his ratiocinations, like the prophet's scroll, were full to overflowing with lamentations and woe. His correspondence for some years previously had borne marks of the troubled gloom with which he viewed the changes gradually darkening over all he had loved and venerated, till he almost felt a stranger to the institutions of his native land.'

Fortunately for the interests of the country, and even of the Conservative party itself, their great leader in the House of Commons took a different and much more judicious view of the Corporation Bill than did the Tories of the Eldon and Cumberland school. He boldly declared at once that the time had arrived when it was necessary for Parliament to provide some effectual remedy for the abuses which had been brought to light; and that it was of the utmost importance to the well-being of society to establish a good system of municipal government in places which were at present destitute of that advantage. But while thus approving of the principle of the Bill, he reserved to himself the right to deal as he thought fit with the details. With reference to the somewhat unhandsome notice taken by Russell of Lord Hertford's borough of Aldborough, and his sneer at John Wilson Croker, who had now retired from Parliamentary life, Peel said, 'I hope the antiquarian will travel into the interior. I hope he will go to Derby. He will find it stated in the case of the Corporation of that borough, that whenever they thought the number of freemen in their interest was "getting low" the mayor, or some other influential member of the Corporation, applied to the agents of the Cavendish family, and requested a list of the names of persons to be admitted as honorary freemen. On the last occasion

on which honorary freemen were made, almost all of them were tenants of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire. The agents of his Grace paid the fees on the admission of the honorary freemen. Without the admission of such freemen it was said the Corporation "could not have kept the Tories quiet; they would have been restless." In truth, the abuses complained of existed in Whig as well as in Tory corporations.

The High Tories were indignant at this speech; but with Peel against them they were powerless in the Commons. They were obliged, therefore, to conceal their dissatisfaction, and to profess their willingness to follow him in the liberal course on which he had entered. The Bill in consequence passed through the Lower House without any material alterations. It was read a second time, on the 15th of June, without a division; but an earnest effort was made in Committee to change several of its details. Sir William Follett, who had been Solicitor-General in Peel's Administration, moved on the 23rd of June that the rights of freemen to the Parliamentary franchise, which had been preserved by the Reform Act, should still be maintained; but he was defeated by 278 votes to 232. The question was raised a second time on the 16th of July; but was again lost by 262 votes to 234. An attempt to preserve all the other rights of the freemen was defeated by 234 votes to 203. A proposal made by Peel himself, to require a qualification for town councillors of property worth £1000 or a £40 rated rental in boroughs divided into wards, and of £500 or a £20 rental in other towns, was rejected by a much larger majority—267 votes to 204. Lord Stanley's motion, that a third of each Council should retire biennially instead of annually, was lost by 220 votes to 176.

The measure was carried to the House of Lords on the 21st of July; but there it met with very different treatment. The first hostile movement was a proposal that



counsel should be heard in support of a petition from Coventry against the Bill. If this had been acceded to, all the other 209 boroughs would have also claimed to be heard, and the interminable delay thus incurred would have been fatal to the measure. It was ultimately arranged, on the suggestion of Brougham, that 'the corporations should consolidate their opposition under one banner,' and select two counsel to plead their case. This course was accordingly followed, and Sir Charles Wetherell and Mr. Knight (afterwards Knight Bruce) were heard on three consecutive evenings against the principle of the Bill (the former occupied twelve hours and a half with his speech). Lord Melbourne then gave notice that on the 3rd of August he would move that the House should go into committee on the Bill.

The Tory peers, however, were not satisfied with having heard counsel in defence of the freemen's right of property. 'The Tory lords,' said Greville, 'had been worked into a frenzy by Wetherell and Knight at the bar of the House of Lords, and Newcastle and Winchelsea bellowed and blustered in grand style. There was a great assemblage of peers at Apsley House, to determine what was to be done; and amazed was I when I learnt that they had resolved to move that evidence should be heard against the principle of the Municipal Corporation Bill. At dinner I met Stuart, to whom I expressed my astonishment at the course they had adopted; and he owned that it was rather hazardous, and said that it was adopted at the suggestion of Lyndhurst, who had insisted upon it at Apsley House, and that the Duke had given way.' Accordingly Lord Carnarvon moved that the House should receive evidence against the Bill; and though the motion was resisted with great power of argument by Lansdowne and Plunkett, and especially by Brougham, it was carried by 124 votes to 54. For five days the peers were occupied hearing witnesses assert that the

corporations were models of purity, independence, and economy, and that self-election by small minorities in corporate towns was the proper and popular way of choosing mayors, aldermen, and councillors. The Tory peers began at last to see that such evidence as this was not promoting their own cause. 'I met the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Lancelot Shadwell) at Charing Cross,' says Greville, 'going down to the House of Lords. "Well," said he, shrugging his shoulders, "here am I going down to the House of Lords after hearing evidence all the morning, to hear it again for the rest of the evening." "What is to happen?" I asked him. "It is the greatest bore; they have heard Coventry and Oxford. They got something of a case out of the first, but the other was beyond anything tiresome; they are sick to death of it, and Brougham and Lyndhurst have agreed that it is all d——d nonsense, and they will hear nothing more after Saturday next." So this is the end of all this hubbub.'

Lyndhurst had promised to the ultra-Tory peers to convert the Bill into a Conservative measure, and he kept his word. The Prime Minister, with the powerful aid of the ex-Chancellor, supported by Lansdowne and Holland, defended the Bill with courage and energy; but their arguments fell powerless on the stolid and bigoted Opposition peers. An amendment, preserving for ever all the rights of the freemen, was carried by 130 votes to 37. They determined, by 120 votes to 39, that the councillors should be chosen from the ratepayers who were assessed at the highest rate in each borough. This amendment was peculiarly offensive and injudicious. It made a pecuniary element the sole qualification for office, and limited the choice of the electors to the smallest number of citizens, excluding others far superior in talent and experience—an enactment odious in itself and utterly alien to the spirit of the British constitution. At a subsequent stage an additional qualification was required—the possession of £1000 in real



or personal estate in boroughs divided into four or more wards, and of £500 in the other boroughs. Other alterations of a similar kind followed. The aldermen were to hold office for life; the powers of existing justices were to be preserved on a similar tenure. Authority to divide boroughs into wards was taken from the Crown and intrusted to revising barristers; the power to grant licenses was taken from the Town Councils and conferred on the county magistrates; the ecclesiastical patronage of the corporations was intrusted to those members of the Town Councils who belonged to the Church of England; the town-clerks were to hold their office during good behaviour; and the power of determining the boundaries of boroughs, which the Bill left to the king in council, was to be retained by Parliament. It was not without good reason that ex-Chancellor Eldon said that Lord Lyndhurst's amendments 'did him great credit,' and that Lord Ellenborough declared that the Corporation Bill had been converted into 'a full, consistent, and constitutional Conservative reform.' But judicious and disinterested spectators must have been ready to concur in the remark of Charles Greville, 'It does certainly appear to me that the Tory lords will never rest until they have accomplished the destruction of the House of Lords.'

Lyndhurst and his followers had, however, reckoned without their host. They were all-powerful in the Upper House; but without the aid of Peel they were powerless in the House of Commons. Besides, the feeling of the country ran strong against this attempt to perpetuate the abuses from which the burghal population had so long suffered; and the moderate men of the party shrunk from a course which would have brought the House of Lords into a position of antagonism both to the Commons and the nation. 'I am at a loss,' said Greville, 'to comprehend the views by which Lyndhurst is actuated, or how he can fancy that any object is attainable which involves in it a breach

or separation between Peel and the great body of the Tories.' The ex-Chancellor himself professed to be entirely indifferent to the opinions of the Conservative leader in the Lower House. When Sir John Campbell reproached him with striking out clauses which Peel had approved of and supported in the Commons, his reckless answer was, 'Peel! what is Peel to me? d—n Peel.' It is even alleged that at this period the Newcastle, Londonderry, and other ultra-Tories were looking forward to the formation of a Tory Ministry with Lyndhurst as Prime Minister. On the other hand, moderate Liberals were deeply indignant at this short-sighted and selfish policy. Lord Howick talked of 'the Lords being swept away like chaff,' and Hobhouse declared that their conduct was the beginning of the end. Moderate and reasonable men of both parties deprecated a policy which was certain to lead to a renewal of fierce agitation throughout the country, and to end in the defeat and humiliation of the peers.

On the last day of August Lord John Russell summoned a meeting of his supporters in Downing Street, and explained to them the course which the Government proposed to adopt. Hume made a violent speech, deprecating any compromise. O'Connell, with more tact and good sense, earnestly recommended that the Liberal party should not lose the important privileges and power which even the mutilated bill placed within their reach, and should trust to time and better opportunity to make the measure more complete. On the 1st of September the Ministerial leader repeated his intentions in the House of Commons. The Government refused to accept the proposals that aldermen should be elected for life; that the election of town councillors should be limited to the ratepayers who paid the highest assessment; that freemen should be exempted from tolls; that town-clerks should be unremovable; that borough magistrates, already justices, should be continued in that office; that



Dissenting councillors should be excluded from all share in the management of ecclesiastical property. On the other hand, they were willing that a limited number of aldermen should hold office for six years; that the boundaries of boroughs should be settled by revising barristers, and that freemen should retain the Parliamentary franchise. Peel, who had retired to the country in high dudgeon at the proceedings of the Tory peers, suddenly and unexpectedly arrived in town, and rose as soon as Russell sat down. He expressed his concurrence in the proposals made by the Ministry, and supported their views in opposition to the amendments of the Lords, with the single exception of the exclusion of Dissenters from the management of Church patronage. The Tories listened to his speech with ill-suppressed dismay and anger. 'The Lords cannot take it,' said Lord Strangford; 'and if we are to be ruined I think we had better be ruined by real Radicals than by sham Tories.' In spite of their indignation the Conservatives were compelled to accept the compromise which the Government offered. On the 3rd of September the Duke of Wellington called a meeting of Tory peers at Apsley House, and recommended them to give way. Lyndhurst, with a very bad grace, gave a similar advice on the following night in the House of Lords. They adhered to their proposal that justices should be named directly by the Crown, and that the division into wards should begin with boroughs containing a population of 6000 instead of 9000. It was agreed, on the motion of Spring Rice, that the ecclesiastical patronage belonging to corporations should be sold, and the price invested for the purpose of being applied to the public good of the citizens. The bill thus amended became law, and a measure, second only to Parliamentary Reform in importance, was at last carried into effect.

The perverse and obstructive conduct of the Tory peers was not the only difficulty with which the Ministry had at this time

to contend; they were treated by the king in a manner most insulting and irritating. He behaved with tolerable civility towards Melbourne and Palmerston, of whom he was afraid; but he reserved the explosions of his wrath for the mild and diffident Secretary for the Colonies, and other members of the Government. When Lord Gosford, a man of excellent character and judgment, was named Governor of Canada, His Majesty said to him 'Mind what you are about in Canada. By —— I will never consent to alienate the Crown lands, nor to make the Council elective. Mind me, my lord, the Cabinet is not my Cabinet; they had better take care, or by —— I will have them impeached.' Hobhouse, who was personally treated with kindness and consideration in his audiences on affairs of his own department, says, he shared at times the doubts of other members of the administration whether incivilities that appeared gratuitous and unseemly were not prompted in some degree by a hope that they might provoke the insulted Ministers to resign, and thereby lead to a break up of the Government. 'It seemed clear to me,' he adds, 'that if we continued in office it would be entirely owing to the good sense and good manners of our chief, who knew how to deal with his master as well as with his colleagues, and never, that I saw, made a mistake in regard to either. I may add that when a stand was to be made on anything considered to be a vital principle of his Government, he was as firm as a rock.'

When Lord Gosford's instructions were first submitted by Lord Glenelg to the king for his approval, His Majesty broke out violently against certain words in the document, saying, 'No! my lord, I will not have that word; strike out "conciliatory," strike out "Liberal."' And then he added, 'You cannot wonder at my making these difficulties with a Ministry that has been forced upon me.' However, as Lord Glenelg went on reading, His Majesty grew more calm and courteous, and expressed his approval of the instructions on



that day. But when Lord Glenelg went into the closet two days after, the king was very sulky and indeed rude, and objected to some things to which he had previously consented.

Another scene of the same kind, which Greville justly terms a very disgraceful one, occurred with Lord Torrington, one of the Lords of the Bed Chamber, at the levee on the 9th of August. A card was put into Torrington's hands of somebody who was presented, which he read, 'So and So, Deputy Governor.' 'Deputy Governor!' said the king; 'Deputy Governor of what?' 'I cannot tell your Majesty,' replied Torrington, 'as it is not upon the card.' 'Hold your tongue, sir!' said the king; 'you had better go home and learn to read;' and shortly after, when some bishop presented an address against the Irish Tithe Bill, and the king was going as usual to hand over the papers to the Lord-in-Waiting, he stopped and said to Lord Torrington, who advanced to take them, 'No, Lord Torrington, these are not fit documents to be intrusted to your keeping.' Scenes of this kind were of frequent occurrence. 'The king,' says Greville, 'cannot bridle his temper, and lets slip no opportunity of showing his dislike, impotent as it is, of the people who surround him. He admits none but Tories into his private society. Wherever he goes Tories accompany him; at Windsor Tories only are his guests. This provokes his Ministers; but it necessarily makes them more indifferent to the cultivation of his favour, and accustoms them to consider themselves as the Ministers of the House of Commons, and not of the Crown. Perhaps they cannot do otherwise as things now are. It is, however, a very melancholy and mischievous state of affairs, and does more to degrade the monarchy than anything that has ever occurred. To exhibit the king publicly to the world as a cipher, and something less than a cipher, as an unsuccessful competitor in a political squabble, is to

take from the Crown all the dignity with which it is invested by that theoretical attribute of perfection that has been so conveniently ascribed to it.'

His Majesty's own indiscretion and hatred of his Ministers no doubt were the main cause of this untoward state of affairs so perilous to the throne; but the extreme folly and violence of those about him contributed not a little to encourage him in this most improper behaviour to those statesmen, whom the country and the House of Commons had placed at the head of affairs. Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, the king's son, told Lord Melbourne that 'his father had much to bear, being beset by the Duke of Cumberland and the Duchess of Gloucester by day, and by the queen at night.' But he had himself mainly to blame for the trouble and mortification he had to endure. As Greville has justly remarked, 'When the king found himself compelled to take those people back, and to surrender himself a prisoner into their hands, he should have swallowed the bitter pill and digested it, and not kept rolling it in his mouth and making wry faces. He should have made a very bad business as tolerable as he could by yielding himself with a good grace; and had he treated them with that sort of courtesy which one gentleman may and ought to show to all those with whom he is unavoidably brought into contact, and which implies nothing as to feeling and inclination, he would have received from them that respect and attention which it would have been equally their interest and their desire to show.'

The Orangemen of Ireland had always taken a prominent part in opposition to the policy of the Government, and they were especially hostile to all concessions made to the Roman Catholics. They had of late become more than usually offensive in their demonstrations, and had in consequence drawn down upon themselves the hostility of the Liberal party in England and Scotland, as well as in Ireland. A



great Protestant meeting was held at Dublin, at which the Earl of Winchelsea, an honest but weak and fanatical Tory of the most extreme type, was introduced to the Irish Orangemen and admitted into their society. 'The meeting was great in one way,' says Greville, 'for there were a great many fools who talked a great deal of nonsense, and evinc'd a disposition to do a great deal of mischief if they can.' It was discovered at this time that the Orangemen had gone much farther than the public were aware, in meditating very serious mischief indeed.

Orange Lodges had been in existence for forty years. They originated among the Protestants in the north of Ireland, and were instituted after the battle of the Diamond in 1795 by a few yeomen and farmers, for mutual protection, and the defence of the Union with England against the treasonable plots of the Roman Catholics to unite Ireland with France. The Orangemen were the deadly foes of the United Irishmen, and they soon began to take steps for the expulsion of the Roman Catholics from the northern counties of Ireland. So vigorously did they set to work in wrecking and destroying the houses of their obnoxious fellow countrymen, and in inflicting other outrages of a similar kind, that 7000 Roman Catholics were said to have been driven out from Armagh alone. The Earl of Gosford, who was Lord-Lieutenant of that county, convened a meeting of the leading magistrates there, and set before them a plan which he had devised for the protection of the Roman Catholics against the barbarities inflicted on them by the Orangemen. In his address to the meeting, proposing certain resolutions for the acceptance of his brother magistrates, his lordship said—'It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in that country. Neither age nor acknowledged innocence as to the

late disturbances is sufficient to excite mercy, much less afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this merciless persecution are charged with is a crime of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they pronounce is equally concise and terrible—it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attended the execution of so wide and tremendous a proscription, which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient or modern history can afford. For where have we read—in what history of human cruelty have we read—of more than one-half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as the fruits of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement winter, to seek shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country; yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest heart. These horrors are now acting, and acting with impunity.'

Orange Lodges were at first confined to Ireland, but in 1808 a Lodge was founded in Manchester; it was afterwards removed to London, and its meetings were held at the house of Lord Kenyon, who was Deputy Grand Master. It was intended to appoint the Duke of York Grand Master, but he declined the office on learning that the law officers of the Crown considered the institution illegal. The rules of the society were in consequence altered in order to remove this objection. The Act which passed in 1825, prohibiting for the space of three years political societies in Ireland, suppressed the Orange Lodges, or at least caused them to be held in secret. But on