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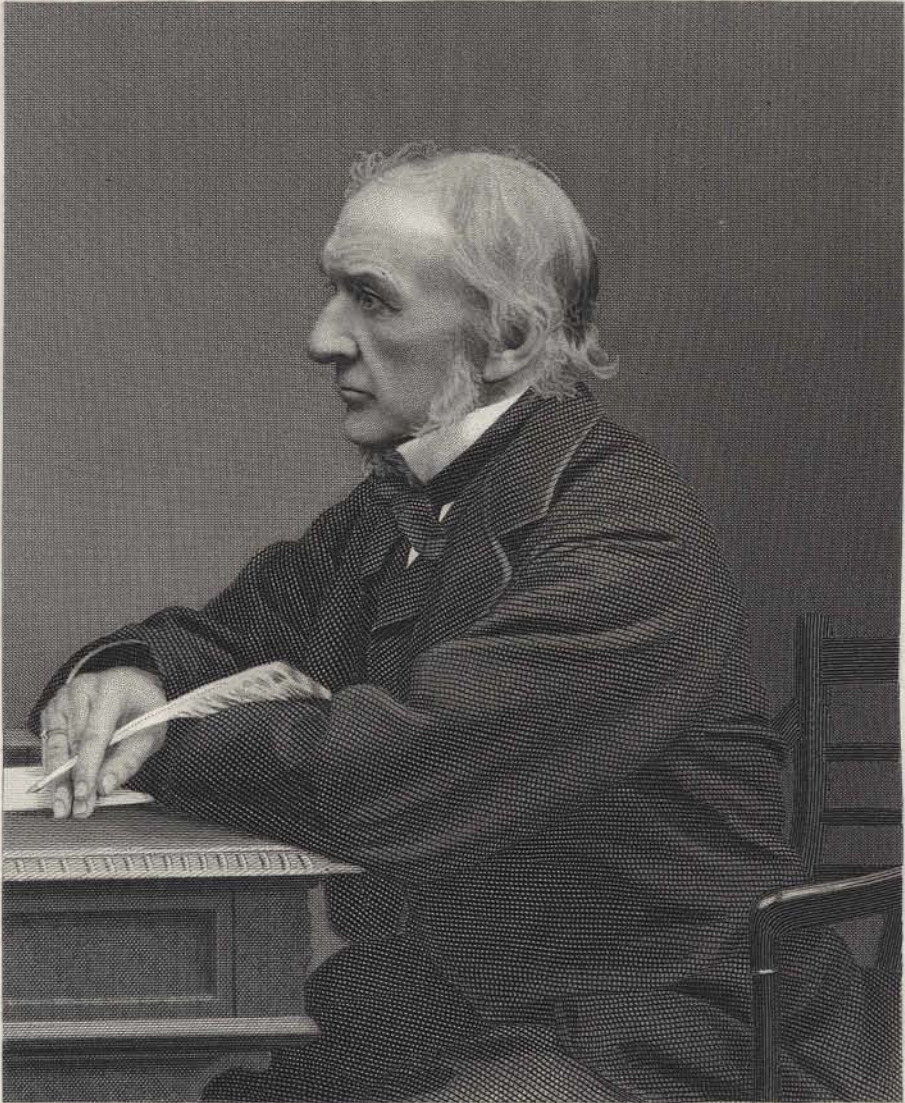
THE
AGE
WE LIVE IN
A HISTORY OF
THE XIX
CENTURY

TELEGRAPH & TELEPHONE



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K.K. Venugopal



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R^T HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M. P.

THE
AGE WE LIVE IN:

A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

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A. Vivell.

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RIGHT HON. GEORGE HAMILTON GORDON,
EARL OF ABERDEEN.



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FRANCIS JOSEPH,
EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.



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N A P O L E O N , I I I .



J. Ramage

G. Bradshaw

ST. PETERSBURG.

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J. Ramago

E. P. Brantland

L U C K N O W .

must do, and therefore I accepted his invitation, and from that time we never ceased to labour hard in behalf of the resolution which we had made.'

'For seven years,' adds Mr. Bright, 'the discussion on that one question—whether it was good for a man to have half a loaf or a whole loaf—for seven years the discussion was maintained, I will not say with doubtful result, for the result was never doubtful and never could be in such a cause; but for four years or more we devoted ourselves without stint; every working hour almost was given up to the discussion and to the movement in connection with this question.'

Mr. Bright might well say that he and his friend Cobden devoted themselves without stint to the great cause which they had adopted. 'We were not even the first,' he remarked, 'though afterwards we became the foremost before the public.' Though they had numerous and able coadjutors, the success of the agitation for commercial freedom was largely, under divine Providence, due to their labours. They were truly 'instant in season and out of season—reproving, rebuking, exhorting.' United as these two noble-minded men were by mutual esteem and confidence and the strongest affection, their mental qualities were admirably fitted to make them fellow-helpers in the cause to which they had devoted themselves. 'The alliance between them far more than doubled the power that either could have exerted without the other.' 'These two orators,' said Mr. Kinglake (whose general political opinions are far from being in sympathy with theirs), 'had shown with what a strength, with what a masterly skill, with what patience, with what a high courage they could carry a scientific truth through the storms of politics. They had shown that they could arouse and govern the assenting thousands who listened to them with delight—that they could bend the House of Commons—that they could press their creed upon a Prime Minister, and put upon his mind so hard a stress that after a while he felt it to

be a torture and a violence to his reason to have to make a stand against them. Nay more, each of these gifted men had proved that he could go bravely into the midst of angry opponents, could show them their fallacies one by one, destroy their favourite theories before their very faces, and triumphantly argue them down.'

The change of Ministry had no effect upon the operations of the League—it neither diminished their efforts, nor daunted their confidence in the ultimate success of their cause. They thought, indeed they had reason to believe, that the new Premier was at heart a Free Trader. In 1839 he had told the House of Commons, with marked emphasis, 'I have no hesitation in saying, that unless the existence of the Corn Law can be shown to be consistent not only with the prosperity of agriculture and the maintenance of the landlords' interest, but also with the protection and the maintenance of the general interests of the country, and especially with the improvement of the condition of the working classes, the Corn Law is practically at an end.' Firmly persuaded as Cobden and Bright were that this law was in the highest degree injurious to the interests of all classes of the community, they not unnaturally concluded that a statesman of Peel's intellectual acumen could not resist the evidence they had adduced to prove that this was the case. 'My own conviction,' said Cobden, some years later, 'is that Peel was always a Free Trader in theory; in fact, on all politico-economical questions he was always as sound in the abstract as Adam Smith or Bentham. For he was peculiarly a politico-economical and not a Protectionist intellect. But he never believed that absolute free trade came within the category of practical House of Commons' measures. It was a question of numbers with him; and as he was yoked with a majority of inferior animals, he was obliged to go their pace and not his own.' This statement is scarcely quite correct as regards the state of Sir Robert Peel's mind at the time he assumed

office in 1841. He indeed frankly admitted that the general principles of free trade were sound, and that it was a mere delusion to suppose that Parliament by any duty, in whatever way imposed, could guarantee a certain price to the grower of corn. He expressed his belief that 'on the general principle of free trade there is now no great difference of opinion, and that all agree in the general rule that we should buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market;' but he contended that the Corn Laws and the Sugar Duties were exceptions to the general rule. His cousin, Sir Laurence Peel, in a sketch of the life and character of the great statesman, says, 'Sir Robert Peel had been alway a Free Trader. The questions to which he had declined to apply these principles had been viewed by him as exceptional.' It is obvious, however, that circumstances might arise which would compel the Prime Minister to apply the principles of free trade to these exceptional cases.

The members of the League believed that these circumstances had already arisen, and that the distress which existed among the manufacturing classes, amounting almost to famine, demanded the immediate abolition of the restrictions on the people's food. Their faith in the conclusiveness of their arguments was so strong, that they did not doubt that their effect upon others would be equally convincing. There were nearly 21,000 persons in Leeds whose average earnings were only about a shilling a week. In Bradford the woollen goods made in a year had decreased five-sixths, and of nineteen mills in operation in 1820 only two remained in 1840. In Paisley nearly one-fourth of the population was in a state bordering upon actual starvation. Bolton, Colonel Thompson said, was in the condition of a besieged town—the inhabitants were compelled to consider on how small an amount of food life could be sustained. A specimen case was that of a woman purchasing a halfpenny worth of bread to be the dinner for herself and her two children.

A penny worth of mutton was a common purchase.

The Leaguers took care that these and other similar facts should be proclaimed over the whole country. Lecturers were sent out to every district, especially to the strongholds of the Corn-Law landlords, to make known to the agricultural labourers the real cause of their sufferings, and to show the farmers that protective duties on corn were as injurious to them as to the community. The placards, hand-bills, and brief statements of facts were circulated in tens of thousands among the middle and lower classes. Public meetings were held in all the large towns and many rural districts, from Aberdeenshire to Cornwall, which were addressed by Cobden, Bright, Colonel Thompson, and other leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and in spite of the opposition of local magnates, and sometimes the stones and brickbats of hired ruffians, these meetings universally terminated with carrying almost unanimously resolutions in favour of the total abolition of the Corn Laws, and of all restrictions on trade and commerce. Conferences of ministers—mostly Nonconformists—were held at Caernarvon, at Manchester, and in Edinburgh, at which interesting information was given respecting the privations of the people, and the woeful deterioration of their condition within the last ten, and more especially within the last three years; and resolutions were passed against the unjust and injurious laws which had so grievously aggravated the sufferings of the working classes, and the general depression of trade. At the moment when millions of the people were in this deplorable condition the duty on the importation of wheat was twenty-four shillings and eightpence, on oats thirteen shillings and ninepence, on barley ten shillings and tenpence, and on rye fourteen shillings a quarter. The Anti-Corn-Law agitators, whom the landlords denounced as sowers of sedition, were in reality the most efficient instruments in preserving the public peace, for there is every reason to believe that

the starving multitudes would have broken out in open insurrection if they had not cherished the hope that some relief would come to them through the exertions of the League.

After the new Ministry had been installed in office, the Parliament was prorogued for four months, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Cobden and other Liberal members, that the national distress should be taken into consideration. The League turned the interval to good account by their vigorous exertions to instruct the people on the effect of all restrictions on trade and commerce, and especially of the Corn and Provision Laws, on the national well-being. A great conference of the merchants and manufacturers of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire, upwards of a thousand in number, was held at Derby on the 8th of December, and was addressed by Cobden and other half a dozen members of Parliament, and by the most extensive manufacturers in the Midland counties. A similar conference of the woollen manufacturers of the counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester, was held on the 6th of January, 1842. On the 14th of that month a great meeting was held at Glasgow, which was attended by deputies from most of the manufacturing towns in Scotland. Convocations of a similar kind were held at Birmingham and other great centres of manufacturing industry, and the whole island from Cornwall to Caithness was in commotion.

The people were urged, says Mr. Morley, to form associations, to hold district meetings of deputies, and to collect information as to the state of trade, the rate of wages, the extent of pauperism, and other facts bearing upon the food monopoly, as all these things affected their local industry—the woollen trade at Leeds, the iron trade at Wolverhampton, the earthenware trade in the Potteries, the flax trade at Dundee, the cotton trade at Manchester and Glasgow. The lecturers continued their work in the principal towns in thirty-two counties in

England, besides in many places in Scotland and Ireland, and in the course of a few months delivered upwards of 800 lectures. One of them went among the farmers and labourers on Sir James Graham's estate, where he did not forget the landlord's idyllic catalogue of the blessings of the rural poor. 'What!' cried the lecturer, 'six shillings a week for wages, and the morning's sun, and the singing of birds, and the sportive lambs, and winding streams, and the mountain breeze, and a little wholesome labour—six shillings a week and all this! And nothing to do with your six shillings a week but merely to pay your rent, buy your food, clothe yourselves and your families, and lay by something for old age! Happy people!'

The establishment of the penny postage system, which had been earnestly advocated by Cobden and other Free-Trade leaders, afforded them ample facilities, of which they fully availed themselves, to diffuse information regarding the nature of the struggle throughout the whole country. Millions of hand-bills and tracts were distributed, and several hundreds of thousands of the *Anti-Corn Law Circular* were circulated through this medium, containing harrowing details of the distress existing among the working classes in every district of the country. The organ of the League was conducted with great ability, energy, and spirit. Many of its leading articles were written by Cobden and Bright themselves, and it contained not only reports of the speeches of the Free-Trade leaders, but 'Poor Men's Songs, Anti-Corn-Law Hymns, and Anti-Bread-Tax Collects.' Nor did the editor forget Byron's famous lines from the 'Age of Bronze,' a thousand times declaimed in this long struggle, in which the poet denounces in burning words the 'inglorious Cincinnati farmers of war, dictators of the farm;' who remained 'safe in their barns,' but 'sent their brethren out to battle' for rent; who 'roared, dined, drank, and swore they meant to die for England,' but lived for rent; whose 'good, ill, health, wealth, joy

or discontent, being, end, aim, religion, was—rent, rent, rent!’

A striking indication of the state of popular feeling in England at this time is furnished by the publication, at Preston, and extensive circulation of a quaint little sheet of four quarto pages, called *The Struggle*, and sold for a halfpenny. ‘It had no connection with any association, and nobody was responsible for its contents but the man who wrote, printed, and sold it. In two years eleven hundred thousand copies had been circulated. *The Struggle* is the very model for a plain man who wishes to affect the opinion of the humbler class without the wasteful and, for the most part, ineffectual machinery of a great society. It contains in number after number the whole arguments of the matter in the pithiest form, and in language as direct if not as pure as Cobbet’s. Sometimes the number consists simply of some more than usually graphic speech by Cobden or by Fox. There are racy dialogues in which the landlord always gets the worst of it, and terse allegories in which the Duke of Buckingham or the Duke of Richmond figures as inauspiciously as Bunyan’s Mr. Badman. The Bible is ransacked for appropriate texts, from the simple clause in the Lord’s Prayer about our daily bread down to Solomon’s saying, “He that withholdeth the corn the people shall curse him; but blessings shall be upon the head of him that selleth it.” On the front page of each number was a woodcut, as rude as a schoolboy’s drawing, but full of spirit and cleverness, whether satirizing the Government or contrasting swollen landlords with poverty-stricken operatives, or painting some homely idyll of the industrious poor, to point the greatest of political morals, that “domestic comfort is the object of all reforms.”

On the other hand the organs of the Protectionists were unsparing in their abuse, not only of the free-trade leaders, but of the whole body of the manufacturers and merchants. They had even the baseness to

follow the example of the notorious *John Bull* during the time of Queen Caroline’s trial, and to cast foul slanders on the characters of the ladies who were taking part in getting up the Anti-Corn-Law bazaar, until an intimation given to the proprietor of one of these journals that he would be held personally responsible for the calumnies published by his underlings, compelled them to desist from this cowardly practice. The *Times* termed the millowners ‘Mill-Molochs’ and ‘Millocrats,’ and the leaders and lecturers of the League as ‘capering mercenaries who go frisking about the country, and as authors of incendiary clap-trap.’ The *Standard* said that ‘England would be as great and powerful, and all useful Englishmen would be as rich as they are, though one ruin should engulf all the manufacturing towns and districts of Great Britain.’ ‘Is there,’ it added, ‘a millowner who would not compound for the utter destruction of all the manufacturing industry of Great Britain at five years’ end, upon condition that during that period he should have full and profitable employment for all his mills and all his capital, reinforced by all the credit he could obtain? And it may be confidently answered, NOT ONE.’ And the *Quarterly Review* denounced the League as the foulest and most dangerous combination of recent times.

The chiefs of the League were in no degree moved from their purpose by such furious and discreditable attacks, which only served to show the alarm of their opponents; and they steadily pursued the course which they had marked out for themselves. A great bazaar, which had for some time been in preparation, was held at the close of January, 1842, and produced nearly £10,000. A meeting of delegates—about 600 in number—from the local associations throughout the country, was convened in London on the 18th of February, to wait the announcement of the measures which the Government had prepared to submit to Parliament, with

instructions to entertain no proposal for any compromise. Everything betokened a struggle in which no quarter would be given or received.

It had been commonly understood during the recess that the Ministry intended to do something with the Corn Law, and the whole country was on the tiptoe of expectation. The retirement at this time of that member of the Cabinet who was regarded as especially the representative of the agricultural interest, had greatly quickened public excitement among both Protectionists and Free Traders. Sir Robert Peel mentions in his 'Memoirs,' published after his death, that he had brought the question before his colleagues in written memoranda, pointing out the evils of the present system, especially the violent fluctuations in the corn duty, and showing how little that duty could do towards keeping up a permanent high price. It was assumed when the law of 1815 was passed that wheat could not be profitably grown at a lower price than eighty shillings a quarter, while on the average of a number of years it amounted to only fifty-six shillings. He therefore proposed for their consideration the propriety of so readjusting the machinery of the sliding scale as to secure that price.

The proposal was evidently distasteful to all the members of the Cabinet. The Duke of Buckingham at once resigned his office, rather than be a party to any project for remodelling the Corn Law. The other Ministers urged that, if they consented to this change, it should be on the understanding that whatever amount of protection should now be fixed should be made permanent; but Peel unhesitatingly refused his consent to any such guarantee.

Mr. Morley quotes a letter from Cobden to his brother, which gives a graphic description of the discussions in the Cabinet at this time.

'Whilst I was with M^r.Gregor,' he says, 'he showed me a copy of the scale of duties which he had prepared under Peel's direc-

tions, and which he proposed to the Cabinet, causing Buckingham's retirement, and nearly leading to a break-up altogether. The scale was purposely devised to be as nearly as possible equal to an eight-shilling duty. It was eight shillings at fifty-six shillings, rising a shilling of duty with the rise of a shilling in price. With the exception of Ripon, he could get no support in the Cabinet. Lyndhurst, like an old fox, refused to vote (as I am told), not knowing whether Peel or the monopolists might be conqueror, and being himself equally happy to serve God or Mammon. The Duke of Bucks got hold of Richmond, who seconded Wellington, who by the aid of Stanley and Graham frustrated Peel's intentions. The latter told them that no other Prime Minister after him would take office to give the landlords even an eight-shillings maximum duty. I learn from several quarters that Stanley is one of Peel's stoutest opponents against any alterations of a beneficial character in the monopolies.'

The Queen opened the Parliament in person on the 3rd of February, 1842. The speech from the throne acknowledged 'with deep regret the continued distress in the manufacturing districts of the country,' and that 'the sufferings and privations which had resulted from it had been borne with exemplary patience and fortitude.' It also recommended to the consideration of both Houses the 'laws which affect the imports of corn and other articles.' In the Commons, Sir Robert Peel announced that, on the following Wednesday, he would state to the House the nature of the measure which he intended to bring forward.

The deputies had been refused an interview with the Prime Minister on the plea of his numerous engagements; and they were excluded from the lobbies of the House, probably on account of their numbers. They appear to have been in a state of considerable excitement and irritation; and congregating in Palace Yard, they greeted with angry shouts of 'No Corn Laws,' 'Down with the monopoly,' 'Give

bread and labour,' the members whom they knew to be supporters of the obnoxious laws. Peel rose to speak at four o'clock to a crowded and anxious House, amid deep and almost breathless silence. He was uneasy and nervous, but he stated clearly and distinctly the modifications he was prepared to make on the existing system. He admitted and deplored the prevailing distress, but he could not admit that it was in any degree owing to the operation of the Corn Laws. It was due to 'a combination of causes acting concurrently; to too much facility of credit in 1837 and 1838; to the displacement of hand-loom weaving by steam-power; to monetary difficulties in the United States, which had lessened the demand for our manufactures; to interruption of the China trade; to over-production at home; and to alarms of war in Europe, which had exercised an injurious influence on commerce. An alteration of the Corn Law would be no remedy for any of these evils, and a total repeal of that law would add agricultural to manufacturing distress. At the same time, the existing Corn Law was capable of improvement. It was injurious to the consumer, to the revenue, to the grower, and to commerce; and he thought it might be so modified as to obviate these injurious effects, and yet to afford adequate protection to the agricultural interest. He could not, however, agree to a fixed duty on two grounds—first, on account of the great difficulty of determining the proper amount of it on any satisfactory data; and secondly and chiefly, because it would be impossible to maintain a fixed duty in a time of scarcity and distress, and if it were once withdrawn it would be impossible to reimpose it. He had, therefore, resolved to retain the sliding scale, but considerably altered and improved. He thought it was for the interest of the agriculturist that the price of wheat should range between fifty-four and fifty-eight shillings, and they ought not to expect more. 'When corn is 59s. and under 60s.,' he said, 'the duty at present is 27s. 8d.; when corn is between these

prices the duty I propose is 13s. When the price of corn is at 50s. the existing duty is 36s. 8d., increasing as the price falls; instead of which I propose when corn is at 50s. that the duty shall be only 20s., and that that duty shall in no case be exceeded. At 56s. the existing duty is 30s. 8d.; the duty I propose at that price is 16s. At 60s. the existing duty is 26s. 8d.; the duty I propose at that price is 12s. At 63s. the existing duty is 23s. 8d.; the duty I propose is 9s. At 64s. the existing duty is 22s. 8d.; the duty I propose is 8s. At 70s. the existing duty is 10s. 8d.; the duty I propose is 5s.'

After reading this proposed scale of duties, Peel concluded his long exposition of his scheme by pleading that the agriculturists had special burdens, and were therefore entitled to have such a duty imposed on foreign corn as is equivalent to these burdens. 'Any additional protection to them can only be vindicated on the ground that it is for the interest of the country generally. And it is for the interest of all classes that we should be paying occasionally a small additional sum upon our own domestic produce, in order that we may thereby establish a security and insurance against the calamities that would ensue if we became altogether, or in a great part, dependent upon foreign countries for our supply.'

Such was the nature of the last and the most memorable of the Corn Laws adopted by the British legislature. There was no debate. When Peel sat down Lord John Russell asked a question about the mode of taking the averages, and Sir Robert added a word or two of explanation. Cobden, however, denounced the measure as a bitter insult to a suffering people, who had borne their privations with most praiseworthy patience. The opinion which the free-trade leader had expressed respecting the new Corn Law was at once re-echoed by the 700 delegates who met next morning and recorded their emphatic condemnation of the measure, and their solemn protest against it as a total denial of the

just demands of the people of this country. Similar expressions of opinion, in even more indignant terms, were made throughout the manufacturing districts. The ordinary places of public meeting were not large enough to contain the thousands of men suffering from the restrictions on the importation of food, who had learned with mingled anger and dismay that a Corn Law was to be maintained, and they assembled in the open air, in cold and rain, to lift up their protest against the denial of relief. Their indignation was mainly directed against the Prime Minister, who, they believed, had the power to redress their wrongs if he had possessed the inclination; and his effigy, suspended on gibbets, was carried through the streets of several towns, to the sound of drums and fifes, and then, amid the execrations of the crowds, consigned to the flames.

The adjourned debate in the House of Commons on the Bill was opened on the 14th of February by Lord John Russell, who moved 'that this House, considering the evils which have been caused by the present Corn Laws, and especially by the fluctuations of the graduated or sliding scale, is not prepared to adopt the measure of Her Majesty's Government, which is founded on the same principles, and is likely to be attended by similar results.' After a debate which lasted for four nights, the amendment was rejected by 349 votes to 226. Mr. Villiers then moved the total abolition of the duty on corn; and the discussion of this testing question lasted for five nights more. Sir Robert Peel, who had endeavoured to restrain his followers from taking part in the debate, delivered a very long and plausible speech on the fourth night, and was answered on the following evening by Cobden, who ridiculed the attempt to settle the price of food by legislation. Why not try in the same way to keep up the price of cottons and silks? The fact that they did not try this was the simple and open avowal that they were met there to legislate for a class against the

people. Cobden was particularly happy in his exposure of the fallacy that low wages are the same thing as cheap labour. English artisans on the Continent were earning twice as much as the native workmen, yet their employers declared that the English labourer is cheaper than the native labourer. He roused the anger of the Ministerial supporters by accusing them of gross ignorance of the points at issue; and they took their revenge by setting on him a Mr. Ferrand, member for Knaresborough, a coarse and vulgar fellow, 'the buffoon of the House,' who in a previous speech had abused the manufacturers and their wives and daughters, and had said that their only object was to make fortunes by reducing wages. The attack was premeditated and arranged by the Ministerial whips, and Cobden was told several days before that it was to take place. 'With the attitudes of a prize-fighter and the voice of a bull,' Ferrand assailed the whole class of northern manufacturers, accused them of forcing the truck system upon their helpless workmen, of poisoning them by the vile rags and devil's dust with which they had to work, and which their employers used for the fraudulent adulteration of their cloths. He went so far as to assert that the scarcity of flour arose from the consumption of that article by the manufacturers in a paste with which they dishonestly daubed the face of their calicoes.

'You never witnessed such a scene,' wrote Cobden to his brother, 'as that in the House of Commons when Ferrand was speaking the other night. The Tories were literally frantic with delight. Every sentence he uttered was caught up and cheered by a large majority far more vehemently than anything that fell from Peel or Macaulay.' Cobden himself was quite indifferent to attacks of this sort. They passed by him 'idly as the wind, which he regarded not.' He told the House very quietly that it was not his mission to indulge in gross personalities, and that nothing should drive him into a personal altercation; but he con-

sidered the dignity of the House lowered by such an exhibition as they had witnessed, and which the Ministers and their supporters had witnessed with such approbation and delight. His friends, however, did not regard with complacency such a scandalous attack on the free-trade leader and the whole class of manufacturers; and the men whose 'talk was of bullocks' were not aware of the danger they were provoking by their uproarious applause of the Ferrands and other bullies of their party, and their loud laughter during the debate at the details given of the privations and sufferings of the working classes. The motion of Mr. Villiers for the total repeal of the Corn Laws found only ninety supporters in a House of 483 members. But the fact that so many had voted in its favour was regarded as ominous by the more sagacious members of the Protectionist party. Lord Lowther, one of the shrewdest of their number, after the division, remarked that he now saw that the Corn Laws would not last more than three years. Peel's new Corn Bill proceeded unaltered through the Commons, the amendments proposed by the 'Farmers' friends,' on the one hand, and of the moderate Free Traders on the other, being rejected by large majorities; and the second reading was carried on the 9th of March by a majority of 284 against 176.

It was followed by another measure, called the Tariff Bill, founded on the report of the Committee on Import Duties. That report showed that the existing system was not based on any general principle, and had no unity of purpose. No less than 1150 rates of duty were enumerated as chargeable on imported articles, and these duties were frequently levied in the most vexatious and annoying manner. Some were imposed for revenue, others for protection to particular interests, to the great detriment of the public income and of the people. Peel's Tariff Bill substituted for a great multitude of duties imposts on a small number of the most productive articles. He abolished in all cases imposts for mere

protection, leaving only duties levied for revenue; and he reduced very materially the duties upon the raw materials of manufactures, and on articles only partially manufactured. Altogether, he made a reduction of duty on 750 articles. The duty on the importation of fresh and salted meat was lowered, but not on cheese and butter. Heavy imposts, of course, were still levied on corn and sugar, the two chief articles consumed by the masses, and the Free-Trade orators did not fail to ring the changes on the legislation which had taken off the tax upon dried fruits, cosmetics, caviare, and satin—the luxuries of the rich—and left it upon the poor man's loaf.

The Income-Tax Bill, which imposed a tax of sevenpence in the pound on income—the complement of Peel's financial measures—passed the Commons with little opposition, but with strong protests against it on account of its bearing as heavily upon the precarious income of professions and trades as upon the income derived from landed and realized property. The produce of the new tax was estimated at £3,775,000; but of that sum only £154,000 was expected to come from tenant farmers. The Protectionists gave their assent to these measures reluctantly. The more shrewd of their number saw clearly that the Parliament had entered upon a course of legislation which sooner or later would lead to the abolition of the Corn Law and all other protective duties.

The new Corn Law had reduced the duty on wheat by more than a half; but the price of bread continued to rise, and 'the famine was sore in the land.' From every quarter of the country came reports of the dreadful sufferings of the people from the want of employment and food. A number of leading manufacturers issued a letter, in which they stated that 'trade is everywhere paralyzed, wages are rapidly declining, workmen are being discharged, poor-rates are fast increasing in the agricultural as well as in the manufacturing districts.

Private charity has subscribed nobly, but yields to the overwhelming pressure. Peaceable men are made savage and desperate. The loyal and obedient are becoming discontented, and disaffected, and revengeful; and society in many parts of the country seems to be on the very verge of dissolution.' In Scotland—Glasgow, Paisley, and other manufacturing towns were in a state of destitution. In Newcastle almost the whole of the operatives were out of employment, and were living on the charity doled out to them by the town council. In Shields the trade was almost annihilated. In Somersetshire there were about 30,000 persons out of employment. In Leeds there were 30,000 or 40,000 persons existing upon charity. In Stockport, where more than half the master spinners had failed and 3000 dwelling-houses were shut up, a subscription had been raised which afforded relief to 3143 families and 73,314 individuals; but the funds were exhausted while there were still 13,161 individuals requiring assistance. The want of employment and the distress were equally great in Sheffield, Wolverhampton, and the iron districts. So was it also in the Potteries and among the miners of Staffordshire, and indeed throughout the whole manufacturing districts of the country. The agricultural labourers shared in the general distress, and the able-bodied labourers received only six or seven shillings a week. Cobden said in the House of Commons that he knew of a place where a hundred wedding-rings had been pawned in a single week to provide bread, and of another place where men and women subsisted on boiled nettles and dug up the decayed carcase of a cow rather than perish of hunger. The value, not only of manufactured goods, but of machinery and buildings, had enormously decreased, while the poor-rates had everywhere increased in the same proportion.

On the 1st of July an important debate took place in the House of Commons, on a motion by Mr. Wallace of Greenock, upon

the distress of the country. It was rendered memorable as having afforded Cobden an opportunity of making his first great speech in the House, of which a member no way friendly to him said it was 'a speech fraught with more melancholy instruction than it had ever been his lot to hear.' It produced no effect, however, on the mind of the Minister and of his supporters, who insisted that the prevailing distress was not caused by the Corn Law, and would not be removed or lessened by the abolition of that measure; and accordingly the House resolved, by 156 votes against 64, that the distressed condition of the country should not be taken into consideration. The Chartists, under the guidance of the unprincipled demagogue, Feargus O'Connor, had thrown every obstacle they could interpose in the way of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and had violently intruded into its meetings and interrupted its proceedings. It was not without good reason that Cobden complained that 'the great body of the intelligent mechanics stood aloof, and allowed a parcel of lads, with hired knaves for leaders, to interrupt their meetings.' In the autumn of 1842 the Chartists became more violently aggressive. They imagined that if they could compel the operatives to cease from work, they would compel the country to support and the legislature to grant their demands for the six points of the Charter. Their foolish or designing leaders, not a few of whom had been bribed by the Protectionists, acting upon the distressed and despairing multitude, induced them to be guilty of the inexpressible folly of abandoning their employment, and trying to compel their fellow-workmen to abandon it, at a period when employers had very little work to give. The movement began at Ashton-under-Lyne on the 8th of August, and speedily extended to Hyde, Oldham, and Manchester. Thence it spread into Staffordshire and Yorkshire, and reached the nailers and miners at Dudley and Stourbridge. Bands of men visited the manufactories of every sort

in these districts, and compelled the men to turn out. In some instances machinery was broken and dwelling-houses were gutted and burned. Large bodies of military were despatched to the scene, and several thousands of special constables were sworn in to preserve the peace. The privations which the rioters brought upon themselves speedily convinced them of the folly of their resolution not to resume work until the Charter was obtained. An earnest and convincing address was issued by John Bright, exposing the arts of the leaders of the movement—most of them from a distance—which produced a powerful impression upon the tens of thousands who had been misled by these unscrupulous knaves; and in the course of a few weeks the men returned to their work.

This movement was undoubtedly intended to injure the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, and was fitted to produce that effect; but it was nevertheless represented by the Tory press as the work of the League, in spite of the fact that its leaders were nearly all mill-owners. It was even reported that criminal proceedings were about to be taken against them. Cobden, after indignantly repudiating this unfounded aspersion, and commenting on this exhibition of the profligacy of the London and Manchester Tory press in connection with this subject, availed himself of the opportunity to repudiate all connection of the League with any political party for the promotion of factious or sectional purposes. 'We are no political body,' he said; 'we have refused to be bought by the Tories; we have kept aloof from the Whigs, and we will not join partnership with either Radicals or Chartists; but we hold out our hand ready to give it to all parties who are willing to advocate the total and immediate repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws. Our business is not to alter constitutions. We do not seek for Chartism, Whiggism, Radicalism, or Republicanism—we simply ask for an enlarged market to enable the capitalist to extend the sale of his goods, and thereby

to increase the demand for labour, and augment the rate of wages.' One main element, indeed, of the strength of the agitation was the fact that its leaders steadily pursued the great object they had in view, without any regard to the views or interests of either of the political parties in the country. That it was essentially a middle-class agitation was no fault of theirs, for they had been compelled to take up this position by the artifices and manoeuvres of the Chartist intriguers on the one hand, and the furious opposition of the landlords on the other.

The leaders of the League now set themselves with renewed energy and activity to prosecute the work of instructing the nation; and their first step towards the attainment of that object was to raise the necessary funds. They had already expended about £100,000, of which a considerable portion had been raised in the city of Manchester and its vicinity. They now resolved to raise at once a new fund of £50,000. Two thousand lectures had been already delivered, and more than 4,000,000 of tracts had been printed and circulated; but the obnoxious system of monopoly and restriction seemed as firmly rooted as ever. The Council of the League now resolved to make an attack upon every registered elector in the United Kingdom by sending to each a packet of publications, embracing the whole argument as it affects both the agricultural and the commercial interests of the nation. A series of meetings in order to raise the necessary funds, was held throughout Leicestershire and Yorkshire; and Messrs. Cobden and Bright, and Colonel Thompson, made a pilgrimage into Scotland. Their reception, as Cobden says, was gratifying in the extreme. Their addresses, delivered in almost all the towns throughout the country, were listened to by great crowds with marked attention, and, indeed, enthusiasm. 'Glasgow, Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Perth, and Stirling,' says Cobden, 'have all

presented me with the freedom of their burghs; and I have no doubt I could have become a free citizen of every corporate town in Scotland by paying them a visit.'

Mr. Bright also described in glowing terms the intelligence of the Scottish working men, their freedom from any crotchets about machinery or wages, and their thorough comprehension of the real question at issue. After mentioning that the farmers and landowners were 'intelligent enough to know that the monopolists themselves rarely thrive under the monopolies they are so fond of,' he goes on to say that 'Scotland in former ages was the cradle of liberty, civil and religious. Scotland now is the home of liberty; and there are many more men in Scotland in proportion to its population who are in favour of the rights of man than there are in any other equal proportion of the population of this country. I told them that they were the people who should have the repeal of the Union, for that if they were separate from England they might have a government wholly popular, and intelligent to a degree which I believe does not exist in any country on the face of the earth. However, I believe they will be disposed to press us on, and make us become more and more intelligent; and we may receive benefit from contact with them, even though for some ages to come our connection with them may be productive of evil to themselves.' *

As there was no building in Manchester capable of containing the large numbers who flocked to hear the speeches on the progress of the struggle, a large wooden structure, capable of holding a good many thousands, was hurriedly erected in 1840, and completed in eleven days. It occupied the field on which the 'Peterloo massacre' had occurred, and the ground belonged to Mr. Cobden, who placed it at the disposal

* The Union with England was no doubt at first a great benefit to Scotland; but it is undeniable that, down to the present day, Scotland has suffered severely, especially in regard to ecclesiastical and educational matters, from English legislation.

of the League for that purpose. As it had now become evident, however, that the contest was to be protracted probably for a number of years, it was resolved to replace this temporary structure, which had been destroyed by a fire, by a more substantial building. The beginning of the year 1843 saw the new Free-Trade Hall rapidly approaching completion, and on the evening of the 30th of January this room, the largest place of the kind in the kingdom, was opened, and was crowded in every part by nearly five thousand enthusiastic friends of the cause. It was announced to the meeting that upwards of £40,000 had already been subscribed towards the League fund, and the remainder of the sum that had been fixed as necessary was shortly after made up. Other meetings followed, and banquets and conferences to promote the removal of all restrictions on agriculture, trade, and commerce, which were attended by thousands, not only of the inhabitants of Manchester, but of the surrounding districts. Similar meetings were held in London, and great multitudes, attracted by the eloquent orations of Cobden and Bright, flocked to Drury Lane Theatre, which was engaged for one day of each week in Lent. Anti-Corn-Law meetings, bazaars, and banquets, were to be seen in every part of the kingdom, and the whole country was in a state of deep commotion.

Parliament met on the 2nd of February, and on the 13th of the month a motion proposed by Lord Howick, for a committee to consider the distress which the Queen's speech admitted to prevail among the people, gave rise to a debate which extended over five nights, and was conducted on both sides with marked ability. Shortly before this Mr. Edward Drummond, Sir Robert Peel's private secretary, was shot in the street by a mechanic named Macnaghton, who was tried for the murder, but was proved to be insane, and confined for life in an asylum. It was alleged that Mr. Drummond had been mistaken for the Premier, but there was no evidence

whatever to prove that this was the case. The incident, however, gave a shock to the nerves of Sir Robert Peel, who was morbidly sensible to physical pain, and was moreover worn out with labour and harassed with public anxieties, as well as distressed by the murder of his secretary. This may account for the painful incident that occurred in the course of this discussion. Mr. Cobden spoke on the last night of the debate, and in the course of a very powerful speech declared that he held Sir Robert Peel 'individually responsible for the present state of the country.' The House apparently saw nothing reprehensible in this statement, and not the slightest indication of feeling was evoked by it; and when Cobden sat down, the Ministerialists loudly called upon Mr. Bankes, who rose along with the Premier, to reply. But Sir Robert, with furious gesticulations, and a countenance which indicated extreme agitation, insisted on being heard, and charged Mr. Cobden with exposing him to serious danger by declaring him 'personally responsible' for the misery of the people. A scene of the most extraordinary excitement ensued. Mr. Cobden immediately declared that he had not said that he had held the Premier 'personally responsible.' But the Ministerialists, having now received their cue, shouted in the most passionate manner, 'Yes, yes! you did! you did!' and even Sir Robert so far forgot what was due to himself, as well as to his opponent, as to reiterate the assertion. Cobden repeated his denial, and added, 'I have said that I hold the right hon. gentleman responsible by virtue of his office, as the whole context of what I said was sufficient to explain.' Peel was still apparently not satisfied; and when at the close of the debate Cobden returned to the subject amidst interruption from the Ministerial benches, he accepted the explanation in a manner by no means so frank or cordial as it ought to have been. There were not wanting persons who at the time were so uncharitable as to allege that Peel's passion was simulated

for the purpose of crushing a formidable adversary, and the charge was repeated some years subsequently by Disraeli in his attack upon the Prime Minister. Peel then declared that he had intended at the time fully to acquit Mr. Cobden of the imputation which he had by misapprehension put upon him, and if any one had then pointed out that the reparation was not so complete and unequivocal as it ought to have been, he should at once have repeated it more plainly and distinctly. It is gratifying to know that these two eminent men came at last thoroughly to understand and appreciate each other. Roebuck, an able but ill-tempered man, availed himself of the opportunity when Cobden seemed to be pushed to the wall, to attack the free-trade leader on the ground that he was said to have spoken of Lord Brougham as a maniac, and to have threatened Roebuck's seat at Bath. Roebuck's conduct in selecting this moment for his assault was characteristic, and deserved the unsparing denunciation it drew down upon him from Mr. Bright for so assaulting the man who stood before the House the very impersonation of justice to the people.

The League had repeatedly been taunted by their opponents with the small influence they had in London, and certainly the metropolis had hitherto shown comparatively little interest in the movement. This apathy was, however, coming to an end. Drury Lane Theatre was engaged for a series of weekly meetings, the first of which was held on the 15th of March, 1843. The theatre was crowded in every part week after week with enthusiastic audiences, assembled to listen to the rousing addresses of the leaders of the agitation. In no long time London was found zealously co-operating in the work of the League.

The leaders of the movement had hitherto confined their exertions mainly to the towns; they now resolved to carry the war into the enemy's camp, and to hold a succession of meetings in the rural districts. In April, 1843, a meeting was convened at

Taunton, attended by 800 farmers from all parts of the division of Somerset, at which a resolution was passed condemnatory of the Corn Law. It was followed by similar meetings in every district of the country, which were addressed by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and other leading Free Traders. At Hertford the Shire Hall was so crowded that the meeting, attended by 2000 persons mostly farmers, had to adjourn to the open air. A resolution in favour of the repeal of the Corn Law was carried almost unanimously. A similar result took place at Aylesbury, the stronghold of the Duke of Buckingham; at Lincoln, where there were farmers who had travelled thirty miles to be present; at Canterbury, where personal violence to the speakers was threatened by one or two corn-factors; at Dorchester, where some land agents and auctioneers attempted, in their anger, to storm the hustings, but were defeated; at Bedford, where Cobden had to fight a hard battle 'against brutish squires and bull-frogs,' presided over by Lord Charles Russell, an extreme Protectionist, and beat them by a majority of two to one. At Penenden Heath 3000 of the "Men of Kent" assembled to hear a debate between Cobden and Charles Villiers, and Mr. Osborn of Marden, an influential local landowner. Hereford, Lewis, Croydon, Bristol, Salisbury, Winchester, Canterbury, Reading, Guildford, Rye, Norwich, and Huntingdon were all visited by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, or some other prominent member of the League. Perhaps their most signal triumph was at Colchester, the chief town of Essex, a county represented exclusively by Conservatives. As soon as the meeting was announced, the farmers were urgently entreated to attend. The local agricultural associations marshalled all their forces to resist the Free Traders, and the clergymen of the county exerted their influence for the same purpose; 6000 persons were present, and a stanch Protectionist was appointed to preside. Sir John Tyrrel, one of the members for the county, and a pro-

fessed friend of the agricultural labourers, backed by the redoubted Mr. Ferrand, appeared as the champions of the Corn Law; Mr. Cobden and Mr. Villiers represented the League. The debate lasted for six hours, and ended in the total discomfiture of the Protectionists, their amendment having been supported by only twenty-seven persons. It is no matter of surprise that the *Morning Post*, the organ of the extreme Conservatives, exclaimed, 'Will these repeated discomfitures induce the landowners of England to open their eyes to the dangers that beset them? . . . It is not, we fear, by such men as the present race of the parliamentary landowners that the deadly progress of the League is to be arrested.' It was impossible, indeed, for the Protectionists any longer to shut their eyes to the enormous progress that Free-Trade principles were making among the agricultural population.

Meanwhile Mr. Bright was making a tour on the Borders; and after the close of the session the 'brothers in arms,' accompanied by Colonel Thompson and Mr. Moore, made a triumphant progress through Scotland as far north as Aberdeen, taking every town of any importance in their way, and then back to Yorkshire and the Midland Counties. The agitation gathered strength at every step. Mr. Bright, after a stiff contest, was elected member for the old cathedral city of Durham; Mr. Pattison, the Free-Trade candidate, was returned for the city of London, defeating Mr. Baring, though supported by the whole influence of the Government and of the powerful Protectionist interests of the metropolis. Mr. J. Jones Lloyd (now Lord Overstone), the celebrated banker, at this juncture openly avowed himself a convert to Free-Trade principles, and so did Earl Ducie, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Spencer, Earl Radnor, the Marquis of Westminster, and other influential noblemen and gentlemen. In 1843 the sum of £50,000 had been raised by the League; it was now resolved to raise an additional fund of £100,000, and

before the close of the year not only that sum, but £17,000 in addition to it had been collected. The circulation of the *League*, the weekly organ of the Free Traders, now amounted to 20,000 copies. These and other indications of the growing influence and ultimate triumph of the Free-Trade agitation, induced the *Times* reluctantly to avow that 'THE LEAGUE IS A GREAT FACT. It would be foolish, nay, rash, to deny its importance. It is a great fact that there should have been created in the homestead of our manufactures a confederacy devoted to the agitation of one political question, persevering at it year after year, shrinking from no trouble, dismayed by no danger, making light of every obstruction. It is a great fact that at one meeting at Manchester more than forty manufacturers should subscribe on the spot each at least £100, some £300, some £400, some £500, for the advancement of a measure which, right or wrong, just or unjust, expedient or injurious, they at least believe it to be their duty or their interest, or both, to advance in every possible way. These are facts, important and worthy of consideration. No merchant can disregard them; no politician can sneer at them; no statesman can undervalue them. We who collect opinions must chronicle them. He who frames laws must to some extent consult them.'

The goal, however, was not yet reached, and cheered by the tokens of ultimate success, the Free Traders continued with unwearied assiduity to educate the people in the merits of their cause, spending £1000 a week. They were excluded from Drury Lane by the proprietors of the building; but they immediately secured the use of Covent Garden Theatre, where crowded and enthusiastic meetings assembled weekly. A bazaar was held there in May, 1845, which was a nine-days' wonder, and realized altogether £25,000. The question of the repeal of the Corn Law was brought before the House of Commons in all varieties of form; and though the Free Traders were always defeated by large majorities, the discussions

contributed greatly to the enlightenment of the people, and were not without effect even on the farmers' friends in Parliament. But to outward appearance their cause seemed then on the decline. Two remarkably abundant harvests, combined with Peel's financial measures, had brought about a revival of trade, and consequent relief to the manufacturing classes. The revenue was prosperous, and the Ministry seemed more secure and powerful than ever. Strange to say, however, the farmers throughout the whole country were in a state of embarrassment and distress, and, as usual, were appealing to Parliament for relief. The proposals of Cobden and his friends that committees should be appointed to inquire into the causes of the agricultural distress, and the real nature and amount of the peculiar burdens of which the landed interest had to complain, were opposed by the Government and rejected by the Legislature. But the discussions on these repeated motions made it evident to all unprejudiced persons that, while abundance of food stimulated manufacturing industry and increased the comfort of the working classes, restrictions on the importation of corn could not protect the interests of the farmers. There can be no doubt that the position of the agricultural as well as of the manufacturing classes at that time, and the causes at work in regard to both, had produced a deep impression on the mind of the Prime Minister, and had already shaken his confidence in the protective system. This feeling was strikingly manifested in the debate (7th of March) on Mr. Cobden's motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the causes and extent of the alleged existing agricultural distress, and into the effects of legislative protection upon the interests of landowners, tenant farmers, and farm labourers. Cobden's speech on this occasion was regarded by some as his best. The Prime Minister followed every sentence with earnest attention; his face grew more and more solemn as the argument proceeded. At length he crumpled up the

notes which he had been taking, and was heard by an onlooker, who was close by, to say to Mr. Sidney Herbert, who sat next him on the bench, 'You must answer this, for I cannot.'

The battle, however, was apparently still far from being won. The leaders of the League were apprehensive that the contest would be protracted much longer than they had at first expected, and practically the Government was much stronger at this time than even when they assumed office. As Mr. Disraeli said, 'If they had forfeited the hearts of their adherents, they had not lost their votes;' and the Conservative party were quite well aware that without Peel and the Duke of Wellington they were powerless. But although the state of the harvests and of commerce had given a great advantage to their opponents, the confidence of the Free Traders in the goodness of their cause, and their exertions to bring the contest to a successful issue, were in no degree diminished. In the previous year Cobden had originated a sagacious scheme for bringing the influence of the party to bear upon the House of Commons. They had hitherto devoted attention, time, and labour to the registration of voters in the boroughs. They had found tens of thousands on the register who had no right to be there, and tens of thousands omitted who ought to have been there. Matters were in a similar state in the great county of Lancashire; and the exertions of the Free Traders to rectify the register had been so successful, that they had good reason to believe a new election would only leave the Protectionists four out of the twenty-six members returned by the county and its boroughs.

Something more was wanted, however, than the purification of the registers; and Cobden proposed that they should turn to account that section of the Reform Bill which conferred the franchise upon freeholders possessing property worth forty shillings a year. The noted Chandos clause, as we have seen, gave tenants-at-

will, occupying land of the yearly value of £50, the right to vote, and the landlords had availed themselves of this provision to the utmost 'by making,' as Cobden said, 'brothers, sons, nephews, uncles—ay, down to the third generation if they happened to live upon the farm—all qualify for the same holding, and swear, if need be, that they were partners in the farm, though they were no more partners than you are. This they did, and that successfully, and by that means gained the counties. But there was another clause in the Reform Act, which we of the middle classes—the unprivileged industrious men who live by our capital and labour—never found out, namely, the forty shilling freehold clause. I will set that against the Chandos clause, and we will beat them in the counties with it. The forty shilling franchise is within the reach of any man who has the spirit to acquire it. Every county with a large population, every county bordering upon the sea coast or having manufactures, may be won, and easily won, if the people can be roused to a systematic effort to qualify themselves for the vote. There is a large class of mechanics who save their £40 or £50; they have been accustomed, perhaps, to put it in the Savings Bank. I will not say a word to undervalue that institution; but cottage property will pay twice as much interest as the Savings Bank. There are many fathers who have sons just ripening into maturity. I say to such a parent, make your son at twenty-one a freeholder; it is an act of duty for you to make him thereby an independent freeman, and put it in his power to defend himself and his children from political oppression.'

Cobden's recommendation has frequently been referred to as equivalent to the creation of fagot votes, which has been so often denounced as a violation of the principle of the Reform Bill. In reality it had nothing in common with the practice of persons who are strangers to a county acquiring votes, often on a fictitious qualification, in order to override the wishes and opinions

of the majority who reside in it. Cobden's object was to induce the inhabitants of a county to purchase with their own money freeholds in their own neighbourhood. And no one can affirm that this is not in entire accordance both with the spirit and the letter of the law.

Mr. Cobden's advice was immediately followed with such alacrity and zeal that it took two hours a day to read the letters that came from every part of the country, all expressing cordial approbation of the scheme, and a desire to take part in it. In the course of a few months not less than £250,000 was invested in forty shilling freeholds in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and between 4000 and 5000 new electors were put upon the electoral registers in these three counties. In other parts of the country ten times as many persons were induced in the same way to obtain a qualification to vote, and the operation has been vigorously carried on down to the present time. Cobden did not regard this great process simply as a means of promoting the triumph of Free Trade, but also as an instrument for obtaining other much needed reforms. The moral influence which such an investment was fitted to exercise upon the character of the skilled working class is even more important than their possession of constitutional rights. As it has been justly remarked, 'it was well to neutralize the vicious operation of the Chandos clause; but it was a far greater thing to have recurred to the benefit of making our working classes citizens indeed by giving them the power of holding house or land by means of their own earnings, and to do this by a method suited to the time and to the existing state of our civilization—not by tempting them to depend on the land for subsistence, but only as an investment for their savings after maintaining themselves by the species of labour which the time requires.'

The League continued steadily to gain ground; and it was evident that the leaders of the Whig party were gradually giving

up the notion of a fixed duty on corn, and becoming favourable to the principle of total repeal. Still, the goal seemed to be at a considerable distance, and the Free-Trade champions were girding up their loins for another and more vigorous campaign. Their complete triumph, however, was near at hand, though the path to victory lay through a scene of terrible national suffering.

The Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person, on the 7th of August, 1845. The summer had been cold and rainy, and it became evident as the season advanced that the harvest was to be deficient; but the session was hardly at an end before serious apprehensions began to be entertained that the potato crop, on which the vast majority of the working population of Ireland depended for subsistence, would prove a failure. Sir Robert Peel, in his 'Memoirs,' states that about the beginning of August he received notice of the appearance of disease in the potato plant in the Isle of Wight. A letter from a potato merchant, forwarded by Sir James Graham on the 12th, confirmed the report. About the end of September the disease had become very general in Ireland; and by the middle of October the accounts which reached the Home Secretary and the Premier had become most alarming. 'The stealthy rain,' says Miss Martineau, 'by some means yet as mysterious as ever, generated some minute plague—of what nature nobody yet knows, if indeed it is certain that the rain was the instrument; a plague so minute that no microscope has yet convicted it, yet so powerful that it was soon to overthrow governments and derange commerce, and affect for all time to come the political fate of England, and settle the question of the regeneration or destruction of Ireland. The minute plague spread and spread till it blackened thousands of acres, and destroyed the food of millions of men.' The progress of the disease was watched with the greatest anxiety by Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, as their

correspondence shows. 'I am greatly troubled by this Irish calamity which occupies my thoughts,' wrote the Premier; 'and it becomes greater in prospect the more I consider it. It is awful to observe how the Almighty humbles the pride of nations.' It will be necessary,' said the Home Secretary, 'that we should apply our immediate thoughts and attention to measures which may mitigate this national calamity, for human skill can supply no remedy.' It seems that it was from Sir James that the first expression came of the opinion, that if the duties on the food of the people were once remitted it would be impossible to reimpose them. 'The suspension of the existing Corn Law,' he wrote, 'on the avowed admission that its maintenance aggravated the evil of scarcity, and that its remission is the surest mode of restoring plenty, would render its re-enactment or future operation quite impracticable, yet if the evil be as urgent as I fear it will be, to this suspension we shall be driven.' There is every probability that the Premier had by this time come to the same conclusion.

When at length the probable extent of the calamity could no longer be concealed, a meeting of the Cabinet was called on the 31st of October. Sir Robert Peel, after laying before his colleagues the information he had received respecting the state of Ireland, including the scientific reports of Professors Lyon Playfair, Lindley, and Kane on the potato disease, put to them three questions: 'Shall we maintain unaltered—shall we modify—shall we suspend the operation of the Corn Laws?' In the course of the conversation which followed the reading of the Premier's Memorandum, it became evident, strange to say, that very serious differences of opinion existed as to the necessity for adopting any extraordinary measures, as well as to the character of the measures which it might be advisable to adopt. The Cabinet therefore separated without coming to any decision, fixing another meeting for the 6th of November.

The accounts which continued to pour in upon the Government left no doubt that matters were rapidly becoming more alarming, and that, in the words of the Duke of Portland, 'the failure of the potato crop in Ireland must produce this winter the most cruel distress there among the lower orders.' When the Cabinet reassembled, on the 6th of November, Sir Robert proposed that they should at once issue an Order in Council, opening the ports for the admission of all species of grain, and call Parliament together to ask for indemnity. These proposals were supported by only three members of the Cabinet—the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. The other members, following the Duke of Wellington and Lord Stanley, declined to give their assent to them. Peel did not conceal his conviction, in which the dissentient majority fully shared, that it would be very difficult to reimpose the corn duties if they were once suspended. They were all aware, as Cobden said, that the League was strong enough to prevent the ports, if once opened, from being shut again. The proposal to open the ports was in consequence laid aside or postponed, and the Cabinet merely resolved on appointing a Commission to take some steps to guard against the consequences of a sudden famine in Ireland.

Meanwhile, however, the League had raised the cry of 'open the ports' throughout the whole country. Its leaders had resolved to raise a fund of a quarter of a million, and to redouble their exertions at this crisis to abolish all restrictions on the importation of food. 'The Anti-Corn-Law pressure is about to commence,' wrote Sir James Graham to the Premier, 'and it will be the most formidable movement in modern times.' It was all the more formidable that a number of influential landowners, hitherto opposed to the repeal of the corn duties, now felt that the claims of humanity imperatively required their immediate abolition. On the 10th of October Lord Ashley, in a letter to

the electors of Dorsetshire, which produced a great sensation throughout the country, declared his conviction that 'the destiny of the Corn Laws was fixed,' and that 'the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature are by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition.' A few weeks later Lord Morpeth joined the League, and wrote, 'I wish to record in the most emphatic way I can my conviction that the time is come for a total repeal of the Corn Laws, and my protest against the continual inaction of the State in the present emergency.'

At this critical juncture Lord John Russell, who was in Edinburgh, and had been closely watching the proceedings of the Ministry, wrote on the 22nd of November his famous letter to his constituents—the electors of the City of London. 'The Queen's Ministers,' he said, 'have met and separated without affording us any promise of such seasonable relief [as a suspension of the import duties on corn]. It becomes us, therefore, the Queen's subjects, to consider how we can best avert, or at all events mitigate, calamities of no ordinary magnitude.' After adverting to his former opinions and proposals, he went on to say that observation and experience had convinced him that we ought to abstain from all interference with the supply of food; that it was no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty; and that the imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction within a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. 'Let us then,' he proceeded to say, 'unite to put an end to a system which has been found to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people. The Government appear to be waiting for some excuse to give up the present Corn Law. Let the people, by petition, by address, by remonstrance, afford them the excuse they seek.'

This letter at once brought matters to a head. 'It could not,' as Peel said, 'fail to exercise a very material influence on the public mind, and on the subject-matter of our deliberations in the Cabinet. It justified the conclusion that the Whig party was prepared to unite with the Anti-Corn-Law League in demanding the total repeal of the Corn Laws.' It did more. As Mr. Bright said to Lord John, whom he accidentally met on his way from Edinburgh to Osborne, 'it made the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law inevitable.' The Premier immediately summoned his Cabinet to consider what course they should now adopt. He advised the suspension of the Corn Law for a limited period; but he at the same time frankly admitted that this course involved the necessity for the immediate consideration of the alterations to be made in the existing Corn Law—in other words, the question of the principle and degree of protection to agriculture. His opinion was that either by a progressive diminution of duty to be annually continued, or at a certain time to be named in the law, all duties on the import of grain, meal, and flour should be abolished. Sir Robert at one time entertained the belief, that some such measure as he suggested might receive the assent of all his colleagues. The Duke of Wellington, with his usual straightforwardness and simplicity of character, declared that his own judgment would lead him to maintain the Corn Laws; but, he added, 'A good Government for the country is more important than Corn Laws or any other consideration, and as long as Sir Robert Peel possesses the confidence of the Queen and of the public, and he has strength to perform the duties, his administration of the Government must be supported.' But Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch declined to give their assent to any measure involving the ultimate repeal of the Corn Laws. The other members of the Government were prepared to support such a measure; but the Premier said he could not conceal from himself that the

assent given by many was a reluctant one—that it was founded rather on a conviction of the public evil that must arise from the dissolution of the Government at such a time and from such a cause, than on the deliberate approval of the particular course which he urged upon their adoption. Under such circumstances Sir Robert thought it very doubtful whether he could conduct to a successful issue a proposal for the final adjustment of the Corn Law. He therefore considered it to be his duty to tender his resignation.

This event took place on the 5th of December. On the previous day the *Times* had announced that it was the intention of Government to repeal the Corn Laws, and to call Parliament together in January for the purpose. Next day the *Standard* denounced the statement as ‘an atrocious fabrication,’ and the *Herald* also fiercely denied and argued against it; but on the 6th the *Times* calmly repeated the assertion. ‘We adhere to our original announcement that Parliament will meet early in January, and that a repeal of the Corn Laws will be proposed in the one House by Sir Robert Peel, and in the other by the Duke of Wellington.’ The effect of this announcement at the Corn Exchange was immense—surprise, not so much displeasure as might have been expected, and an instant downward tendency in the price of grain. The information was substantially true when it was made public; but on the following day the Premier, as we have seen, came to the conclusion that it was doubtful whether he could carry out his project, and that the public interest would be very injuriously affected by the failure of an attempt made by a Government to adjust the Corn-Law question. He therefore repaired to Osborne on the 5th of December, and solicited the Queen to relieve him from duties which, as he said, he felt he could no longer discharge with advantage to Her Majesty’s service.

The Queen naturally turned to the leader of the Opposition as Sir Robert Peel’s natural successor, and Lord John

Russell was accordingly summoned from Edinburgh. He arrived on the 11th. Though the result was in part due to his letter, it had taken him by surprise; and he was fully alive to the difficulties he would have to encounter, if he were to take office while his party was in a decided minority in the House of Commons. With his characteristic courage, however, he accepted the commission which Her Majesty had offered him, encouraged by the generous assurance from Sir Robert Peel that he would support any measures founded on the general principle stated at the close of Lord John’s letter, and would exercise his influence to promote their success. But the experiment was not tried. Lord Russell considered the presence in his Cabinet of Lord Palmerston and Earl Grey (formerly Lord Howick, who had recently succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father), as indispensably necessary; but the latter, while desiring that Lord Palmerston should be a member of the Government, was of opinion that he should not be appointed to his former office of Foreign Secretary. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, intimated that if he joined the Government he would do so only as the head of the Foreign Office. Lord Grey also expressed his dissatisfaction with Russell’s refusal to offer a seat in the Cabinet to Mr. Cobden, when the Whig chief, true to the traditions of his party, proposed to appoint the great leader of the Anti-Corn-Law League to the office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, as the reward of his long services in the cause which was now about to place the Whigs once more in power. This dissension in the camp could not be allayed, and it rescued the leaders from a position not only perilous to the real interests of the party, but to the public welfare. There is every reason to believe that Lord John Russell could not have carried the repeal of the Corn Law, for this among other cogent reasons, that the great body of the Conservatives would not have given him the support in

carrying the measure which they were with difficulty induced to give to the Bill brought forward by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington. Russell therefore, on the 20th of December, underwent the mortification of confessing to the sovereign his inability to form a Government, and was obliged to leave to his great rival the performance of the service which he had found himself unable to undertake. 'All our plans,' wrote Macaulay, 'were frustrated by Lord Grey, who objected to Lord Palmerston being Foreign Secretary. I hope that the public interests will not suffer. Sir Robert Peel must now undertake the settlement of the question. It is certain that he can settle it. It is by no means certain that we could have done so. For we shall to a man support him; and a large proportion of those who are now in office would have refused to support us.'

Sir Robert Peel had been invited by the Queen to a parting interview on his relinquishment of office, and the time fixed for that interview was the afternoon of the 20th. Previously to his arrival at Windsor Her Majesty had received from Lord John Russell a letter, intimating that he had found it impossible to form an Administration. The Queen, who felt that in this most trying crisis Peel had shown himself, as she said, more than ever 'a man of unbounded loyalty, courage, patriotism, and highmindedness,' was probably not sorry at Russell's failure; and when the ex-Premier entered the room, she said to him 'very graciously, "So far from taking leave of you, Sir Robert, I must require you to withdraw your resignation and to remain in my service."' 'I informed Her Majesty,' says Peel in his 'Memoirs,' 'that considering that Lord Stanley and such of my colleagues as had differed from me had positively declined to undertake the formation of a Government, and that Lord John Russell, having had the concurrence and support of all his political friends with a single exception, had abandoned his attempt to form one. I should feel it my duty, if

required by Her Majesty, to resume office.' Sir Robert accordingly returned from Windsor to inform his colleagues that he had 'resumed all the functions of First Minister of the Crown.' 'I resume power,' he wrote to the Princess Lieven, 'with greater means of rendering public service than I should have had if I had not relinquished it. But it is a strange dream. I feel like a man restored to life after his funeral service had been preached.'

The Cabinet was reconstructed without difficulty. Lord Stanley alone adhered to his resolution to retire, and was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone as Secretary for the Colonial Department. The Duke of Buccleuch, who had been Privy Seal, withdrew his opposition to the Premier's policy; and in order publicly to signify his resolution to give it his cordial support, he accepted the higher office of President of the Council, which had become vacant by the sudden death, in the midst of these negotiations, of Lord Wharncliffe, an industrious and efficient Minister. The Earl of Haddington, 'prompted by the same generous feeling,' consented to exchange for the office of Privy Seal the much more important trust of First Lord of the Admiralty, to which Lord Ellenborough was appointed. Lord Dalhousie accepted a seat in the Cabinet, retaining the office of President of the Board of Trade.

The news of Sir Robert Peel's resignation had excited general apprehension and anxiety; and naturally the announcement that he was once more at the head of affairs was received throughout the country with a sense of relief. The measures which he was now prepared to bring forward were eagerly looked for, and the public had not long to wait for their production. The session of Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 19th of January, 1846; and the speech from the throne, after expressing satisfaction in the results of the repeal of customs-duties as far as they had yet gone, recommended to Parliament the consideration whether there might

not still be a remission 'of the existing duties upon many articles, the produce or manufacture of other countries.' There was no opposition offered to the address, which was moved by Lord Francis Egerton. Contrary to all precedent Sir Robert Peel immediately followed the seconder, Mr. Becket Denison. He at once frankly admitted that his opinions had been modified by the experience of the last three years, which had led him to the conclusion that the main grounds of public policy on which Protection had been defended are not tenable. He was now satisfied that the rate of wages does not vary with the price of food. He did not believe that a low price of food necessarily implied a low rate of wages, or that high prices would bring high wages. In proof of this he pointed to three years during which prices were comparatively low, and yet at no period were the wages of labour higher. He next referred to other three years immediately preceding these, when high prices were found co-existent with low wages. The results of the reductions made in the tariff during the last four years had been, to increase the total value of British produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom no less than £5,000,000. The effect of the reductions made in the customs and excise had been equally satisfactory as regards the public revenue, and especially on the state of crime. The number of persons committed on charges of sedition and riotous offences had diminished to such an enormous extent, as to make it impossible to resist the inference that employment, low prices, and comparative abundance contribute to the diminution of crime. Even with regard to the agricultural interest, the effect of the diminution of the protective duties on flax, wool, foreign cattle, and land had been highly favourable to the farmers. The duty on flax had been abolished, yet the price of fine flax, which in 1843 was 65s. to 70s., was now from 70s. to 80s. There had been a gradual increase in the importa-

tion of foreign cattle, but there had been an increase on the price in the home market. Great alarm had been expressed when the duty on lard was taken off; a large importation of the article had taken place, and yet the price of domestic lard had risen from 48s. in 1844 to 62s. in 1846. In wool there had been an enormous increase in the imports in consequence of the reduction of duty, and yet the price was now higher than before that reduction and importation took place. After having thus shown that by the removal of Protection domestic industry and the great social interests of the country had been promoted, crime diminished, and morality improved, Sir Robert proceeded to speak of the severe labour and anxiety he had undergone in order to be able to guard against a heavy national calamity, and enumerated the efforts he and his colleagues had made, in harmony with the true principles of Conservative policy, to repair the disasters at Cabul, to increase the trade of the country, to discourage agitation, and to extinguish sedition. 'These are the objects,' he said, 'which we have attempted to accomplish. Power for such objects as these is really valuable; but, for my own part, I can say with perfect truth that, even for these objects, I do not covet it. It is a burden far above my physical, infinitely beyond my intellectual strength. The relief from it with honour would be a favour, and not a punishment. But while honour and a sense of public duty require it, I do not shrink from office. I am ready to incur its responsibilities, to bear its sacrifices, to confront its honourable perils; but I will not retain it with mutilated power and shackled authority. I will not stand at the helm during the tempestuous night, if that helm is not allowed freely to traverse; I will not undertake to direct the course of the vessel by observations taken in the year 1842. I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest. I do not desire to be the minister of England; but while I

am minister of England I will hold office by no servile tenure; I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interests and providing for the public safety.'

On the 27th of January the Prime Minister, in a speech which lasted four hours, stated the nature of his measure to a House crowded to excess with anxious listeners, including Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge.* After mentioning the proposed remission of duties on several articles of the tariff, he announced his plan respecting the Corn Laws. All protective duties on grain were to cease in three years, and in the interval the duties were to be considerably reduced. A merely nominal duty was to be levied on colonial grain; and all agricultural produce which serves as cattle-food, such as buck wheat and Indian corn, was to be admitted duty free. Some readjustments of local burdens, such as the highway rate, the law of settlement, and the expense of public prosecutions, were to be made in order to compensate the landowners and farmers for the gradual withdrawal of protective duties; but this proposal had no effect in conciliating the agricultural interests.

The motion to go into Committee on the resolutions was made on the 9th of February. The debate lasted twelve nights, and no fewer than 103 speeches were delivered, of very varied degrees of merit; but most of those on the Protectionist side were filled with bitter attacks on the Government, and especially on the Prime Minister. Some of

* It is a most pitiable example of the depths to which party spirit could stoop at that time, that Lord George Bentinck and the Protectionists were thrown into a fury of indignation at what Mr. Disraeli calls the 'startling occurrence' of the presence of the Prince Consort on this occasion, who, according to Lord George, 'allowed himself to be seduced by the First Minister of the Crown to come down to the House to usher in, to give *éclat*, and, as it were by reflection from the Queen, to give the semblance of a personal sanction of Her Majesty to the measure.' 'The Prince merely went,' says the Queen, 'as the Prince of Wales and the Queen's other sons do, for once to hear a fine debate, which is so useful to all princes. But this,' the Queen adds, 'he naturally felt unable to do again.'

the Protectionists went so far as to deny either the existence, or even probability, of famine in Ireland. On the 27th a vote was at length taken, and the Government were successful by a majority of 97. The House went into Committee on the 2nd of March, and after four nights more had been spent in reiterating the old arguments, the second reading of the Corn Bill was carried by a majority of 88 in a House of 516 members. After another debate, which lasted three nights, the third reading was carried on the 16th of May, by a majority of 98 in a House of 556 members.

It was confidently expected that the Bill would meet with a more strenuous and dangerous resistance in the House of Lords, in which the genuine Free Traders were a very small minority; but the opposition was much less effective than had been anticipated. Mainly through the influence of the Duke of Wellington, the second reading was carried by 211 votes against 164, or a majority of 47. Some amendments were proposed in Committee, but they were all negatived; and Lord Stanley, who led the Protectionists, declined to divide the House on the third reading. The Bill passed on the 22nd of June, and received the royal assent on the 26th of the same month.

During the long series of debates, every possible argument or allegation that could be urged on either side was repeated with wearisome iteration. Taking into account the political training, position, and hereditary prejudices of the Protectionist party, great allowance must be made for the alarm with which they regarded the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the fallacies with which they strove to defend them. But their bitter personalities, and the coarse and virulent abuse which they heaped upon the Prime Minister, are utterly without excuse, and were most discreditable to the men who put themselves forward as the representatives of the agricultural party. This was especially the case with Mr. Disraeli, whose repeated eulogiums on

Peel's Free-Trade policy, in 1842, show that in now advocating Protection he was sinning against light, and was actuated by merely personal motives of no very elevated kind. He saw the agricultural party disorganized and without a head—filled with consternation at the ruin which they believed to be impending over them, and furious at the statesman who, as they fancied in their blind wrath, 'had sold them,' as Lord George Bentinck said, and whom, much to their discredit, they denounced in the most unmeasured terms as a traitor and an apostate.

Mr. Disraeli dexterously availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him to become the mouth-piece of the mutinous Conservatives, and made a series of violent and malignant attacks on Peel for following that very economic policy which, in the first session of the existing Parliament, he had eulogized. He stigmatized that policy as an act of treason to his party; compared Sir Robert to the Lord High Admiral of the Turkish fleet, who at a great warlike crisis carried his ships into the enemy's port, and when arraigned as a traitor said that he saw no use in prolonging a hopeless struggle, and that he had accepted the command of the fleet solely for the purpose of bringing the contest to a close at once. He denounced the great statesman as 'a trader on other people's intelligence—a political burglar of other men's ideas, whose whole life had been one great appropriation clause. The occupants of the Treasury bench,' he declared, 'were political pedlars, who had bought their party in the cheapest market and sold it in the dearest. Peel,' he said, 'was a great parliamentary middleman, who bamboozled one party and plundered the other;' taunted him with the half-frenzied attack he made on Cobden in the painful scene which we have already described, and even, in conjunction with Lord George Bentinck, threw out imputations indescribably base of personal untruthfulness and treachery in his behaviour towards Canning. These savage personal attacks were most discredit-

able to Disraeli; but it was still more discredit to the Bentincks, Heathcotes, Mileses, Lennoxes, Duncombes, Liddells, Lowthers, and other large-acred but crass representatives of the Protectionist party, that they should have applauded to the echo the malignant abuse of a disappointed political adventurer upon one of the most upright and conscientious statesmen, and the greatest parliamentary leader, of his age. Their blind and vindictive rage met with its appropriate reward.

The nominal leader of the discomfited Protectionists was Lord George Bentinck, a younger son of the Duke of Portland, a prominent patron of the turf, but quite unknown as a politician. He was a person of moderate abilities, and in the jests of the day was said to have 'a stable mind.' His knowledge of politics, or indeed of any really important branch of knowledge, was of a very limited kind. He was a poor speaker, both as regards manner and matter, and indeed not unfrequently uttered absolute nonsense when he ventured to speak on economical questions without being previously crammed by his mentor. But his high birth, social influence, and knowledge of society, combined with a cool head, a strong will, and a firm belief in the traditionary notions of the old fossilized school, made him a very suitable leader for the party who had revolted against the rule of Sir Robert Peel. Lord George, however, would speedily, like Falstaff, have led his party where they would have been 'soundly peppered,' had it not been for the dexterous and unscrupulous manœuverer who was his chief counsellor. It was he who became at once the real leader of the extreme Tory party, and while apparently content to occupy the humble position of their agent in assailing Peel, was in reality artfully making their indignation subservient to his own purposes.

The first object of the Protectionists was to revenge themselves on the Government, and they speedily found an opportunity of carrying their designs into effect.

Sir Robert Peel had observed, as far back as the time of the Maynooth Bill, that his party was falling off from him, and had given intimation to the Queen that a ministerial crisis might probably soon take place. For a short period after he had resumed office in December, he seems to have cherished the expectation that he would carry his party with him in the policy which he had resolved to adopt; but in the course of a few weeks he discovered that, in addition to the rancour of disappointed political partizans and all other difficulties which lay on the surface, he must lay his account with the break-up of the party which he had organized and had so long triumphantly led, but which, unlike his virulent assailant, he had not succeeded in 'educating' to accept his policy.

In his final speech on the Bill he said:— 'You have a right, I admit, to taunt me with any change of opinion on the Corn Laws; but when you say that by my adoption of the principles of Free Trade I have acted in contradiction to those principles which I have always avowed during my whole life, that charge, at least, I say, is destitute of foundation. I will not enter at this late hour into the discussion of any other topic. I foresaw the consequences that have resulted from the measures which I thought it my duty to propose. We were charged with the heavy responsibility of taking security against a great calamity in Ireland. We did not act lightly. We did not form our opinion upon merely local information—the information of local authorities likely to be influenced by an undue alarm. Before I and those who agreed with me came to that conclusion, we had adopted every means—by local inquiry and by sending perfectly disinterested persons of authority to Ireland—to form a just and correct opinion. Whether we were mistaken or not—I believe we were not mistaken—but even if we were mistaken, a generous construction should be put upon the motives and conduct of those who are charged with the respon-

sibility of protecting millions of subjects of the Queen from the consequences of scarcity and famine. Whatever may be the result of these discussions, I feel severely the loss of the confidence of those from almost all of whom I heretofore received a most generous support. So far from expecting them, as some have said, to adopt my opinions, I perfectly recognize the sincerity with which they adhere to their own. I recognize their perfect right, on account of the admitted failure of my speculation, to withdraw from me their confidence. I honour their motives; but I claim, and I always will claim, while intrusted with such powers and subject to such responsibility as the Minister of this great country is intrusted with and is subject to—I always will assert the right to give that advice which I conscientiously believe to be conducive to the general well-being. . . . If I look to the prerogative of the Crown—if I look to the position of the Church—if I look to the influence of the aristocracy—I cannot charge myself with having taken any course inconsistent with Conservative principles, calculated to endanger the privileges of any branch of the Legislature, or of any of the institutions of the country. My earnest wish has been, during my tenure of power, to impress the people of this country with a belief that the Legislature was animated by a sincere desire to frame its legislation upon the principles of equity and justice. I have a strong belief that the greatest object which we or any other Government can contemplate, should be to elevate the social condition of that class of the people, with whom we are brought into no direct relation by the exercise of the elective franchise. I wish to convince them that our object has been so to apportion taxation, that we shall relieve industry and labour from any undue burden, and transfer it, so far as is consistent with the public good, to those who are better enabled to bear it. I look to the absence of all disturbance—to the

non-existence of any commitment for a seditious offence; I look to the calm that prevails in the public mind; I look to the absence of all disaffection; I look to the increased and growing public confidence, on account of the course you have taken in relieving trade from restrictions and industry from unjust burdens: and where there was dissatisfaction I see contentment; where there was turbulence I see there is peace; where there was disloyalty I see there is loyalty; I see a disposition to confide in you, and not to agitate questions that are at the foundations of your institutions.'

As matters now stood it was evident that the Ministry could not in any case long remain in office. Until the Corn-Law Bill was safe, the Whigs in the House of Commons could not venture to join the Protectionists in any intrigue for the overthrow of the Government; but as soon as that measure was certain to become law, the field was open for any combination of parties which trickery and chicane could bring about. The dreadful sufferings of the Irish people during the winter had, as usual, led to a great increase in disorder and crime. The number of violent criminal offences, and especially of night murders, had risen from 1495 in 1844 to 3642 in 1845, and was still increasing. In the counties particularly of Tipperary, Clare, Roscommon, Limerick, and Leitrim, there was no security either for life or property. In these circumstances the Government considered it necessary to apply to Parliament for additional coercive powers, and a Bill for that purpose had been brought into the House of Lords, and passed there without opposition. It was sent down to the Commons early in the session, but there it met with a different reception. Even the first reading (March 30th), which by almost invariable custom is granted as a matter of course to bills sent down from the Upper House, was fiercely resented by the Irish members, but after a keen debate was carried by a

majority of 149. The measure was zealously advocated at this stage by Lord George Bentinck, who said that 'though his party were friendly to the principle of Protection, they would not allow protection to be extended to the broad-day murderer and the midnight assassin.' After stating various cases in which women had been murdered in open daylight in Ireland, he added that 'the Protection party would give its hearty support to the Government as long as it showed itself in earnest in putting down murder and preventing assassination in Ireland. The blood of every man who should be murdered hereafter in Ireland would be on the head of Ministers, and on the head of that House if they joined in retarding unnecessarily the progress of a measure like this.'

Under the pressure of the debates respecting the repeal of the Corn Laws, the second reading of the Coercion Bill was not moved until the 9th of June. By that time a desire to expel the Ministry from office had become the predominant passion in the minds of the Protectionists, and Lord John Russell and his followers resolved to avail themselves of this feeling to effect a combination against the Government. The rejection of the measure was therefore vehemently advocated by a strange and unprincipled conjunction of Repealers, Protectionists, and Whigs. The motives of the extreme Conservatives were openly avowed. 'It is time now,' exclaimed Lord George Bentinck, 'that atonement should be made to the betrayed honour of Parliament, and the betrayed constituencies of the empire. It is time that Europe and the world should know that treachery has been committed by the Ministers in power, but that they do not represent the honour of England. The agricultural interest may be betrayed and ruined, but let not the world think that England is a partaker in the guilt of those who now sit on the Treasury benches. The time has now come when they who love the treason that has recently been committed, though they

hate the traitor, should join with those who sit on the Protectionist benches in showing that they do not approve the recent conduct of the Ministers.'

Mr. Sidney Herbert, who vindicated with great ability the Bill and the conduct of the Government, reminded the House of the declaration of the Protectionist leader respecting the responsibility of the Ministers and their supporters for the blood of every man murdered in Ireland, and asked the pertinent question, 'On whose head will that blood be now?' Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Spooner, who though members of the extreme party, were men of high principle and consistency, expressed their intention to support the Bill, because they believed it to be imperatively required under the circumstances in which Ireland was then placed. Mr. Cobden said he was constrained to vote against the Coercion Bill on principle, but he disavowed all sympathy with the motives of its opponents. He was well aware that in no case could the vote of his party have saved the Ministry, for on a division the Bill was rejected by a majority of 73. The votes for the second reading were 219 to 292 against it. On the same night the Corn Bill passed the House of Lords. 'Two hours,' wrote the Premier to Sir Henry Hardinge, 'after the intelligence arrived that the Lords had passed the Corn and Customs Bill we were ejected from power; and by another coincidence as marvellous, on the day on which I had to announce in the House of Commons the dissolution of the Government, the news arrived that we had settled the Oregon question, and that our proposals had been accepted by the United States without the alteration of a word.

Three days later Sir Robert announced his resignation of his office, and its acceptance by the Queen. There can be no doubt that he rejoiced to be relieved from a situation which had not only subjected him to the most harassing labours and anxieties, but had exposed him to the most virulent abuse

from his former supporters. 'I have every disposition,' he wrote to Lord Hardinge, 'to forgive my enemies for having conferred upon me the blessing of the loss of power.' To Cobden, who, it now appears, had earnestly recommended him to retain office and to dissolve the Parliament, he wrote, 'You will readily believe that such a position as mine entails the severest sacrifices. The strain on the mental powers is far too severe . . . that office and power may be anything but an object of ambition; and that I must be insane if I could be induced by anything but a sense of public duty to undertake what I have undertaken this session. But the world—the great and small vulgar—is not of this opinion. I am sorry to say they do not and cannot comprehend the motives which influence the *best* actions of public men.' There can be no doubt that Peel judged wisely. A dissolution in existing circumstances would certainly not have given him a working majority; and as he himself remarked, 'anything is preferable to the continuing ourselves in office without a full measure of the confidence of the House.'

In announcing to the House of Commons his abdication of his office, Sir Robert briefly reviewed the important questions with which his Ministry had been called on to deal, and congratulated the House and the country on the amicable settlement of the Oregon question, which had so long threatened to disturb the peaceful relations between this country and the United States. After declaring that he and his colleagues were influenced by no other motives than the desire of promoting the interests of the country, in proposing those measures of commercial policy which had lost them the confidence of many of those who had heretofore given them their support, he went on to say, 'The love of power was not the motive for the proposal of these measures; for I had not a doubt that whether these measures were accompanied with failure or with success, one event certainly must occur, and that was the termin-

ation of the existence of the Government'—an event which was perhaps not to be regretted, for, upon the whole, it was advantageous for the country and for the general character of public men, that the proposal of measures at variance with the course which Ministers heretofore had pursued should entail expulsion from office. Of this he did not complain. 'I have no wish,' he added, 'to rob any person of the credit which is justly due to him. But I may say, that neither the gentlemen sitting on the benches opposite, nor myself, nor the gentlemen sitting around me—I say that neither of these are parties who are strictly entitled to the merit. There has been a combination of parties, and that combination of parties, together with the influence of the Government, has led to the ultimate success of the measures. But there is a name which ought to be associated with the success of these measures: it is not the name of the noble lord the member for London, neither is it my name. The name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures, is the name of a man who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason, enforced by an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned—the name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures, is the name of Richard Cobden. I shall now close the address which it has been my duty to make, thanking the House sincerely for the favour with which it has listened to this my last address in my official capacity. Within a few hours, probably, that power which I have held for a period of five years will be surrendered into the hands of another; I say it without repining and without complaint, with a more lively recollection of the support and confidence which I have received than of the opposition which, during a recent period, I have encountered. I

shall, I fear, leave office with a name severely censured by many honourable men who, on public principle, deeply regret the severance of party ties—who deeply regret that severance, not from any interested or personal motives, but because they believe fidelity to party, the existence of a great party, and the maintenance of a great party, to be powerful instruments of good government. I shall surrender power, severely censured, I fear, by many honourable men, who from no interested motives have adhered to the principles of Protection, because they looked upon them as important to the welfare and interests of the country. I shall leave a name execrated, I know, by every monopolist who, professing honourable opinions, would maintain protection for his own individual benefit. But it may be that I shall be remembered with expressions of good-will in those places which are the abodes of men whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow; in such places, perhaps, my name may be remembered with expressions of good-will, when they who inhabit them recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice.'

The great statesman was not left long in doubt as to the light in which the public regarded the sacrifice that he had made, both of his most cherished feelings and his political interests, for the sake of the national welfare. As he quitted the House of Commons on the night of the 29th, after the vote had been taken, leaning on the arm of Sir George Clerk, he was awaited by a quiet multitude outside, who bared their heads at the sight of him, and escorted him to his house.

'If Sir Robert Peel has lost office,' said Cobden at the last meeting of the League, 'he has gained a country. For my part, I would rather descend into private life with that last measure of his which led to his discomfiture in my

hand, than mount to the highest pinnacle of human power.'

The work of the League was now done. Its zealous and vigorous efforts had not only convinced the great body of the people that Free-Trade principles were right, and so prepared them to carry these principles into effect when the Irish famine showed that the time had come; but they also infused a wholesome apprehension of their power into the minds of the landowners. It was undoubtedly owing to the influence of this confederation that the ports were not opened by an Order in Council in the autumn of 1845. They compelled the Whig leaders to abandon their proposal of a fixed duty, they enabled Peel to carry the measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and it was the dread of their renewed agitation that made the House of Lords afraid to throw out the Bill. The final meeting of the League took place in Manchester on the 2nd of July, when, on the motion of Mr. Cobden, it was agreed to

suspend the active operations of the Association, but to call it into 'renewed existence' should any 'serious attempts be made by the Protectionist party to induce the Legislature to retrace its steps or to prevent the final extinction of the Corn Law in 1849.' The sum of £10,000 was voted to the chairman, Mr. Wilson, who had devoted almost his whole time to the business of the League. The conditional dissolution of the League was followed by a spontaneous act of justice and gratitude to the public benefactor who had made such splendid sacrifices for the public cause. A sum amounting to between £75,000 and £80,000 was presented to Mr. Cobden by the Free Traders of the kingdom, not only for the purpose of acknowledging his eminent services, but to set him free for life to devote himself to the service of the country. At the same time Mr. Bright, his friend and chief fellow-labourer, received the gift of a fine library.

CHAPTER II.

The Non-Intrusion Controversy—The Patronage Act—Protest of the Church against it—Rise of the Evangelical party—The proposal of the Veto Act—Speech of Dr. Chalmers—Opposition of Dr. Cook and the Moderate party—The Veto Act adopted—Its nature—The Chapel Act—Church extension—Application to the Government for assistance—The Royal Commission—Its Report and Recommendations—Dissatisfaction of the Church—Its efforts—Working of the Veto Law—The Auchterarder case—John Hope, Dean of Faculty—Previous decisions of the Court of Session in similar cases—Judgment of the majority in the Auchterarder suit—Its grounds—Statements of the Judges on both sides—Effect of the decision—Resolute proceedings of the Non-intrusion party—Appeal to the House of Lords—Its decision—Opinions of Lords Brougham and Cottenham—Resolution of the Assembly—The Lethendy Case—Interdict of the Court of Session—It is violated by the Presbytery, who are rebuked by the Court—The Marnoch case—Conduct of the Presbytery of Strathbogie—Action of the Civil Court—Suspension of the Strathbogie ministers by the Church Courts—They disregard it and ordain Mr. Edwards—Strange scene at the Ordination—Interdict of the Court of Session against ministers appointed to preach in the parishes of the suspended ministers—It is openly and systematically violated—Lord Aberdeen's Bill—Deposition of the Strathbogie ministers—Interdict of the Court of Session—Proceedings of the Moderate party—Forced settlement at Culsalmond—Fresh Interdicts—"The Forty"—The Duke of Argyll's Bill—The Claim of Rights—The Convocations—Appeal to Parliament—Its Rejection—The Disruption—Formation of a Free Church—Refusal of Sites by Landlords—Progress and Position of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland—Abolition of Patronage.

WHILE the country was agitated by the struggle for the abolition of the Corn Laws, an event of momentous importance had taken place in Scotland. Its national Church had been rent asunder by internal dissensions. Hundreds of clergymen had abandoned their homes and their livings for conscience sake, and had surrendered all the privileges of an establishment in order to secure the enjoyment of spiritual freedom.

Ecclesiastical patronage had always been obnoxious to the people of Scotland. It was abolished at the Revolution of 1688; but it was restored during the reign of Queen Anne, in direct violation of one of the fundamental articles of the Union, 'on design,' as Bishop Burnet said, 'to weaken and undermine the Presbyterian Establishment, and in furtherance of a deep-laid conspiracy against the Protestant Succession.' To the 'infamous Act,' as it has been termed, which re-established patronage in Scotland, may be traced all the divisions that have since taken place among the Scottish Presbyterians, and the bitter ecclesiastical feuds by which that country has been torn asunder for more than a century and a half. For upwards of fifty years the Church complained of the intolerable yoke of patronage, and in its judicial proceedings

acted upon the principle that 'no pastor is to be intruded upon a congregation contrary to their will.' The General Assembly annually continued to 'empower and direct' its Commission to make application to the King and Parliament for redress of the grievance of patronage, until about the close of the century, when the supremacy of the Moderate party had been completely established, this annual protest against patronage was laid aside. A reaction began about the time of the French Revolution. It proceeded at first slowly and almost imperceptibly, but the Evangelical party in the Church steadily gained ground. The extension of the political franchise by the first Reform Bill contributed not a little to strengthen that party, and to stimulate the demand for the restoration of popular rights and privileges. The cry that was at this time raised for the abolition of Church establishments made the leaders of the Evangelical party feel that a vigorous effort must be made to remove 'felt grievances and undeniable corruptions;' and they inaugurated a policy which one of their number alleged was intended to act as 'a lightning rod to catch the fiery thunderbolt, and to bury it in the ground.' Their object, in the first instance, was to restrict the operation of the law of patronage, and to restore the rights of congre-

gations in the calling and settlement of their ministers; and it was proposed to do this by what was called the Veto Act, which empowered the Presbytery to set aside a presentee to a parish if he should be rejected or vetoed by a majority of the communicants in the parish.

This measure, destined to exercise so momentous an influence on the constitution and character of the Established Church, was brought before the General Assembly of 1833 by Dr. Chalmers, in a speech of glowing eloquence, in which he denounced in indignant terms the evils of an unqualified and despotic patronage. 'The great complaint,' he said, 'of our more ancient Assemblies, the great burden of Scottish indignation, the practical grievance which of all others has been felt the most intolerable and galling to the hearts of a free and religious people, is the violent intrusion of ministers upon parishes.' He proceeded to say that an effectual provision against this enormity would be found, not in enacting a new law, but declaring their interpretation of an old one. The 'call,' or invitation of the people to a presentee, had always been held necessary to give validity to his settlement; but in the dark age of the Church it had been reduced to a mere form, and the signatures of two or three persons to the document had been regarded as quite sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the law. Chalmers proposed that the call should now 'be restored to significance, not by requiring that it should be signed by a majority of the parishioners or communicants, but by making the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families resident within the parish, being members of the congregation, of conclusive effect in setting aside the presentee.' He asserted that there was nothing new in this proposal—that it was in fact simply 'the appropriate, the counterpart remedy against the evil of intrusion,' as was shown by the Second Book of Discipline, the Act of Assembly, 1649, and the Act of Parliament, 1690. With regard to the operation

of the measure proposed he said, 'If we hear little of the application or actual exercise of this remedy during the time it was enforced, it was because of a great excellence, even that pacific property which belongs to it of acting by preventive operation. The initial step was so taken by the one party as to anticipate the gainsayers in the other. It was like the beautiful operation of those balancing and antagonistic forces in nature which act by pressure and not by collision, and by means of an energy that is mighty but noiseless, maintain the quiescence and stability of our physical system. And it is well when the action and reaction of these moral forces can be brought to bear with the same conservative effect on each other in the world of mind, whether it be in the great world of the state or in the little world of a parish; and the truth—the historical truth—in spite of all the disturbance and distemper which are associated with the movements of the populace, is that turbulence and distemper were then only let loose upon the land when the check of the popular will was removed from the place it had in our ecclesiastical constitution, and when it was inserted so skilfully by the wisdom of our fathers that instead of acting by conflict, or as a conflicting element, it served as an equipoise. It was when a high-handed patronage reigned uncontrolled and without a rival, that discord and dissent multiplied in our parishes. The seasons immediately succeeding to 1649 and 1690, when the power of negation was lodged with the people—not, however, as a force in exercise, but as a force in reserve—these were the days of our Church's greatest prosperity and glory, the seasons both of peace and righteousness. Persecution put an end to the one period, and unrestricted patronage put an end to the other.'

In answer to the objection that the proposed veto gave effect to a bare dissent, unaccompanied by any statement of the reasons on which the dissent was founded, Dr. Chalmers said, 'The people may not

be able to state their objection, save in a very general way, and far less be able to plead and vindicate it at the bar of a Presbytery, and yet the objection be a most substantial one notwithstanding, and such as ought, both in all Christian reason and Christian expediency, to set aside the presentation. I will not speak of the moral barrier that is created to the usefulness of a minister by the mere general dislike of his people; for this, though strong at the outset, may—literally a prejudice or a groundless judgment beforehand—give way to the experience of his worth, and to the kindness of his intercourse among them. But there is another dislike than to the person of a minister—a dislike to his preaching, which may not be groundless, even though the people may be wholly incapable of themselves arguing or justifying the grounds of it; just as one may have a perfectly good understanding of words, and yet, when put to his definitions, not be at all able to explain the meaning of them. This holds pre-eminently of the gospel of Jesus Christ manifesting its own truth to the consciences of men, who yet would be utterly nonplussed and at fault did you ask them an account or reason for their convictions. Such is the adaptation of Scripture to the state of humanity—an adaptation which thousands might feel, though not one in the whole multitude should be able to analyze it. When under the visitation of moral earnestness—when once brought to entertain the question of his interest with God, and conscience tells of his yet uncanceled guilt and his yet unprovided eternity—even the most illiterate of a parish might, when thus awakened, not only feel most strongly, but perceive most intelligently and soundly, the adjustment which obtains between the overture of the New Testament and the necessities of his own nature. And yet with a conviction thus based on the doctrines of Scripture and the depositions of his own consciousness, he, while fully competent to discern the truth, may be as

incompetent as a child to dispute or to argument it; and when required to give the reasons of his objections to a minister at the bar of his Presbytery, all the poor man can say for himself might be that he does not preach the gospel, or that in his sermon there is no food for his soul. To overbear such men is the highway to put an extinguisher on the Christianity of our land, the Christianity of our ploughmen, our artizans, our men of handicraft and hard labour; yet not the Christianity theirs of deceitful imagination, or of implicit deference to authority, but the Christianity of deep, I will add, of rational belief, firmly and profoundly seated in the principles of our moral nature, and nobly accredited by the virtues of our well-conditioned peasantry. In the olden time of Presbytery—that time of Scriptural Christianity in our pulpits and of psalmody in all our cottages—these men grew and multiplied in the land; and though derided in the heartless literature, and discountenanced or disowned by the heartless politics of other days, it is their remnant which acts as a preserving salt among our people, and which constitutes the real strength and glory of the Scottish nation.'

The motion was opposed by Dr. Cook, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, and leader of the Moderate party; by the Lord Justice-Clerk, Boyle; Principal Macfarlane, of Glasgow; and other prominent members of Assembly. Dr. Cook affirmed that 'it had always belonged to the Church to determine whether the election by the patron had been properly made.' He admitted that 'the power of the Church Courts in this matter had been for many years practically narrowed, and that it had come to be held that in general, when there was no deficiency of literature, or conduct, or doctrine, a presentee was entitled to be admitted, whatever other objections might have been made to him. But there was no rescinding of the ancient law upon the subject: that remained as it had

ever been; and to it, it was quite competent for the General Assembly to return for regulating the conduct of Presbyteries as to the presentation and induction of ministers.' Dr. Cook's view of what that law sanctioned and required was this:—'That the Presbytery should afford to the heads of families in a vacant parish an opportunity of stating whatever objections to the presentee they might think proper to urge. These, with the reasons on which they were founded, the Presbytery, in the exercise of its legitimate power, would consider, and its sentence with regard to them, if no appeal be taken, would be final.' At the close of the debate Dr. Cook's amendment was adopted by a majority of twelve over the motion of Dr. Chalmers.

The Evangelical party saw that victory was now within their reach, and in the Assembly of 1834 (of which Dr. Chalmers was not a member) the Veto Law was again introduced. The motion was proposed by Lord Moncrieff, and the opposition was led by the Rev. Dr. Mearns, Professor of Divinity in the University of Aberdeen, who argued that the adoption of the Veto Law was a 'giving up to the people the power of judging. It was a transfer of the right of collation,' which properly belonged to the Church. Dr. Cook said 'nothing could be more manifest than that the meaning of the statute was that the judging of the qualification was not with the people, but that when a person was presented by a patron the ecclesiastical courts were to proceed to consider the qualification, that the judgment of the inferior court might be carried to the superior, and that the final settlement of the matter lay with the General Assembly. Of the opinion of the people as to this, not the slightest mention is made. But the motion of Lord Moncrieff sweeps all this away. It wrests from Presbyteries all control or judgment in the matter; it renders them purely ministerial; and where a majority of the people, without assigning the slightest cause for it, disapprove the presentee,

let the sentiment of the Presbytery with respect to him be what it may—let them be ever so fully satisfied that he would be a conscientious and zealous minister—they must reject the presentation, and prevent his admission.'

On the other side it was urged that these considerations proceed upon a total disregard of the principle laid down in the standards and laws of the Church, that 'no pastor shall be intruded upon any congregation contrary to the will of the people;' that the 'will of the people' can never with any show of reason be explained to mean 'the will of the Presbytery;' and that if a presentee is forced upon a congregation against their will, the principle is the same whether the intrusion is made by the nomination of the patron or the decision of the Presbytery. After a debate which lasted twelve hours, Lord Moncrieff's motion was carried by a majority of 184 to 138, and the Assembly declared 'That it is a fundamental law of the Church that no pastor shall be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and in order that the principle may be carried into full effect the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain that it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: and further declare that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid who

shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the Presbytery that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation.'

Such were the terms of the famous Veto Act, which passed apparently without any apprehension of evil consequences on either side, but which ultimately rent the church asunder, and indirectly exercised a momentous influence upon the spiritual interests of the people of Scotland.

Another important measure, called the Chapel Act, which had a considerable share in bringing about the Disruption, was adopted by the Assembly of 1834. During the course of the eighteenth century the division of populous parishes, and the erection of new churches for the accommodation of the increasing population, was attended with so many difficulties and obstructions that it was rarely attempted. But a number of unendowed churches—Chapels of Ease as they were called—were erected in various parts of the country, especially in the large towns. These chapels, however, were not regarded with favour by the dominant party in the Church, and it was with difficulty that the Assembly could be induced to sanction them. The status of the chapel ministers was studiously lowered, and their privileges and powers restricted. They were permitted to teach, but not to rule. They were not allowed to take their seats in any of the church courts, or to enjoy the assistance of a Kirk Session like the parish ministers, or even to exercise discipline over the members of their own congregations. This anomalous and indeed unconstitutional state of matters was regarded from the first with great dissatisfaction by the more zealous members of the Church; and now that the tide had turned in their favour, efforts were made to remove the barrier which had thus been placed in the way of church extension.

The subject was brought before the General Assembly of 1834, and it was

proposed that the ministers of these unendowed churches should be admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges of the regular clergy of the Established Church. The proposal was resisted mainly on two grounds—first, the want of endowments on the part of the chapel ministers; and secondly, on the alleged want of authority on the part of the church courts to admit them to equal privileges with the parochial clergy. Unendowed churches, it was said, could have no stability; they might, like Jonah's gourd, spring up in a night and perish in a night. To attach territorial districts to such unstable and transitory institutions would be to degrade the parochial system; and to invest their ministers with a parochial status would be, in their circumstances, only to make the distinction between them and their beneficed brethren more marked and painful than before.

Dr. Cook strongly insisted that it was not competent for the church courts to place chapels on the same footing with parish churches—a contention which the Court of Session afterwards declared to be well founded. 'The whole system of parish arrangements,' he said, 'is the effect of the legislation of the country. There are certain civil privileges connected with them; and ministers inducted to parishes have in consequence of such induction certain civil privileges which it is altogether out of the question to suppose that an ecclesiastical court could bestow on them. We sit in Synods and in General Assemblies solely and purely as ecclesiastical courts, but in Presbyteries in the double capacity of spiritual and temporal courts; and as members of Presbytery we sit in judgment on manses and glebes, and have certain temporal acts to perform which no man out of the church can perform, and which we could not have been warranted to perform, had not the Acts of the legislature made us the Established Church of the country.'

It was pleaded in support of the claims

of the chapel ministers, that the present condition of the Chapels of Ease was a violation of the fundamental principle of Presbyterianism—the equality of all ministers; that there is no warrant, either in Scripture or in the Standards of the Church, for withholding from a minister the power of ruling, and from a congregation the privilege of being ruled by their own elders in session. No exclusion of ordained ministers from church courts, on any grounds whatever, was known in the Church of Scotland for 200 years after the Reformation. The Church of Scotland was established before it was endowed; and hence the possession of an endowment could not possibly have been regarded by the founders of the Church, and the framers of its constitution, as essential in order to entitle a minister to exercise all the functions and to enjoy all the rights of his sacred office; that the Church did, long after the Reformation, settle ministers whose stipends were provided and secured in the same way as those of the ministers of the modern Chapels of Ease; that no difference whatever was made between these ministers and those having public parochial benefices in regard to sitting in church courts and taking part in the government of the Church; that the Church actually settled ministers in charges where there was no security for a stipend of any kind, and this so frequently and notoriously as to raise a formal discussion in the Assembly of 1565 whether it was lawful for men once ordained to the ministry to leave it and to follow a secular calling in consequence of finding themselves without the means of subsistence; that the existing chapel system is contrary to all analogy in the Church of Scotland and to the practice of the church courts for 190 years; and that unless the founders of the Establishment and nearly 100 General Assemblies were utterly ignorant of what an Establishment is, the claims of the chapel ministers might be granted without the slightest infringement of any principle peculiar to

the Church of Scotland as a church that is recognized and established by the law of the land.

These reasonings were sound as far as they went; but they did not meet the argument, that as Presbyteries had temporal as well as spiritual duties to discharge, which they performed not in virtue of an Act of the Church, but of the Legislature, it was not competent for the Assembly, on its own authority, to invest them with the power to sit in judgment upon manse and glebes. It was decided, however, by a considerable majority to place the Chapels of Ease on an equality with the Parish Churches, and to invest their ministers with all the rights and privileges of parochial clergymen.

The extension of the Church, in order to meet the wants of an increasing population, had been studiously neglected for more than a century. As far back as the year 1818, Dr. Chalmers had made an earnest but unheeded appeal to the civic authorities of Glasgow for 'twenty more churches and twenty more ministers, for men of zeal and strength who might go forth among the outfield population of the city and compel them to come in.' In 1820 a committee was appointed by the Assembly to take this important matter into consideration; but nothing was done until 1834, when Dr. Chalmers was appointed convener, and the spirit of the times prepared the minds of the party for a great church extension movement. At the Assembly of 1835 it was reported that the contributions to the *general* fund for church extension amounted in this the first year of its real existence to £15,167 13s., that the sum subscribed for district *local* places of worship was £55,021 7s., making a total of £70,189, and that no fewer than sixty-four new churches had been completed or were in preparation. In the course of four years no less than £205,930 had been contributed to the Church Extension Fund, and 187 churches had been erected or were in progress.

It appeared to the leaders of the movement, that the large amount thus contributed

for church extension by the voluntary liberality of the people, entitled them to a grant from the national treasury to assist in the endowment of these new churches. As might have been expected, the appeal to the Government for aid met with violent opposition from the Dissenters and a certain class of Liberal politicians. Lord Melbourne so far yielded to the demand of the church as to issue in the year 1835 a Royal Commission to 'inquire into the opportunities of religious worship and means of religious instruction and the pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, and how far these were of avail for the religious and moral improvement of the poor and working classes; and with that view to obtain information respecting their stated attendance in places of public worship, and their actual connection with any religious denomination, and to inquire what funds were then, or might thereafter be available for the purpose of the Established Church of Scotland, and to report from time to time, that such remedies might be applied to any existing evils as Parliament might think fit.'

The first report of the Commissioners, which was presented to the House of Commons in February, 1837, stated that, taking into account all the sittings both in the Established and Dissenting Churches, there was accommodation for little more than 48 per cent. of the whole population, but that in the Established Churches there were upwards of 9000, and in the Dissenting Churches upwards of 11,000 sittings unlet. As to the actual attendance on religious ordinances, 'it would appear,' said the Commissioners, as was indeed universally admitted, 'that there was a large number of persons capable of attending who habitually absented themselves from public worship. This number cannot be less than from 40,000 to 50,000. It appears to us,' they add, 'as the result of the whole evidence, that from whatever cause it proceeds, whether connected with their extent or nature, the opportunities of public religious worship, and the means of religious instruc-

tion and pastoral superintendence at present existing and in operation are not adequate to the removal of the evil complained of.'

The second and third reports of the Commissioners, which were issued a few months later, fully bore out this opinion. In all the places of worship, Established and Dissenting, in the city and suburbs of Glasgow, it was found that there were sittings provided for only 39½ per cent. of the population, and that 'a very large number of persons, upwards of 66,000, exclusive of children under ten years of age, are not in the habit of attending public worship,' and that 'after making allowance for old and infirm persons, and those who may be necessarily absent, that number cannot be less than 55,000.'

As the Commissioners had thus distinctly reported that the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence were insufficient, the Government felt bound to take measures to supply this deficiency; but they were very much at a loss what course to pursue. On the one hand, as the Established Church clergy and the great body of the most influential laymen connected with the Establishment were hostile to the Ministry, they had no personal claim to the boon which they demanded. On the other hand, the Dissenters were the most zealous supporters of the Administration, and the Ministers felt that in their feeble and tottering condition they could not afford to alienate their best friends. They at last resolved to offer the bishops' teinds (that is, the tithes attached in former times to the Scottish bishoprics, and which on the abolition of Episcopacy had lapsed to the crown) to provide for the religious destitution existing in certain Highland and other rural parishes which had no unexhausted teinds. Another part of the Ministerial scheme was to make an alteration in the Act of 1707 respecting the division of parishes in Scotland, so as to afford facilities for the application of unexhausted teinds in the hands of private proprietors, to supply the spiritual necessities of the parishes in which these teinds

in a parish another person, or in opposition to the presentee of the patron, he affirms that it cannot be touched, excepting as to its civil effects, by any civil court whatever. Such a court, however, he states, would be entitled to withhold the benefice from any individual who, though ordained to the spiritual charge of the parish, might be found to want the proper title to its temporalities; but this was all. It would be a great defect in the constitution of a Government that ecclesiastical courts should have an arbitrary power in providing parishes with ministers. To prevent such arbitrary power, the check provided by law is that a minister settled illegally shall not be entitled to the stipend.'

The judgments of the Court of Session in the cases brought before it were quite in accordance with these views. In the year 1735, a Presbytery having set aside the preacher presented by the patron, and inducted another licentiate who had received a call from the people, the interposition of the Court of Session was invoked to vindicate the rights of the presentee. It declared that 'the right to the stipend is a civil right, and therefore that this court has the power to cognosce and determine upon the legality of the admission of ministers, *ad hunc effectum*, whether the person admitted shall have right to the stipend.' In the case of Lanark, Dr. Dick, afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was inducted on a presentation from a wrong patron. No attempt, however, was made to annul his ordination, or to interfere with his discharge of the duties of his office. He continued minister of the parish, but received no part of the stipend. The Presbytery of Dunse, in the year 1749, thought fit to set aside altogether the claims of a preacher nominated by the patron, and were proceeding to settle another licentiate who had received a call from the congregation. But the Court of Session, without hesitation, refused to grant the petition of the patron that they should interdict the Presbytery from carrying out the settlement

of the preacher whom the parishioners had called. 'With this conclusion,' said the learned Lord Monboddo, one of the judges, with whom the whole court concurred, 'the court would not meddle, because that was interfering with the power of ordination, or the internal policy of the Church, with which the lords thought they had nothing to do.' Another case of a similar kind occurred so late as the year 1794, in the parish of Unst, in Shetland. The Presbytery, under the belief that the six months allowed to the patron, Lord Dundas, to exercise his right of presentation, had expired, and that the right had consequently fallen to them, not only nominated Mr. Gray, but actually ordained him to the pastoral charge of the parish. The Court of Session subsequently found that the right of the patron to the presentation had not lapsed, but had been exercised within the legal period. The court, however, refused to order the Presbytery to annul Mr. Gray's settlement, and to take the presentee of the patron on trial, with a view to his settlement as minister of the parish; they merely decided, in accordance with all precedents, that the patron was entitled to retain the fruits of the benefice for pious uses within the parish, allowing the settlement as regarded spiritual duties and privileges to remain untouched.

Up to this date all the decisions of the supreme court had been given in entire accordance with the principle laid down by Lord Monboddo—that they had nothing to do with the power of ordination, but were only authorized to withhold the stipend from a presentee settled illegally. In accordance with these precedents, as the action was originally laid, the Court of Session was asked, on behalf of Mr. Young, to review the proceedings of the Presbytery, solely with the view of declaring that the just and legal right to the stipend belonged to the rejected presentee, or alternatively to the patron. But the stipend could not be claimed by a presentee who had not been inducted into a parish. A recent Act of Parliament, however, had transferred the

grants of all vacant benefices from the patrons to the Ministers Widows' Fund. Neither Lord Kinnoull nor Mr. Young could therefore obtain possession of the emoluments of the benefice of Auchterarder. No one can doubt that it lay quite within the proper jurisdiction of the court to decide this question. On this ground, shortly after the case had been taken into court, the form and nature of the action were entirely changed by the introduction of new clauses, by which the court was asked to declare that the Presbytery of Auchterarder were bound to make trial of Mr. Young's qualifications; and if in their judgment, after due trial and examination, he was found qualified, they were bound to receive and admit him as minister of the church and parish of Auchterarder; and that their rejection of him, on the ground of a veto of the parishioners, was illegal, and injurious to his patrimonial rights.

The judges declared their opinion on this momentous question on the 27th of February, 1838, and six consecutive days, and by a majority of eight to five decided in favour of the presentee and the patron. The majority was composed of the Lord President (Hope), the Lord Justice Clerk (Boyle), and Lords Gillies, Meadowbank, Mackenzie, Medwyn, Corehouse, and Cunningham. The minority consisted of Lords Glenlee, Fullerton, Moncrieff, Jeffrey, and Cockburn. 'This,' says Lord Cockburn, 'is perhaps the most important civil cause the Court of Session has ever had to determine. It implies that the people have very little, if any, indirect check against the abuse of patronage, and that the Church cannot give them any, but that Presbyteries are bound to induct, unless the presentee be objected to *on cause shown*; that the mere unacceptableness of the man to the parishioners is not even relevant as an objection; that in law the *call* is a mockery; that though it be in the province of the Church to determine whether the presentee be qualified, it is not entitled to hold acceptable-

ness as a qualification; and that it is competent to the civil court, *even when the temporalities are not directly concerned*, to control the Church in the pure matter of induction.'

The two main points in this important case were the legality of the Veto Act and the competence of the Court of Session, in case it should find that Act illegal, to do more than decide to whom the funds of the benefice should belong. The first of these two questions turned upon this other—whether there was any legal validity in the call of the congregation. The counsel for the patron and the presentee affirmed that the call was a mere empty form. The counsel for the Presbytery, on the other hand, maintained that if the call be the law of the Church, it must be the law of the land, because the law of the Church is recognized by the State, and no presentee could be inducted into a parish without a call. With regard to the right of the civil court to interfere and grant redress if it should be found that the Church had acted illegally in this matter, it was argued that the State is the source and fountain of all the authority and jurisdiction which an Established Church enjoys; that 'the State does not recognize and ratify a certain authority and jurisdiction as inherent in the Church, and derived to it from its Divine Head, and which the State accordingly binds itself to respect and uphold, but that the State delegates to the Church a certain measure of power, which being held from the State, must be exercised at all times under State control.'

On the other hand it was shown that the Act of 1592 distinctly contradicts this theory, for it expressly declares that the right of the Church to regulate and dispose of all matters 'concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation, and deprivation of ministers,' &c., is the privilege that 'God has given to the spiritual office-bearers of his Kirk,' while the Confession of Faith, which

is also the law of the land, pointedly affirms that 'the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hands of church officers distinct from the civil magistrate;' and that 'it belonged to Synods and Councils of the Church ministerially to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience; to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God and government of his Church; to receive complaints in cases of maladministration, and authoritatively to determine the same, which decrees and determination, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word.'

It was contended by the eminent lawyer, Mr. Rutherford, who was senior counsel for the Presbytery, that the statutes establishing the Church did not create, but simply recognized it as already in existence, and exercising known and acknowledged powers; that these powers, judicial and legislative, are not defined by Acts of Parliament, but are to be learned from the standards and practices of the Church; and that even should it be found that in passing the Veto Law the Church had exceeded her statutory powers, the only competent legal remedy is the alienation of the temporal parts of the benefice—the stipend, manse, and glebe—that is the peculiar civil remedy which is given for the civil wrong.'

The majority of the judges, however, set aside these arguments, denied 'any right in the congregation, or any part of it, to interpose themselves between the patron and the Presbytery,' affirmed that the law 'gives no authority for calls, or for approval or disapproval, either with or without reason;' that the Act of Queen Anne restoring patronage left neither 'assent nor dissent' to the people; that

the call is 'a mere piece of form,' of necessity in contradiction to patronage. On the other hand, the minority of the Court were of opinion that the Act restoring patronage expressly declared, that 'the admission of ministers was to take place in the same manner as persons presented before the making of this Act ought to have been admitted.' And they argued that the uninterrupted and unvarying usage of the Church in maintaining the call even under the Act of Queen Anne, and that without challenge for a hundred and fifty years, made the call 'as completely and effectually part of the law of the land as if such form had been inserted expressly in the Act of the 10th of Queen Anne' itself. Pointed reference was made to the numerous instances in which presentees had been rejected on the ground of the insufficiency of the call, while in no instance had there been any challenge by patrons or presentees or a civil court either of such rejection, or of the form requiring a call as a condition superadded to the presentation.

With regard to the question of jurisdiction the Lord President first of all laid down the principle, that 'in every civilized country there *must* be some court or other judicature by which every other court or judicature may be either compelled to do their duty, or kept within the bounds of their own duty.' 'Without this,' he added, 'the greatest public confusion must follow, and often great injustice to individuals.' Having enunciated this sweeping declaration he went on to affirm that the Court of Session 'has exercised jurisdiction over Presbyteries when exceeding their powers, or when in the course of their proceedings they encroached on civil and patrimonial interests.' 'It is certainly singular enough,' it was remarked, 'that after this peremptory assertion his lordship should have failed or forgotten to adduce so much as one solitary example to make it good, the fact being that no such case exists. He further asserted that the Act of 1592,

while it ratifies the Church's liberties, does not by any means ratify them as 'liberties which are acknowledged as belonging to the Kirk *suo jure*, or by any inherent or divine right, but as given or granted by the King or any of his predecessors,' while the Act itself expressly declares the contrary. 'The collation of ministers,' it affirms—the very matter out of which the Auchterarder case arose—is the privilege which God has given to the office-bearers of his Church.' The summary which the President enunciated of his views on this point gave great offence at the time. 'That our Saviour,' he said, 'is the Head of the Kirk of Scotland in any temporal, or legislative, or judicial sense, is a position which I can dignify by no other name than absurdity. The Parliament is the temporal Head of the Church, from whose Acts, and whose Acts alone, it exists as the national Church, and from which alone it derives all its powers.'

The opinions of the minority of the judges on this point were clearly expressed by Lord Jeffrey, who repudiated altogether the claim put forth by the Lord President on behalf of the Court of Session, to the possession of any 'supereminent and peculiar power of correcting the errors or excesses of power of other independent judicatures.' 'In our judiciary system,' he said, 'I take it to be clear that no tribunal has either on review or originally an unlimited jurisdiction over all the rights and interests of the subject. On the contrary, I think we recognize in our judiciary establishments several supreme courts of co-ordinate and independent jurisdiction, each of which has a specific and well-defined province within which alone it has any authority or power of acting, and beyond which it has in no case any right to transgress, so as to encroach with effect upon the province or jurisdiction of another. This court, in particular, possessing within its own province as large powers both in law and equity as any court can possess, has by no means an unlimited or universal

jurisdiction even in questions of civil right. Till very lately it had no original jurisdiction in proper consistorial cases, which belonged to the commissaries; nor in proper maritime cases, which were for the admiral; and even now it has no jurisdiction whatever in proper fiscal or revenue cases, which are exclusively for the Court of Exchequer; nor can it take cognizance even of ordinary actions of debt, unless the sum is above £25, or the question is with one of its own members. But at all events it has no proper jurisdiction except *in civilibus*. With a few exceptions not affecting the principle, it has no jurisdiction in crimes; and with no exceptions at all it has none whatever in matters properly ecclesiastical, and especially none as to the examination, ordination, or admission of ministers, which are not only in their own proper nature ecclesiastical proceedings, but are expressly declared by the Acts of 1567 and 1592 to be exclusively for the church judicatures.'

It had been alleged by some of the other judges that, though the proceedings complained of were ecclesiastical, they affected civil and patrimonial interests. Lord Jeffrey, in commenting on this plea, observed, 'Though what the Presbytery did or refused to do may in its consequences affect the civil interests of the pursuers, this can obviously afford no ground for saying that they adjudicated upon such interests, or that a civil court may therefore interfere with proceedings which were in other respects within their proper ecclesiastical province. There can hardly be any proceeding of any court which will not in this way affect the civil interests of the parties concerned. Take the case of a court of criminal jurisdiction, for example. Is there any punishment which it can award that will not most deeply affect the patrimonial interests of the culprit and his family? If a father is transported, are not the patrimonial interests of his children affected as well as his own? But does the Court of Justiciary therefore adjudicate on civil

interests? Or can this court be called on to consider whether its sentences were illegal because a strong civil interest might be advanced by finding that they were? In the same way when the General Assembly deposes a clergyman for a gross immorality, his civil interests and those of his family necessarily suffer to a pitiable extent. But is the act of deposition the less an ecclesiastical proceeding on that account? Or can it therefore be subjected to question before your Lordships?’

With respect to the oft-quoted maxim of the Dean of Faculty, that there can be no wrong without a remedy, Lord Jeffrey said, ‘The truth is, that no system of mere jurisprudence can ever afford redress for such occasional errors or excesses of power by supreme courts while acting within their several departments. When they trespass on the province of other courts the remedy is for these courts to disregard the usurpation, and to proceed with their own business as if no such intrusion had occurred.’ To talk of there being no wrong without a remedy, and to assume that the only way to secure the remedy is to give a right of review to a civil court, is neither more nor less, as Lord Fullerton pungently remarked, than ‘to reverse the ancient error, and to provide against the possible fallibility of the Church by the supposed infallibility of the Court of Session.’

Considerable obscurity rested on the decision of the court as to its effect upon ulterior proceedings. It declared that though the Presbytery had followed the explicit instructions of the supreme ecclesiastical court, it had done an illegal act in refusing to take Mr. Young upon trial on the ground that he had ‘been vetoed by the parishioners.’ But it had not said that in case of the Presbytery’s refusal to take the necessary steps for the ordination of the presentee, it was prepared to enforce obedience to its edict by fine or imprisonment. Taken by itself it might mean nothing more than that the court would interfere only with the appropriation of the stipend, and

that the temporalities of the benefice would be forfeited if the Church should persist in rejecting the presentee. In order to test the question, whether this must be the result, the General Assembly resolved at its meeting in 1838 to appeal the case to the House of Lords. Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, expressed his approval of this step, but at the same time insisted that ‘when any law is declared by the competent civil authorities to affect civil right, the Church cannot set aside such a law.’ The Non-intrusion party resolved that there should be no misunderstanding as to the position which the Church intended to assume towards the civil courts; and by a majority of 183 to 142 they adopted the following resolution in vindication of the distinct and exclusive spiritual jurisdiction of the Church:—

‘That the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland having heard the report of the Procurator on the Auchterarder case, and considered the judgment of the House of Lords affirming the decision of the Court of Session, and being satisfied that by the said judgment all questions of civil right, so far as the Presbytery of Auchterarder is concerned, are substantially decided, do now, in conformity with the uniform practice of this Church, and with the resolution of last General Assembly, ever to give and inculcate implicit obedience to the decisions of civil courts, in regard to the civil rights and emoluments secured by law to the Church, instruct the said Presbytery to offer no farther resistance to the claims of Mr. Young, or of the patron, to the emoluments of the benefice of Auchterarder, and to refrain from claiming the *jus devolutum*, or any other civil right or privilege connected with the said benefice. And whereas the principle of Non-intrusion is one coeval with the reformed Kirk of Scotland, and forms an integral part of its constitution, embodied in its standards and declared in various Acts of Assembly, the General Assembly resolve that this principle cannot be abandoned, and that no presentee

shall be forced upon any parish contrary to the will of the congregation. And whereas, by the decision above referred to, it appears that when this principle is carried into effect in any parish, the legal provision for the sustentation of the ministry in that parish may be thereby suspended, the General Assembly being deeply impressed with the unhappy consequences which must arise from any collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and holding it to be their duty to use every means in their power not involving any dereliction of the principles and fundamental laws of their [church] constitution to prevent such unfortunate results, do therefore appoint a committee for the purpose of considering in what way the privileges of the national establishment, and the harmony between Church and State, may remain unimpaired, with instructions to confer with the Government of the country if they see cause.'

It was not until after the lapse of nearly a year that the appeal to the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case was disposed of. On the 2nd and 3rd of May, 1839, the decision of that tribunal was delivered by Lords Brougham and Cottenham, dismissing the appeal and confirming the deliverance of the Court of Session. The two learned lords agreed in holding that the qualifications of a presentee included nothing but doctrine, literature, and life; and consequently that excepting for heresy, ignorance, or immorality the Church cannot legally reject a presentee.* This opinion was at variance with the theory of Dr. Cook as well as of Dr. Chalmers, and indeed with the laws and the entire procedure of the Church for centuries. The conviction that this was the case was held by all parties without distinction. In a discussion on the Veto Law in the Assembly of 1833, Dr. Cook affirmed that 'the Church regarded qualification as in-

cluding much more than learning, moral character, and sound doctrine—as extending, in fact, to the fitness of the presentees in all respects for the particular situation to which they were appointed.' It was not without good reason that Lord Cockburn remarked, regarding the decision of Lords Brougham and Cottenham on the Auchterarder case: 'There never was a great cause adjudged in the House of Lords on reasons more utterly unworthy of both. A case about a horse or a £20 bill of exchange would have got more thought. Brougham declared that his only difficulty lay in finding out what the difficulty was, which perhaps was a correct account of his own state and that of his learned compeers. The ignorance and contemptuous slightness of the judgment did great mischief. It irritated and justified the people of Scotland in believing that their Church was sacrificed to English prejudices. The successful party laments that the mere affirmance is all that it has gained.'

The opinions thus expressed by Lords Brougham and Cottenham struck at the very foundation of the constitution and polity of the Scottish Church. Instead of possessing, as she had always imagined, all freedom except that which statute specifically withheld, the Church was now informed that she had no freedom except that which statute specifically granted. Not only were the church courts informed that they must not set aside a presentee because he had been rejected by the congregation, but they were warned that they must not take into account his fitness for the particular parish to which he had been appointed. Their own judgment in regard to that point was held to be as illegal as the objection of the people. Not only would the Non-intrusion principle be thus swept away, but the entire spiritual independence of the Church would be overturned.

The leaders of the Non-intrusion party would have been quite willing to abandon the Veto Law and fall back upon the intrinsic powers of the Church to prevent the

* It is noteworthy that Lord Brougham, when he held the office of Lord Chancellor, in his place in the House of Lords spoke of the Veto Act as a wise and beneficent measure—in every respect more desirable than any other course that could have been taken

intrusion of presentees upon reclaiming congregations; but the declarations which Lords Brougham and Cottenham had ultra-neously put forth respecting the duties of Presbyteries and the powers of the civil courts, made it evident that the repeal of the Veto Law would be of no avail in preventing a collision between the Court of Session and the Church, unless she were prepared to abandon entirely the fundamental principle that no minister shall be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation.

When the Assembly met, a fortnight after the decision had been given by the law lords, three motions were submitted. Dr. Cook proposed in effect that the Veto Law should be held as abrogated, and that the church courts should proceed as if it had never existed. Dr. Chalmers moved that no further resistance should be made to the claims of Mr. Young, or of the patron, to the temporalities of the benefice of Auchterarder; but that the principle of Non-intrusion is coeval with the origin of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland, and forms an integral part of the constitution, and cannot be abandoned. Dr. Muir proposed a kind of middle motion, but which was identical in principle with that of Dr. Cook. The speech of Dr. Chalmers in support of his motion occupied three hours, and was one of the most magnificent ever delivered by that illustrious orator and divine. His defence of the veto of a congregation without their reasons being regarded was singularly effective, and had a powerful influence on the mind of Sir Robert Peel, causing him to waver in his opinion respecting the powers of the Church, though it ultimately failed to convince him. At the close of the prolonged debate the motion of Dr. Chalmers was carried by 36 over that of Dr. Muir, and by 49 over the motion of Dr. Cook.

It soon became evident that the opinions expressed by Lords Brougham and Cottenham had emboldened the Moderate party to make other appeals to the civil courts, and thus to aggravate the collision between

the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1835 the Crown, as patron of the parish of Lethendy, presented a Mr. Clark to be assistant and successor to the aged minister of the parish. The presentee and his habits were well known to the parishioners, and he was at once vetoed by the heads of families. The presentation was set aside by the Presbytery of Dunkeld, and their judgment was confirmed on appeal by the General Assembly. Mr. Clark, who was quite well aware that his character would not stand investigation, appeared at first to have acquiesced in this decision; but in March, 1837, he was induced to follow the example of the Auchterarder presentee, and raised an action against the Presbytery in the Court of Session. Shortly after the case was brought into court the minister of the parish died. Mr. Clark had not received any regular deed of presentation, and the sign-manual formerly given to him, not having taken effect during the life of the late incumbent, was held to be null and void. The Crown in consequence issued a new presentation, in favour of another preacher, Mr. Kessen, who was acceptable to the congregation. The Presbytery were on the eve of ordaining him when an interdict was served upon them at the instance of Mr. Clark, prohibiting the ordination. The Commission of Assembly to whom the case was referred, following the course recommended in that case of Cadder in the previous year, by Principal M'Farlane of Glasgow and Dr. Cook, the two most eminent leaders of the Moderate party, decided that, as admission to the pastoral office is entirely an ecclesiastical act, subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, the Presbytery should proceed without delay to the induction of Mr. Kessen upon the call in his favour.

This decision was carefully framed for the purpose of indicating that the Church declined to interfere with the civil question of the comparative validity of the two competing presentations, but directed Mr. Kessen's settlement to take place solely

upon the call of the congregation. The interdict, however, only forbade the Presbytery to proceed on the presentation, and therefore a second interdict was asked and obtained, prohibiting the settlement of Mr. Kessen on any ground whatever. This new action of Mr. Clark was referred by the Presbytery to the Commission of Assembly. A motion that the Presbytery should be directed to ordain Mr. Kessen without delay was seconded by Mr. Buchanan of Strathblane, an influential member of the Moderate party, and was supported by the Rev. Dr. Brunton, minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh, and Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of that city, who was also strongly attached to that party. 'He regretted,' he said, 'that the necessity of deciding in this case had been thrust upon them, but still he felt the necessity existed. They had instructed the Presbytery to do a purely spiritual act—to ordain Mr. Kessen as minister of the parish—and for this they were interdicted. It might happen that the temporalities of the parish would not go to the minister in this case, but he thought that was exceedingly unlikely. He for one would never consent to delay, nor would he consent to go into a civil court to plead this cause. He knew his own province, and on that province he would stand or fall.' So strong and general was the conviction that the Court of Session had made an unwarrantable invasion of the rights and liberties of the Church, that the minority against the motion to proceed with the ordination consisted of no more than six individuals, and only one of these was a minister.

The Presbytery, thus authorized by the supreme court of the Church, lost no time in carrying out its instructions; and though the Dean of Faculty, the prime instigator of the whole proceeding, declared that 'the members of Presbytery will most infallibly be committed to prison' if they should set the interdict at defiance, they obeyed the injunctions of the ecclesiastical court, and ordained Mr. Kessen to

the pastoral charge of the congregation of Lethendy. A complaint was of course immediately lodged against them for a breach of interdict, and they were summoned to appear at the bar of the Court of Session on the 14th of June, 1839. But the sympathy which had been excited on behalf of the ministers, who for conscience sake had braved this trying ordeal, was so deep and wide, that the hostile majority of the judges were afraid to carry into effect the prediction of the Dean of Faculty, and they contented themselves with administering a rebuke to the Presbytery, accompanied with a threat of imprisonment against any Presbytery that should follow a similar course. Prominent notice was taken of the fact that the court did not yet attempt to annul Mr. Kessen's ordination, and that the Moderate party in the Church did not venture to condemn the breach of interdict, and to declare the ordination void. In no long time, however, these steps were deliberately taken by both.

The General Assembly, at its meeting in 1839, had appointed a committee to confer with the Government, and to take such other steps as might appear advisable, in order to prevent any further collision between the civil court and the ecclesiastical authorities. But the opponents of the Non-intrusion party were determined to put forth their utmost efforts to prevent any peaceable settlement of the contest. The Dean of Faculty wrote a bulky pamphlet, in which he attempted to show that the Non-intrusion party wished to establish a spiritual despotism, dangerous alike to the civil and religious liberties of the country. Dr. Cook, at the meeting of the Commission in August, exerted all his strength of argument to prove that the decision of the Court of Session had erased the Veto Law from the statute-book of the Church. But a much more formidable blow was dealt to the Non-intrusion party by the step now taken by the Presbytery of Strathbogie, in ordaining a presentee in defiance of the authority of the supreme

ecclesiastical court. In 1837 a preacher of the name of John Edwards was presented by the trustees of the Earl of Fife, the patron, to the church and parish of Marnoch. Mr. Edwards had officiated for three years as assistant to the former incumbent: but his services were so unacceptable to the people, that at their urgent and almost unanimous request, their aged pastor removed him from the situation. It was therefore no matter of surprise that, though the parish contained about 2800 souls, his call was signed by a solitary member of the congregation—the keeper of the inn at which the Presbytery were wont to dine. Out of 300 heads of families who were communicants, 261 tendered their dissent against his settlement. Mr. Edwards was in consequence rejected by the Presbytery, and the patron presented another preacher to the charge. Mr. Edwards, however, did not acquiesce in his rejection, having good reason to believe that he was not likely ever to receive a presentation to any other living. He therefore applied to the Court of Session, and readily obtained from it an interdict prohibiting the Presbytery from proceeding with the settlement of the second presentee; and, secondly, a declaration similar to that issued in the Auchterarder case, that the Presbytery were bound to take him on trial, with a view to ordination. The General Assembly of 1839 had instructed the Presbytery to suspend all further proceedings in this case till the following meeting of the supreme court; and the Commission expressly prohibited them from taking any steps towards the settlement of Mr. Edwards. But Aberdeenshire has always been a stronghold of Moderatism, and the majority of the Presbytery of Strathbogie were staunch adherents of the extreme Moderate party; and though they had not been ordered by the Court of Session to proceed, they ultimately determined to set at defiance the authority of their ecclesiastical superiors.

The majority of the Presbytery, seven in number, in compliance with a summons

from the Commission, appeared before that body on the 11th of December, 1839, by their counsel; but they resolutely refused to reconsider their resolution, or to suspend proceedings in the case until next meeting of Assembly, or to give any promise that they would not proceed to ordain Mr. Edwards to the pastoral charge of the parish of Marnoch. The Commission therefore resolved to suspend them from their office. Under the guidance of the Dean of Faculty they determined to hurry on the crisis which was now impending, and applied to the Court of Session for protection against their own ecclesiastical superiors. They petitioned that court not only to ‘suspend the resolutions, sentence, and proceedings’ of the Commission, but also to prohibit the ministers who had been appointed by the Commission to assist the minority of the Presbytery (four in number) ‘from intruding into their parishes,’ or from preaching even in private houses or in the open air, in any part of the district in which the suspended ministers were settled. But the Court of Session, though prepared to go great lengths against the Non-intrusion party, thought it unsafe and illegal to grant a demand so broad and startling as this. ‘In this case,’ said the Lord President, ‘the court are prepared to grant the interdict, but not to the full extent prayed for. The complainants prayed the court to interdict and prohibit the parties complained of from preaching in these parishes. Any one might preach in the open air, for instance. The court had jurisdiction only over the parish churches, the churchyard, the school-room, and the bell.’ An interdict to this extent was accordingly granted by the court.

The Church at once yielded obedience to this prohibition, and made no attempt to intimate the sentence of the Commission, or to preach in the church, or churchyard, or glebe, or school-room. Though the season was the dead of winter the members appointed to carry out the sentence of the

Commission either preached in the open air or in some barn or shed, surrounded by crowds of attentive hearers, who listened with deep interest to the doctrines of the gospel, which it was alleged had been very rarely taught in the parishes of the suspended ministers. These proceedings were necessarily as distasteful to the ministers as they were gratifying to their parishioners, and they applied once more to the Court of Session for deliverance from this grievous annoyance. The majority of the First Division of that court, consisting of the Lord President, Lord Gillies, and Lord Mackenzie, had by this time obtained new light on the subject, and were no longer of opinion that 'the court could not prevent any man preaching in these parishes.' They not only made the previous interdict perpetual, but prohibited all ministers of the Established Church, except the seven suspended incumbents, from preaching or performing any other ministerial duty either in the churches or anywhere else within these seven parishes.

The three judges who issued this extraordinary interdict soon discovered that they had completely overshot the mark, and that in their anger at finding that their fulminations had no effect upon the Non-intrusion party they had miscalculated their powers. Even the *Quarterly Review*, the leading Conservative organ, said 'that the granting of the latter of these prohibitions was a flagrant outrage on the principles of ecclesiastical liberty cannot be denied.' An eminent Conservative statesman said to a friend in regard to this interdict, 'I suppose that according to the law of this country any man that pleases may preach in Strathbogie. I suppose any minister of any sect whatever might go and preach there. I suppose that any Chartist or Infidel might go and preach there. And how it can be lawful to hinder the ministers of the National Church—the very ministers who have been expressly intrusted by the nation itself with the religious instruction of the

people from going to preach there—how in this free country it can be lawful to prevent them from doing what may be done by all other men besides, is what I don't profess to be able to comprehend. In fact, I have written to the Dean of Faculty to tell him that, in my opinion, he has brought the Court of Session into a great scrape.'

There can be no doubt that his lordship judged rightly in regard to this matter, and it is more than probable that the significant hint which he had conveyed to the prime mover, aided by the state of public feeling in regard to this most unwarrantable stretch of authority on the part of the Court of Session, made the judges afraid to proceed further in this perilous course. The interdict was unhesitatingly violated by the clergymen who were appointed by the Assembly to preach in Strathbogie. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Candlish, and other leading men, shared the peril, and took a prominent part in discharging the duty, in order that they might encourage their brethren by their example to set the interdict at defiance. The Lord President, in administering a rebuke to the Presbytery of Dunkeld, had loudly threatened that if another breach of interdict should take place it would be visited with imprisonment; but these threatenings remained unexecuted. Now that a 'cloud of witnesses' hastened to Strathbogie in defiance of the court, to testify on behalf of 'Christ's Crown and Covenant,' and returned with interdicts in their pockets, all duly signed, sealed, and served, and as duly broken—not a single step was taken to vindicate the authority of the Court of Session and to avenge the broken interdicts—a clear indication that the judges were well aware that they had been guilty of a rash and imprudent, if not an unconstitutional act, which was calculated seriously to impair the authority of the courts of law.

The General Assembly of 1840 declared that the seven ministers of Strathbogie

had been duly suspended by the Commission, and continued the suspension. The First Division of the Court of Session, on the other hand, interdicted the ecclesiastical courts from executing the order of the Assembly. In other words, the civil court assumed the power to reverse a judgment of the supreme church court relating to the discipline of ministers—an entire subversion of the spiritual authority of the Church. It was not merely, as Lord Cockburn remarked, a decision to the effect that what the Church was about to do should have no patrimonial consequences, but that the act should not be done. The Court of Session, by this procedure, assumed that it had the right to order the Church to do or to undo the most purely spiritual acts, to ordain or not to ordain, to suspend or depose or not to suspend or depose from the office of the ministry, and to continue men in the exercise of the ministry when suspended or deposed by the Church. If this action on the part of the civil court was legal and constitutional, it follows that the enactment by statute that the ordination or deposition of ministers belongs to the Church by divine right is a mere dead letter.

As might have been expected, the Strathbogie ministers persisted in the course on which they had entered. On the 19th of February, 1840, they took Mr. Edwards on trial, and declared him to be qualified. The Court of Session next issued a decree ordering the Presbytery to ordain and admit him as minister of the church and parish of Marnoch, and they unhesitatingly resolved to obey this injunction.

The parish of Marnoch, which has obtained such celebrity in Scottish ecclesiastical history, is a quiet secluded spot in the southern part of Banffshire, on the banks of the Deveron. The parishioners, far removed from the centres of political and ecclesiastical agitation, were only bent on obtaining a pastor whom they could respect, and from whose ministrations they might

obtain spiritual instruction and direction. They were too well acquainted with the character and conduct of Mr. Edwards, to expect that they could receive any benefit from his teaching or example; but as he was intruded on them by the decree of the civil court, through the instrumentality of seven men whom the supreme court of the church had suspended from the office of the ministry, nothing remained for them to do but to protest publicly against this proceeding. The seven ministers had appointed the ordination to take place on the 21st of January, 1841. A heavy fall of snow on the previous day had blocked up the roads leading to Marnoch. But notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, bands of men from all the neighbouring parishes might be observed wending their way to the church, until at least 2000 persons were seen standing round the kirk. After some delay the doors were opened, the building was instantly and densely filled; the lower part being reserved for the parishioners and the galleries for strangers, great numbers of whom were unable to obtain admittance.

The moderator, Mr. Thomson, of Keith, commenced the proceedings with prayer. One of the elders of the parish then demanded by what authority the seven ministers had met, and whether they appeared there by the authority of the General Assembly or against that authority. But the only answer he could obtain was that they were sent there by the Presbytery of Strathbogie, and under the protection of the law of the land. The agent for the elders, heads of families, and communicants of the parish, then read a solemn protest signed by the members of the Kirk Session, and another signed by 450 communicants, repudiating the authority of men suspended from their offices by the supreme court of their church, and deprecating as unlawful and sinful the act which they were about to commit. They would take no further part, he added, in these unconstitutional proceedings.

The people of Marnoch then rose in a body, 'old men with heads white as snow, the middle-aged, and the young, and gathering their Bibles and Psalm-books they left the church, many in tears, all in grief.' 'Will they all leave?' said one of the Intrusionists. 'Yes, they all left, never to return.' Their places were immediately taken by a crowd of strangers, mostly young lads who, up till that time, had not been able to obtain admittance. They pelted the suspended ministers with snowballs, and assailed them with hisses, shouts, and groans. The members of Presbytery and their legal agent sat 'cowering and shivering in their pews, staring at one another with pale faces, miserably afraid to remain where they were, but far too frightened to rise and go away.'

This discreditable scene was at length terminated, and peace restored by the interposition of Mr. Stronach, a county magistrate, and a Non-intrusionist who had been sent for to quell the disturbance. The ordination was completed. Mr. Edwards declared, with all the solemnity of an oath, that zeal for the glory of God, love to the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls, and not worldly designs and interests, were his great motives and chief inducements to enter into the office of the ministry. The crowded audience were awed into silence and seriousness for the time at a spectacle unparalleled in the history of the Church—'an ordination performed by a Presbytery of suspended clergymen, on a call by a single communicant, against the desire of the patron, in the face of the strenuous opposition of a united Christian congregation, in opposition to the express injunction of the General Assembly, and under the sole authority of the Court of Session.'

The General Assembly of 1839 had appointed a committee to confer with the Government, with the view of inducing them to bring forward a measure to terminate the strife which had arisen in the Church, and the contest between the civil and ecclesiastical courts. But after some

hesitation Lord Melbourne refused to interfere at present. Thus repulsed by the Whig Ministry, which was then tottering to its fall, the Non-intrusionists turned to the Conservative party, which was supported by the great body of the clergy, and entreated their assistance. The application was at first cordially welcomed. Lord Aberdeen had publicly expressed his conviction that the principle of Non-intrusion had always existed in the Church of Scotland, and had always been recognized, and that 'the will of the people had always formed an essential ingredient in the election to the pastoral office.' He therefore undertook to prepare a measure which he expected would have the effect of healing those dissensions that were threatening to rend the Church in pieces.

The professed object of the Bill which Lord Aberdeen now prepared was to prevent the intrusion of a presentee on a congregation who refused to receive him as their minister. He at one time expressed himself inclined to require that a call should be given to the presentee by a majority of the congregation, as being the true old constitutional usage of the Church of Scotland. He was in any case prepared 'to recognize a presbyterial instead of a popular veto,' and to empower the church courts to reject a presentee, on the ground of the continued opposition of the people, although they personally might not approve of the reasons assigned for that opposition. His Lordship, however, before introducing his Bill into the Upper House, thought fit to communicate with certain persons 'with whom he was in the habit of acting'—the Dean of Faculty being no doubt one of that number; and the result was that he not only abandoned altogether the proposal to insist upon a call, as 'quite impracticable,' but also so restricted the grounds on which the Presbytery could reject a presentee as to put it out of their power to do so on the ground of his being unacceptable to the people. It was therefore at variance with the principles of the Non-intrusion party. The measure

no doubt permitted the parishioners to state objections of all kinds to the presentee, and the Presbytery to take all these objections into consideration; but they were allowed to give effect to them only when personal to the presentee, when legally substantiated, and when sufficient in the judgment of the Court to warrant his rejection. To the people it altogether disallowed unacceptableness as a disqualification. It refused to the Presbytery the power of giving effect in any instance to the opposition of the congregation simply as such, no matter how general or how strong that opposition might be. That which the veto law said should be done in every instance, Lord Aberdeen's Bill said should be done in none. Above all, it offered no protection against the aggressions of the Court of Session. It was nominally as a remedy for an existing evil that the Bill was introduced, yet it left that evil just where it found it. On these and other similar grounds the Bill was condemned by the General Assembly, 27th May, 1841, by a great majority, and was ultimately abandoned by its author.

The Strathbogie ministers meanwhile persevered in the course on which they had entered. They disowned the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, and at every step asked and obtained an interdict from the Court of Session against the proceedings of the Assembly. Some even of the most highly-respected laymen of the Moderate party, like Sir George Clark and Mr. Pringle of Whytbank, declared that their contumacy was inexcusable. But they were not to be deterred from carrying out their determination, and the Assembly was at length constrained to depose them, on the ground that they had, in defiance of the Supreme Court of the Church, exercised a ministry from which they had been suspended, and had applied to the civil court to interfere with the discipline of the Church, and to prevent the performance of its purely spiritual duties.

At this critical juncture Lord Melbourne's ministry were expelled from office, and the

Conservatives came into power. This change of Government seems to have emboldened the Moderate party to press matters to an extremity. They evidently imagined that the Non-intrusionists, if firmly dealt with, would give way. Their leaders intimated to the new administration their intention to defy the sentence of the Assembly, and appealed to the new premier and his colleagues for protection against the consequences of such a step. They recommended that Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, and the other ministers who had preached in Strathbogie, should be prosecuted for breach of interdict by the law officers of the Crown, and declared their conviction that if this were done they and their friends would have much reason to be satisfied, and the present temporary excitement would soon pass away. They followed up this declaration by holding ministerial intercourse with the deposed ministers, and assisting them in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Another forced settlement took place on the 11th of November by the majority of the Presbytery of Garioch, who ordained a Mr. Middleton, a person sixty years of age, to the pastoral charge of the parish of Culsalmond, in spite of the opposition of the congregation, who, besides the veto, brought special objections against him, which they were prepared to make good, and of an appeal by the minority of the Presbytery to the Supreme Church Court. The Commission of Assembly prohibited Mr. Middleton from officiating in the parish of Culsalmond until the appeals and protests connected with his case had been disposed of. The sentence was exclusively spiritual; it touched no civil right, and carried with it no civil consequences, but it was nevertheless suspended and interdicted by the Court of Session.

The practical result of all this, as Lord Cockburn remarked, is that 'as a separate and independent power the Church is altogether superseded. It is difficult to fancy any act which it can do or can refrain from doing without being liable to the review of the Court of Session. The Established

clergy of Scotland are reduced by these judgments to the same state as the Established schoolmasters. The principle of the judgment in the Culsalmond case,' he adds, 'does expressly and directly subject the Church, in every sentence it can pronounce, to the review of the civil court.'

When such powers had been assumed by the Court of Session it was to be expected that application should be made to them for interdicts to arrest the decisions of the church courts in other matters. One Presbytery, while proceeding with the trial of a minister who was charged with several acts of fraud, were ordered by the Court of Session 'to suspend the whole proceedings,' and were 'prohibited and interdicted, and discharged from taking cognizance of the pretended libel.' Another Presbytery were about to depose a minister who had been found guilty of four separate acts of theft, and might have been found guilty of many more, when he raised an action of reduction in the Court of Session, and obtained an interdict against their proceeding further in the case. Mr. Clark, the presentee to Lethendy, who was living in the manse, of which he had taken possession, was accused of repeated acts of drunkenness, which the Presbytery of Dunkeld were about to investigate when they were interdicted by the Court of Session.*

Matters were now rapidly coming to a crisis. On the one hand the Non-intrusion party instructed their several Presbyteries to take into consideration the conduct of the ministers who had held communion with the suspended Strathbogie clergymen. On the other hand the Moderate leaders intimated their intention 'to take such steps as may appear most effectual for ascertaining from competent authority' whether they and their friends or their opponents were 'to be held by the Legis-

* After the Disruption the Established Presbytery of Dunkeld, instead of proceeding to ordain Mr. Clark to the pastoral charge of the parish of Lethendy, as the Court of Session had prescribed, found it necessary to deprive him of his license. He died in Glasgow in great poverty and wretchedness.

lature of the country as constituting the Established Church, and as entitled to the privileges and endowments conferred by statute on the ministers of that Church.' The Government, alarmed at the internecine strife which threatened the destruction of the Establishment, began at length to bestir themselves to effect a settlement of the case; but as they showed undisguised reluctance to go beyond the limits of Lord Aberdeen's Bill, the negotiations were protracted for a considerable period without coming to any definite issue. At this critical juncture an incident occurred which gave the final blow to all hope that the impending disruption of the Church would be averted. A section of the Non-intrusion party, commonly designated 'the Forty,' because they claimed to amount to that number, opened private negotiations with the Government, and intimated their willingness to accept a measure which was identical in principle with Lord Aberdeen's Bill. This movement led the Ministry to believe that the Non-intrusion party was at last breaking up, and induced them to lay aside the intention which they had begun to entertain of bringing forward a measure that might heal the divisions of the Church. They fancied that the great body of the supporters of the Non-intrusion policy sympathized with the views of the insignificant 'Forty'—that if they stood firm and declared their resolution to support the decisions of the Court of Session, the number who might secede would be only a few of the leaders, and that their followers would surrender at discretion. Private members of the Legislature, like the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Campbell of Monzie, made strenuous attempts to get a measure passed which would protect the rights and privileges of the Church and the people, but without effect. The Government contrived to frustrate all such efforts, and would neither legislate themselves nor allow others to do so.

At the meeting of Assembly in 1842 the members nominated by the deposed Strath-

bogie ministers claimed a right to a seat in the court, and the representatives of the minority, whom the supreme court alone recognized, were interdicted by the Court of Session from taking their places among its members. The claim of the former was peremptorily rejected, while the latter were cordially welcomed. The other interdicts of the Court of Session were treated in the same manner.

It had now become evident, even to those who did not regard the system of patronage as unscriptural, that it was the main cause of the difficulties in which the Church was involved; and it was resolved by a majority of 216 to 147 that 'patronage is a grievance, has been attended with much injury to the cause of true religion in this Church and kingdom, is the main cause of the difficulties in which the Church is at present involved, and that it ought to be abolished.'

This resolution, though it simply renewed the protest which for more than half a century after the restoration of patronage the General Assembly had annually made against this grievance, would probably not have been adopted at this time, had it not been clear that it was hopeless to appeal any longer to the Parliament and the aristocracy, and that the Church must henceforth rely upon the support of the people. But the most important step taken by this Assembly was the adoption of what was termed 'The Claim of Rights,' recapitulating the doctrines embodied in the Confession of Faith respecting the constitution of the Church, recognized, ratified, and confirmed by repeated Acts of Parliament, and especially in the Treaty of Union; setting forth the recent violations of these rights by the Court of Session, in direct opposition to former decisions of that court; and appealing to the Legislature against the usurpation of the courts of law. Whatever may be thought of the principles embodied in this masterly document, no one can deny that it is well entitled to the commendation bestowed on it as 'the clearest and most consecutive, the most

condensed and most comprehensive statement of the great principles which the Church asserted; of the scriptural, constitutional, and legal grounds on which these principles rested; of the violence done to them by the civil court; of the wrongs which the Church had consequently sustained, and the claim for protection which she put forth.' The Lord High Commissioner was requested to transmit this paper to Her Majesty, and it was ordered to be 'circulated as extensively as possible throughout the bounds of the Christian world.'

The Assembly which adopted this Claim of Rights also carried, by a large majority, a motion resolving to petition the Legislature in favour of the abolition of patronage, as the fruitful source of all the dissensions that had taken place in the Church. It suspended from their judicial functions till the meeting of the Commission in March, 1843, those clergymen who had preached for the seven deposed ministers of Strathbogie. It deposed the minister of Stranraer, who had been found guilty of 'fraudulent and reckless extravagance in the contraction of debts,' but who had obtained an interdict from the Court of Session against further proceeding in his case. The minister of Cambusnethan, who had been found guilty of theft, and had appealed to the civil court for protection, shared the same fate. The induction of the minister of Culsalmond was declared to be null and void. The rejected presentee of Lethendy was deprived of his license, and the ordination of the minister of Glass, who had been ordained by the suspended ministers, was cancelled. In a word, the Church stood firmly upon her border, and, as Dr. Chalmers said, 'gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour,' to the encroachments upon her spiritual province.

It was evident that the final issue of this protracted conflict was near at hand. Sir James Graham, in acknowledging the receipt of the Claim of Right and the petition against patronage, forwarded to

him by the Lord High Commissioner, stated, 'If the presentation of these documents to the Queen implied in the least degree the adoption of their contents, I should not hesitate to declare that a sense of duty would restrain me from laying them before Her Majesty. But as the language used in the two addresses is respectful, and as the inclosure purports to be a statement of grievances from the supreme ecclesiastical authority in Scotland, I am unwilling to interrupt their transmission to the throne. I shall therefore lay before the Queen your lordship's letter, with all the documents accompanying it, declaring at the same time that this act is not to be regarded as any admission whatever of the Claim of Right, or of the grievances which are alleged.' This reply of the Home Secretary made it clear that the Government had resolved to resist the claims of the Non-intrusion party, and that the door of hope was thus closed.*

Events were now rapidly bringing affairs to a crisis. The lawsuits against the Church already amounted to thirty-nine, and were almost daily increasing. Lord Kinnoull and Mr. Young had raised a second action against the Presbytery of Auchterarder, to recover damages which were laid at £16,000, as compensation for the injury inflicted on the presentee in consequence of his rejection. The Court of Session decided in Mr. Young's favour, and their decision was confirmed on appeal by the House of Lords on the 9th August, 1842. It was thus declared by the supreme court that the obligation to 'receive and admit a presentee was a civil obliga-

tion, the violation of which was to be punished as a crime committed against the common law of the country.†

As the disruption of the Church was evidently approaching, preparations began to be made for that momentous event, and it was resolved to hold a convocation of the ministers belonging to the Non-intrusion party. It met in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, and was attended by 465 ministers, gathered out of every county from Wigton to Caithness. The meetings were held in private, and none but ministers were allowed to be present. The proceedings lasted for a week, and ended in the adoption of two sets of resolutions. The first protested against the invasions of the rights of the Church by the courts of law, as subversive both of authority in matters purely spiritual and of the ratified constitution of the Church of Scotland. The second set referred to the remedy for these grievous wrongs, and declared that if the Legislature should refuse redress, and thus sanction the aggressions of the civil courts, the subscribers would feel constrained to secede from the Establishment. The first series was subscribed by 423 ministers, the second by 354. 'This band,' says Lord Cockburn, 'contains the whole chivalry of the Church.' These proceedings were followed by a great public meeting held in Edinburgh on the 24th November, at which a memorial prepared by the instructions of the convocation was addressed to the Government, embodying the resolutions adopted by it, and setting forth the inevitable result of a refusal to redress the grievances of which the Church complained.

as it pleased—found him qualified or found him not—and no court could have interfered except to protect it in the discharge of its duty.' The learned historian has, however, overlooked the important fact that Lords Cottenham and Brougham had emphatically declared that the want of acceptability to the congregation was not a legal ground of rejection. If the Presbytery had rejected Mr. Young on that ground their decision would at once have been set aside by the law courts; and it would have been dishonest to have set him aside on any other plea, while the real ground of rejection was the fact that he was not acceptable to the people.

* Sir James Graham was undoubtedly the member of the Government who was mainly responsible for the dogged and almost scornful refusal to interfere for the preservation of the church. He contemptuously said that it was not for him to build a bridge of gold for the threatening Seceders to pass over. He lived, however, to repent bitterly of his refusal after it was too late.

† Dr. Cunningham, in the second edition of his 'Church History of Scotland,' ii. 521, affirms that the penalty might have been avoided if the Presbytery had taken Mr. Young on trial and rejected him. 'It might,' he says, 'have disposed of the presentee

'They feel,' said the memorialists, 'that the time is come when the final determination of this question can be postponed no longer; and as they cannot disguise from themselves, so neither would they deem it right to conceal from the Government and the country, the inevitable result of a continued refusal, on the part of the Legislature, of that indispensable measure of relief which they find they have a good right to ask and good reason to expect.'

It might have been expected that after 333 ministers, men of spotless character and unquestionable integrity, had thus deliberately and solemnly appended their names to a document pledging themselves to secede from the Church unless their grievances were redressed, the Government, whether resolved to grant or reject their claims, would at least have given these men credit for common honesty, and have believed that they would keep their word; but like the dissolute courtiers and the bishops in the days of Charles II., the Ministry continued obstinately incredulous that any considerable number of the clergy would resign their livings and abandon the Establishment. They afterwards pleaded, in extenuation of their wilful blindness, that they had been misled by the leaders of the Moderate party, whose scornful disbelief in the integrity and veracity of their brethren was utterly without excuse. A circular had been addressed to certain members of the party, on whose judgment the Government placed the greatest reliance, inquiring whether in the event of the Claim of Rights being rejected, a secession would take place; and if so, what would be the probable number of the seceders? The individuals consulted all concurred in the opinion that the leaders of the Non-intrusion party must throw up their livings, but the estimated number of their followers varied from ten to forty. The Rev. Dr. Cumming of London, who made great pretensions to the gift of expounding the meaning of unfulfilled prophecy, thought fit to interpose in the contest at this

juncture, and publicly declared he was not satisfied that any would secede; and a considerable number of the most prominent Dissenters expressed opinions equally uncharitable and erroneous. Thus encouraged the Gallios of the Ministry, who 'cared for none of these things,' resolved that they would allow matters to take their course.

The answer of the Government to the Claim of Rights and the Memorial of the Convocation was conveyed in a letter from Sir James Graham, dated January 4th, 1843, and addressed to the Moderator of the General Assembly. It has been designated 'an able and statesman-like document,' but certainly not with good reason. 'It cannot be described,' said the *Quarterly Review*, 'as either a very logical or a very courteous document. It took no notice whatever of the Memorial; but adverted to certain addresses which the General Assembly had transmitted to the Crown, entered into a detailed examination of occurrences long gone by, and wound up with declaring that to yield to the Church's demands would "lead directly to despotic power."' It failed to state the Church's claim correctly, and it did not fairly meet the pleas urged in its support. It mixed up the address of the Assembly praying for the abolition of patronage, with the address claiming that the spiritual independence of the Church should be secured, and by this dexterous though discreditable manœuvre contrived to gain an apparent advantage in regard to the demands of the Non-intrusion party. It mis-stated as well as repudiated the Claim of Rights, which it declared to be unreasonable, and intimated distinctly that the Government could not advise Her Majesty to acquiesce in these demands. So far therefore as the Ministry were concerned, no relief was to be granted either as to patronage or as to the encroachments of the Court of Session.

A few days later (January 20th) the decision of the Court of Session in regard to the Chapel Act virtually placed the entire government of the Church under

civil control. In 1833 the ministers of the forty Parliamentary churches, as they were called, were admitted into the church courts with the unanimous approval of both parties in the Assembly. In the following year the ministers of Chapels of Ease were also recognized as members of church courts, and had districts and kirk-sessions assigned them. The new churches which had been erected by the Church Extension funds were placed in the same position in 1837, and two years later the Secession Chapels which were united to the Established Church were also put on the same footing. All civil rights and interests were carefully reserved. Men of the most opposite opinions, Moderate and Evangelical alike, concurred heartily in these measures. With such unanimous approval were the ministers of the Chapels of Ease, the Parliamentary, and the *Quoad Sacra* Churches admitted as members of the church courts that Dr. Norman Macleod, senior, though only the minister of a Gaelic chapel in Glasgow, was chosen by the Moderate party in 1836 to fill the office of Moderator of the Assembly. So effective had the Chapel Act proved, that before the Disruption it had been the means of adding to the Establishment no less than 214 churches, each with a district, a minister, and a kirk-session. 'The effect of this over the country,' says Lord Cockburn, 'may be judged of from its operation in two places. St. Cuthbert's parish in Edinburgh, instead of having one parish church with two ministers and one session, aided by three chapel ministers without sessions or districts, for 70,000 people, obtained nine churches with ten ministers, each of the nine having a session and a district. The Barony parish of Glasgow, which used to have one church, one minister, and one session, eased by four chapels, for about 80,000 souls, obtained eighteen churches and eighteen ministers, each with its district and session.'

The ministers of these chapels, as a body, were zealous Non-intrusionists, and as the contention between the two parties waxed

hotter and hotter 'the suppression of the *quoad sacra* ministers—in other words, the extinction of above 200 hostile votes—became the object of the very party that had assisted to rear them. And they had not far to go to get them set aside.' A congregation of the Associate Synod in the parish of Stewarton—a body which had recently been reunited to the Church—was assigned by the Presbytery of Irvine, in which that large parish is situated, a district *quoad sacra* and a session, and its minister was at the same time admitted to a seat in the ecclesiastical courts. This step in no way affected the civil rights and interests of the objectors; but the heritors thought fit to apply to the Court of Session for an interdict against the procedure of the Presbytery, and of course obtained it. The question at issue was debated at great length before the whole court; and the judges, by the old majority of eight to five, interdicted the *quoad sacra* ministers from sitting in the church courts, the Presbytery from allocating a *quoad sacra* district, the new kirk-session from exercising discipline, and all the parties complained of 'generally from innovating upon the present parochial state of the parish of Stewarton as regards pastoral superintendence.' 'There was no peculiarity in this parish,' says Lord Cockburn, 'and therefore the decision virtually smites down the whole *quoad sacra* churches in Scotland. Yet this blow is immaterial compared with the principle upon which it has been struck. The principle is that *wherever* the Church commits what the Court of Session thinks an error in law, or at least an abuse, the court has jurisdiction to correct that error or abuse; in other words, the Church has no independent jurisdiction whatever.'

It only remained that the decision of the Government on the Claim of Rights should be sanctioned by the Legislature to make the way clear for the Evangelical party to secede from an Establishment thus subjected to the domination of the civil courts. A petition was accordingly presented to both

Houses of Parliament laying before them the Claim of Rights, and praying them to grant the redress and protection therein sought. On the 7th of March the petition was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons by Mr. Fox Maule (afterwards Earl of Dalhousie), who moved that the House should resolve itself into a Committee for the consideration of this important question. Mr. Campbell of Monzie, Sir George Grey, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. P. M. Stewart ably supported the motion. It was strongly opposed by Sir James Graham, who called upon the House to put an extinguisher at once upon the expectations of the Church, 'because he was satisfied that such expectations could not be realized in any country in which law, or equity, or order, or common sense prevailed.' Lord John Russell, though he spoke in a more guarded and temperate manner, coincided in Sir James Graham's decision; while Sir Robert Peel expressed his hope that 'an attempt would not be made to establish a spiritual or ecclesiastical supremacy above the other tribunals of the country, and that, in conjunction with increased attention to the duties of religion, the laws of the country would be maintained.' The debate occupied two nights, but the result was never for a moment doubtful. Mr. Maule's motion was lost by a majority of 135, the numbers being 76 for and 211 against it. But out of thirty-seven Scottish members who were present at the division twenty-three voted in favour of the motion. The voice of Scotland therefore, as expressed by her own representatives, was overborne by the votes of English and Irish members, most of them Episcopalians and Roman Catholics.

The Government were still remarkably incredulous that the *threat*, as they styled it, of the Non-intrusion party would be carried into effect, and remained so until the disruption had actually taken place. 'While Dr. Cumming,' said the *Quarterly Review*, 'wrote pamphlets to prove that there would be no secession, or that if it

did occur the number of seceding ministers would be very small—while Dr. Leishman (the leader of "the Forty") assured Lord Aberdeen that the whole affair would end in smoke—while those apparently best informed even among the citizens of Edinburgh affirmed "that not forty would go out"—little short of 400 brave hearts set themselves to prepare for an issue which they felt to be inevitable. Each explained to his congregation the point at which the controversy had arrived, and prayed for Divine support. But forthwith, under the guidance of Chalmers, a machinery of wider agitation was prepared. Associations were entered into and public meetings held, collectors appointed, and six months before the Free Church had any existence considerable funds had been gathered in both for the erection of places of worship and the maintenance of ministers. And then, and not till then, Chalmers and his friends of the Convocation drew breath, like men ready for the final act of all.' Writing to a correspondent in America, on the 19th of April, 1843, he says—

'Our crisis is rapidly approaching. We are making every effort for the erection and sustentation of a Free Church in the event of our disruption from the State, which will take place, we expect, in four weeks. I am glad to say that the great bulk and body of the common people, with a goodly proportion of the middle classes, are upon our side, though it bodes ill for the country that the higher classes are almost universally against us. Notwithstanding this, however, we are forming associations for weekly payments all over the country, and I am glad to say that they amount by this day's post to 408. We expect that by the meeting of our General Assembly the country will be half organized, and are looking for a great additional impulse from the disruption when it actually takes place. I am hopeful that ere the summer is ended we may number about 1000 associations, or as many as there are parishes in Scotland; so that unless there be an attempt to crush us by prose-

cution, I have no fear of our getting on. But the Lord reigneth, and He alone knoweth the end from the beginning. Let us look to His providence and grace, without which there can be no security from without nor vital prosperity within.' Subscriptions were indeed pouring in at the rate of £1000 a day, so that by the time the General Assembly met 687 associations had been organized for collecting contributions for the Sustentation Fund, and upwards of £104,000 was available for the erection of churches.

The day of trial and decision at length arrived. The Assembly met, according to appointment, on the 18th of May, in St. Andrew's Church. The retiring Moderator, the Rev. Dr. Welsh, Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, took the chair, and opened the proceedings with a deeply impressive prayer. And now expectation, which had already been wound up to the highest pitch of excitement, became positively painful, when the Moderator, amid breathless silence, rose and addressed the Court in the hearing of the crowded audience. According to the usual form of procedure, he said the time had come for making up the roll, but in consequence of the infringement which had been made on the constitution of the Church they could not now constitute the Court without a violation of the union between Church and State, and must protest against their proceeding further. He then read the famous Protest against the wrongs inflicted by the civil power on the Church, specifying in detail the various encroachments of the courts of law on its spiritual jurisdiction and authority, and disclaiming all responsibility for the enforced separation of the subscribers—203 in number, a majority of the members of Assembly—from an Establishment which they loved and prized, 'through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in His Church.'

Having finished the reading of this Protest, Dr. Welsh laid it upon the table, turned, and bowed respectfully to the Commissioner, the Marquis of Bute, left the chair, and proceeded along the aisle to the door of the church. He was followed by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Macfarlane of Greenock, Dr. M'Donald, Sir David Brewster, Mr. Campbell of Monzie, and other leaders of the party, and then the numerous sitters on the thickly-occupied benches behind filed after them in long unbroken line. 'The effect upon the audience was overwhelming. At first a cheer burst from the galleries, but it was almost instantly and spontaneously restrained. It was felt by all to be an expression of feeling unsuited to the occasion; it was checked by an emotion too deep for any other utterance than the fall of sad and silent tears.'

The effect which this scene produced upon the Moderate party was peculiarly striking. Up to this moment they had deluded themselves into the belief that only the leaders of the popular party would abandon the church of their fathers; but in the words of their historian, 'when almost the whole Non-intrusion party which occupied the left side of the Moderator's chair rose in a mass, and began to move towards the door, there was profound astonishment, dismay, even alarm. . . . When they were all gone one side of the House was nearly a blank, and those who remained sat for a time silent and half stupefied at the lamentable secession which had taken place,' and for which, it might have been added, they were mainly to blame. 'Thus was consummated at once,' says a Conservative organ, 'the greatest and most eventful schism that perhaps ever occurred in any national church since the foundation of Christianity in our land.'

When the seceding members, of whom 123 were clergymen and seventy-six elders, emerged from the church, the effect on the multitude who thronged the streets was most thrilling. The air rent with the shout of admiration with which the men who had sacrificed their all for conscience sake were

welcomed. But 'amidst this exaltation,' says Lord Cockburn, 'there was much sadness, and many a tear, many a grave face, and fearful thought; for no one could doubt that it was with sore hearts that these members left the Church, and no thinking man could look on this unexampled scene, and behold that the temple was rent, without pain and forebodings.' They were constrained by the pressure of the crowd to form a procession three deep, which, with the Moderator, Dr. Chalmers, and Dr. Gordon at its head, moved through the lane opened for them by the surging throng of excited but profoundly respectful spectators who filled the streets between St. Andrew's Church and the hall at Canonmills that had been prepared for their reception. It was capable of containing at least 3000 persons, and with the exception of the area, set apart for members, was crowded in every part with the enthusiastic admirers of the seceding clergy. After the usual preliminary services there was then constituted, with Dr. Chalmers as its Moderator, the first Assembly of the 'Free Protestant Church of Scotland.' The ministers who had seceded, together with the other Convocationists and adherents, amounting altogether to 474, signed a formal deed of demission, resigning all the emoluments and privileges belonging to their office. They were joined by the whole of the foreign missionaries who had been connected with the Established Church, and the great majority of the theological students. But, as Lord Cockburn remarked, 'the most extraordinary and symptomatic adherence was by about 200 probationers, who extinguished all their hopes at the very moment when the vacancies of 450 pulpits made their rapid success almost certain.'*

Steps were immediately taken to carry

* Lord Jeffrey was sitting reading in his quiet room when a friend burst in upon him and exclaimed, 'What do you think of it? more than 400 of them are actually out.' The book was flung aside, and, springing to his feet, Jeffrey exclaimed, 'I'm proud of my country; there is not another country upon earth where such a deed could have been done.'

out the scheme propounded by Dr. Chalmers at the Convocation, for the purpose of providing adequate support for the ministers who, for conscience sake, had thus sacrificed their all. A common fund was adopted as the essential principle of their financial system, to the support of which all the congregations were to contribute, and in the benefits of which all the ministers were to share. A building fund was instituted to defray the cost of erecting churches, manses, and schools, and a fund for the erection of a theological college for the training of candidates for the ministry. Provision was also made for the support of the parochial teachers who had seceded, for home and foreign missionaries, for aged and infirm ministers, for expenses of management, and other necessary matters. The whole arrangements for the organization of the new church were made with remarkable sagacity, and proved completely successful.

As soon as the seceding ministers quitted the place of meeting, the old Moderate party resumed their ascendancy, and took charge of the business of the Assembly. Principal Macfarlane, of Glasgow, was chosen Moderator. The Marquis of Bute presented his commission, and the Queen's letter was read. This document had been looked for with considerable curiosity by the 'Forty,' as well as by a small number of waverers, who 'hoped against hope' that it might contain some concessions which would justify their continuance in the Establishment. It had been composed, however, under the belief that the Secession would be small and unimportant, and it brought no comfort to those who had abandoned their principles to preserve their livings; while, as Lord Cockburn says, 'several who, to the great risk of their reputation, adhered to the old firm till the oracle spoke, immediately after joined the swarm at Canonmills.'

The Assembly, on being formally constituted, immediately set itself to undo the whole work of the last nine years, in spite of the piteous protests and entreaties of

the 'Forty.' The sentences of suspension and deposition pronounced upon the seven Strathbogie ministers were pronounced *ab initio* null and void by a majority of 148 to 33. Though Mr. Story, of Roseneath, and other ex-Nonintrusionists warned the Moderates of the danger this motion might involve, and professed to anticipate another Secession, the veto law was not rescinded, but merely set aside as having been declared by the Court of Session an illegal act from the beginning. Mr. Story pleaded that 'the act was an ecclesiastical act, and must be cancelled ecclesiastically,' and the Rev. Norman Macleod, who was of the same opinion, 'wished to repeal the veto constitutionally.' All in vain; the Moderates knew their power, and were determined to exercise it with inflexible rigour. The settlements of Mr. Edwards at Marnoch and of Mr. Middleton at Culsalmond were recognized and confirmed, and Mr. Clark, the Lethendy presentee, had his license restored. The Acts by which the ministers of the Chapels of Ease and of the Parliamentary and Extension Churches had been admitted to the church courts were expunged from the records of the Assembly, and finally the Act was rescinded which opened the pulpits of the Establishment to the ministers of other churches. They twice attempted, and twice failed, to answer the Protest of the Seceders. A third attempt was made, but proved equally unsuccessful. A satisfactory answer was to have been forthcoming at the meeting of the Commission in August, but nothing more was ever heard of the matter.

There is no doubt room for diversity of opinion respecting the policy which terminated in the Disruption, but no leal-hearted patriotic Scotsman could, without emotion or regret, contemplate the rending asunder of the Church of John Knox and Andrew Melville, of Robert Bruce and Alexander Henderson. 'It is perhaps idle to speculate now,' says Lord Cockburn, 'on what might have been done to avert the irrecoverable step. But some things are tolerably clear. It was the duty of Government to endeavour

to adjust claims which it clearly could not crush, and which in every view, either as advanced or as resisted, were alarming. I consider it *nearly certain* that these claims might have been adjusted, and even without much difficulty, if either the Whig or the Tory Government had interfered *sincerely and intelligently in due time*. The question of patronage might have been settled, if not to the entire satisfaction yet with the acquiescence of all parties, by any real check, however mild, on its abuse. A statute doing *clearly and honestly* what Lord Aberdeen's vague Bill pretended to do, would have at least set the matter at rest till the next generation. . . . But the truth is that, notwithstanding a world of professions, Government was never duly anxious to compose these differences. The Whigs in general had no love of Churches, and it was only for its patronage and for the politics of the Moderate party that the Tories in general loved the Church of Scotland. Neither Government understood the subject, and both trembled for Church of England questions, and for the Dissenters. Their ignorance, which no doubt has all along been profound, is but a poor apology for their infatuation. . . . The fact that the coming catastrophe, though at last as certain as the rising of the next day's sun, was not believed by the Government, is of itself sufficient to prove their indifference. How *could* they be *truly anxious* for adjustment when they saw no danger! No men could be more strongly admonished. But they opened their ears and their eyes only to one side, and these *friends of churches* have blown up the best ecclesiastical establishment in the world.'

The Government were very deeply mortified at the result of their wilful blindness, which they now saw clearly would be most injurious to their party in Scotland; and they vented their anger in the first instance on the Moderate clergy, who had helped to mislead them; none of whom were now consulted in regard to the ecclesiastical patronage of the Crown. But they were

much less excusable in manifesting as they did a vindictive feeling towards the Seceders. Dr. Welsh, of course, resigned the professorship of Ecclesiastical History, which he held in the University of Edinburgh; but he was deprived by Sir James Graham, who was extremely bitter against the Free Church, of the office of Secretary to the Bible Board, which was not legally restricted to clergymen of the Established Church, and is at the present moment held by Sir Henry Moncrieff, a distinguished Free Churchman. The ministers who adhered to the Church complained, not without reason, that they were nicknamed Residuaries and Erastians, and denounced as men unfaithful to 'the Crown Rights of the Redeemer.' At the same time great allowance should have been made for the exasperation produced by the protracted life and death struggle between the two parties; and right feeling, and even worldly prudence, to say nothing of Christian principle, should have prevented the remanent clergy from countenancing in any way the treatment which the Free Church received from not a few of the landed proprietors. Not contented with expelling the parochial teachers who had joined the new Church, they were so unwise as to make an attempt to remove from office the professors who had taken this step, while they had never made any complaint respecting the numerous Episcopalianism who, not unfrequently, by their aid occupied chairs in the National Universities. Sir David Brewster, the Principal of the United College of St. Andrews, and one of the most illustrious men of science Scotland has ever possessed, was singled out for the most violent assault of the Church Courts, and the Home Secretary seemed not disinclined to aid and abet their proceedings. But the attempt ignominiously failed, partly in consequence of the difficulty of finding any method by which Sir David could be legally removed from his office, but mainly on account of the outburst of public indignation with which the proposal was greeted.

The lairds, however, and among them some of the highest rank and most extensive estates, attempted to crush the Free Church by measures utterly indefensible in themselves, and which were certainly not calculated to gain the end in view. In the county of Sutherland, which belongs almost exclusively to one proprietor, the Toleration Act might be said to have been repealed. No site could be obtained either for a church or a manse. 'One venerable minister,' says Dr. Hanna, 'had to send his wife and children away to a distance of seventy miles—not a house or hut nearer being open for their accommodation—and he had himself to take a room in the only inn which the district supplied.' Another—the minister of Lairg, a man far advanced in years—was asked by his widowed daughter to share a cottage within his parish in which she lived, but the noble proprietor (or perhaps his factor) interfered. She was warned that if she harboured her own parent in her house she would forfeit her right to her dwelling, as it was not desired that any house on this estate should be 'a lodging-place for Dissenters.' Father and daughter were accordingly obliged to leave the county. 'A third, driven from one of the loveliest homes, compelled to study in a wretched garret, and to sleep often with nothing between him and the open heavens but the cold slate covered with hoar frost—his very breath frozen upon the bed-clothes—sunk into the grave. From the manse of Tongue the patriarchal clergyman and his son, who was his assistant and successor, separating themselves from their families, retired to a very humble abode. The exposure and privation were too much for them; they both caught fever and they both died.' 'The ministers of the county of Sutherland,' says Lord Cockburn, 'having suffered most, were each asked lately (by the Free Assembly) to say whether there was anything, and what, in his circumstances which gave him a claim for consideration in the distribution of the Sustentation Fund. There is nothing more honourable

to Scotland, and little more honourable to human nature, than the magnanimous answers by every one of these brave men. Not one of them made any claim. Each abjured it. One of them stated that though he had been turned out of a hovel he had got into last winter, and had been obliged to walk about thirty miles over snow beside the cart which conveyed his wife and children to another district, and had nothing, he was perfectly happy, and had no doubt that many of his brethren were far better entitled to favour than he was. These are the men to make churches! These are the men to whom some wretched lairds think themselves superior.'

In other districts of the country the same intolerant course was followed. No site for a church or manse could be obtained on the extensive estates of the Duke of Buccleuch. At the mining village of Wanlockhead, 1500 feet above the level of the sea, the adherents of the Free Church were compelled to worship in the open air during successive winters amid frost and snow. A canvas tent was at one time erected, but it was torn to pieces by the violence of the wind. In Canonbie, a parish which is exclusively the property of the Duke of Buccleuch, the people erected a tent on a bare moor, in which to conduct their religious services; but they were speedily driven from it by a legal interdict, and compelled to worship on the public highway. Their clergyman, a young man of eminent piety and zeal, died in consequence of his exposure to the severity of the weather. When Dr. Guthrie preached there to a large congregation, the elders had every now and then to draw the edge of their hands across the plate to clear away the snow. At Thornhill, near the Duke's mansion of Drumlanrig, a site for a Free Church was of course refused; but a poor woman named Janet Fraser, a member of the United Secession Church there, had a small plot of ground which in this emergency she offered to hand over to the congregation as a free gift. As soon as her intention became known, a sub-factor

of the Duke of Buccleuch offered her an extraordinary price for the plot; but the tender was firmly refused. 'Na!' said the spirited old woman, 'it cam frae the Lord, and the Lord wants it again, and he shall hae't!' It was finally arranged that Janet should receive a small rent for it during her life, and that on her death it should become the property of the congregation. Upon the ground thus bestowed the Free Church of Thornhill has been erected. It has one rather significant peculiarity. The south wall has a deforming bend which interferes with the symmetry of an otherwise goodly edifice. Eighteen inches more of ground would have made the wall straight. But these eighteen inches would have encroached on the Duke's boundary, and so the wall is crooked!

In Argyleshire the owners of extensive districts of moorland would not allow even a tent to be pitched on a Saturday night, though it was to be removed on the Monday morning. A floating church had to be erected and stationed off the coast at Sunart, because Sir James Miles Riddell, the chief proprietor of the district, refused to grant a foot of land for a site. In the adjoining Highland county of Inverness matters were still worse. Dr. M'Pherson, a professor in the University of Aberdeen, proprietor of Eigg, declined to grant a site either for a church or a manse to the minister of the parish of Small Isles, who had seceded at the Disruption, though one had been given to the Roman Catholic priest, and the whole Protestants on the island, with three exceptions, had joined the Free Church. The minister was in consequence obliged to send his family to Skye, and to take up his own residence on board a small yacht called the *Betsey*, which conveyed him from island to island to minister to his flock. The minister of Kilmallie, near Fort William, and his people, were subjected to equally severe privations. The wretched accommodation with which he was content, in order that he might remain among his congregation,

was again and again taken from him, and he was compelled to change his temporary place of residence no less than five times. He was at length driven to Fort William, over an arm of the sea, which he had to cross in an open boat on every occasion on which he visited his people. In consequence of the hardships which he endured, he was laid prostrate with a dangerous illness from which he never thoroughly recovered.

With regard to the Highlanders who inhabited the parish of Kilmallie, a large portion of whom belonged to the clan Cameron, the treatment they received from their chief, Cameron of Lochiel, closely corresponded with that which was meted out to their pastor. Like him they were driven from place to place by interdicts of the heritors, instigated by the Established Presbytery of the bounds, and were obliged for a good many months to worship upon the sea shore within high-water mark. On this spot they held their first communion after the Disruption, on the 30th of July, 1843. 'We attended,' wrote Hugh Miller, 'the public service of a Communion Sabbath in Lochiel's country. The congregation consisted of from 3000 to 4000 persons, and never have we seen finer specimens of our Highland population. We needed no one to tell us that the men at our side—tall, muscular, commanding, from the glens of Lochaber and the shores of Lochiel—were the descendants, the very fac-similes of the warriors whose battle-cry was heard furthest amid the broken ranks at Preston, and who did all that almost superhuman valour could do to reverse the destinies of Culloden. And yet here they were assembled as if by stealth—the whole population of a whole district—after being chased by the interdicts of the proprietor from one spot of ground to another. . . . They had gone first to the parish burying-ground. It was the resting-place of their brave ancestors. One family had been accustomed to say, "This little spot is ours," and another, "This little spot is ours;" and

they reasoned, rationally enough, that as the entire area belonged to them in its parts, it might be held to belong to them as a whole also, and that they might meet in it therefore to worship their God over the ashes of their fathers. Alas! their simple logic was met by a stringent interdict. . . . As we stood and listened to the rippling dash of the waves, mingled with the voice of the preacher, and there, half on the beach and half on an unproductive strip of marginal sward, did meet to worship God, patient and unresisting, though grieved and indignant, from 3000 to 4000 of the bravest hearts in Scotland.'

A companion picture to this sketch of a Highland communion in the open air in summer is furnished by a scene vividly described by the Rev. Eric Findlater, the son of the 'outed' minister of Durness, in Sutherland. The Seceders there, as in the neighbouring parishes of this county, were forced to worship under the shelter of one of those canvas tents which were sent from Edinburgh to various places where sites had been refused. 'In calm weather they did tolerably, but their continued exposure to wet, and especially the gales of that climate, soon began to tell on them, for there, especially in winter, Boreas reigns. The one at Durness was pitched in a gravel-pit, in a central part of the parish. On the north-west side it was sheltered by a Gaelic school-house which belonged to the people, and on the west by a high wall which they themselves built, in order to break the force of the prevailing winds—the west and south-west. In the centre of it stood the wooden box from which the minister used to address them on the hill-side—it was, in short, a movable pulpit. In it I was preaching on the 18th of February, 1844. When about the middle of my sermon, which was in Gaelic, there came a snow-shower, accompanied by a fierce blast from the north. The consequence was that the cloth gave way—it was rent from top to bottom. The people sat still while a few of the more active

young men, expert at the furling of sails from their intimacy with the sea, in fewer minutes than I take to describe it, laid hold of the fluttering mass and secured it to the poles with its own cords. I then turned my back to the blast, and having covered my head with a handkerchief, went on and finished my discourse. The people crouched a little closer to each other, and adjusted their cloaks and plaids, and then continued to listen as if nothing had happened. If they thought of their ill-advised landlord it was but for a moment, for they seemed to feel as if their business was with One, from listening to whose message not even the wrath of man ought to move them.

‘The scene where this incident occurred lies about a quarter of a mile from the sea-shore, but overlooking the ocean. On a fine day it is a fair prospect that presents itself to the eye. In the foreground there are some high rocks; further in the distance the Whiten Head stands majestically forth, as if doing homage to the northern ocean, as the rays of the evening sun fall upon its venerable but wrinkled face; while in the distance appear the storm-swept Orcades, their dissolving blue commingling with that of the sky. But on such a day as that it was a far different picture. The shore was one continued line of foam and spray. The multitudinous waves lifted up, not only their crests, but their voices. The Whiten Head looked sullen from under a cloud, while the Orkney Islands were hid in the womb of the storm. Yet while we were worshipping under such circumstances the lord of the soil on which we stood was perhaps worshipping the same God under the roof of some aisled and groined cathedral, in his cushioned pew—his eyes delighted with dim religious light, and his ears regaled with the sounds of the solemn organ.’

The consideration of the fact referred to in the closing sentence of this vivid description of a Communion Sabbath in Sutherlandshire, undoubtedly added bitter-

ness to the feelings of the sufferers from such discreditable treatment. The Dukes of Sutherland and Buccleuch, the Earl of Seafield, Lords Macdonald and Panmure, Sir James M. Riddell, Colonel Campbell of Possil, and other great site-refusers were almost to a man Episcopalians, and in dissenting from the Established Church had claimed for themselves a right which they peremptorily refused to their tenantry and the population on their estates. The case was well put by the servant of a widow lady who possessed a large estate in the south of Scotland. He was a forester who had been born and brought up on the property, and was the special favourite of her late husband, by whom he was respected and trusted in everything. He was informed by the factor that the step he had taken in joining the Free Church had excited the deepest displeasure of his employer, and that if he did not return to the Establishment he would certainly lose his place. ‘This comes well from her,’ was the rejoinder of the sturdy, resolute forester, ‘who is a Dissenter herself, and doing more to ruin the Establishment by building an Episcopalian chapel than any one else. But you may tell her, if she thinks I will make a worse servant by trying to be a servant to God according to my conscience, I am as ready to part with her as she can be to part with me.’

The dismissal of servants was a common mode of petty persecution followed by the landlords, who, though they had themselves quitted the Establishment, were bent, on political grounds, on upholding it by all the means in their power. Teachers too were dismissed, even in private establishments. Free Church tenants were informed that their leases would not be renewed. In some places heritors and kirk-sessions even refused relief from parochial funds to the adherents of the Secession. ‘And they imagine,’ wrote Lord Cockburn, ‘that this hurts the Free Church! They are so ignorant as not to know that the best thing that could happen to it would be to have some

of its best men burned.' Like the Israelites in Egypt, the more the Seceders were oppressed the more they multiplied and grew.

The Free Church, however, had a work of unexampled magnitude and difficulty to perform. Everything requisite for the equipment and maintenance of the Church had to be provided at once. 'Possessing adherents,' as Dr. Buchanan remarked, 'more or fewer, not only in every county, but in every parish in Scotland, and formally claiming to represent the national Church, necessity was laid upon it to set up and sustain the whole equipment of a Church all over the length and breadth of the land.' Provision had accordingly to be made, not only for the religious instruction of the immense multitudes in all the cities and towns, and in nearly all the rural parishes of the Lowlands, but also for the population of the Highlands and Islands, who had in a body cast in their lot with the 'Free Protestant Church of Scotland.'

The difficulties which the adherents of the Free Church had to encounter in organizing their financial system were very great—not a few thought them insuperable; but they set themselves to work with a stout heart and a resolute will. The backbone of their financial system was the plan of a common fund, of which all the ministers should obtain an equal share. In 1843-44 the income of this Sustentation Fund, as it was called, amounted in round numbers to £61,513; in 1853-54 to £97,352; in 1863-64 to £117,590; in 1881-82 it had risen to £174,880. In 1843-44 the fund yielded £100 to each of 474 ministers. In 1869 the number of ministers had increased to 900, each of whom drew from the Sustentation Fund the sum of £150. In 1881 the equal dividend from the Sustentation Fund amounted to £160, and was shared by 1000 ministers. In addition 781 ministers received, some £22, others £11 each, from what is called the Surplus Fund. These sums are exclusive of the stipend paid by the various congregations to their respective ministers. The number of churches which

have been erected, including double churches for several congregations in the Highlands, is 1090. Between 1843 and 1875 the sum of £1,986,430 had been expended in buildings. The local building fund in 1881-82 amounted to £80,446, while £11,792 was raised for church extension building; and the revenue of the aged and infirm ministers' fund was £10,574. The aggregate congregational funds between 1843 and 1875 amounted to £3,318,725; the home and foreign mission funds to £1,511,165. In 1881-82 the former for that year were £197,202, the latter, £94,968. The three theological colleges in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen are conducted by thirteen professors, and have about 250 students in attendance. The sum expended on the colleges and education between 1843 and 1875 was £610,350. One of these colleges (Glasgow) has an endowment from donations, subscriptions, and legacies amounting to £35,000. The other two, though not endowed, enjoy an equal revenue.

It was confidently asserted at the formation of the Free Church that the large sums contributed through the enthusiasm of its adherents would speedily fall off; but it is an instructive fact that they have, on the contrary, steadily increased. The average contributions of the first five years amounted to £318,086 (the building fund in 1843-44 was £227,837); of the second five to £285,683; of the third five to £305,029; of the fourth five to £333,803; of the fifth five to £369,618; of the sixth five to £426,643; and of the seventh five (to 1878) to £542,524. In 1881-82 the revenue of the Free Church amounted to £607,680, making the total amount of its free-will offerings since 1843, £15,262,438.

The party who adhered to the Establishment were at first apparently paralyzed by the secession of such a large body of the most active, zealous ministers and people, and spent their strength in angry controversies with their opponents rather than in judicious and energetic efforts to repair the

breaches of their Zion. The proceedings of the Government and of their other friends in Parliament did their cause no good. Two months after the Disruption Lord Aberdeen's despised and rejected Bill was passed into a law—'a piece of ill-timed folly,' says Lord Cockburn, the anticipated and realized results of which were 'great discontent among the people, great caprice and tyranny in the Church Courts, great grumbling among patrons, yet no regular or effective check on the exercise of patronage. The substance of it is this:—It declares something to be law which the whole law lords, except the Chancellor Lyndhurst, declared not to be law; and Brougham, Cottenham, and Campbell said that if this were the law the Auchterarder case was wrong decided. . . . It was vehemently opposed. The leading objections to it were—1st, that, as urged by the true Moderate party, it recognized a right in the people to state other objections, besides the old ones, to the morals, literature, or orthodoxy of the presentee, and thus gave them too much power; 2nd, that, as urged by the popular party, it gave the people no real power at all, but only insulted them by permitting them to state objections which the Church was entitled to trample upon, and that the condition of acting within their competency legalized the constant control of the civil court; 3rd, that, as urged by all reasonable men, it conferred great power on the Church, to which it gave that very *liberum arbitrium* which every party in the Church had of late denounced as new and dangerous; 4th, that, as urged by all except its authors, by making the characters of the objectors a subject of relevant inquiry, it immensely enlarged this ecclesiastical despotism, and in truth established something like a clerical inquisition. . . . The Court of Session invented one new Church, and now Government has made Parliament invent another, not aware that nothing disparages ancient systems more than superseding them by offensive mushrooms. One hundredth part of the zeal for appeasing the Church that has been shown by Gov-

ernment lately, if exerted a year ago, would have avoided the whole Secession. Having first broken the fabric by refusing to repair it, they now undermine what remains by attempting to prop it.'

In the course of time a more liberal and active spirit began to influence the councils of the Established Church as the old Moderate party passed away. Missionary enterprises, both home and foreign, were resumed and carried on with spirit, and new life and vigour were inspired into all its schemes. Since 1843 312 *quoad sacra* churches have been built or acquired by purchase or gift, with a minimum endowment of £120 a year, besides in many cases a manse; making in all 1276 churches belonging to the Establishment, of which 876 receive from the teinds an average annual stipend of £270, besides a manse and in most cases a glebe. By Act of Parliament 190 parishes, where the stipends are under £150, receive from the Exchequer an average annual grant of £57 each. By a subsequent Act forty-nine churches erected in 1826 in destitute localities in the Highlands and islands receive a stipend of £120 each from the Exchequer. In forty-one parishes in burghs the stipend of the ministers is derived from burgh funds or old local endowments. There are 156 non-parochial churches, and 120 preaching and mission stations, connected with the Established Church. The expense incurred in building and endowing the 312 *quoad sacra* churches has been estimated at upwards of £2,000,000. During the nine years ending 31st December, 1880, the Established Church collected for all purposes, home and foreign, £2,588,702, giving an average amount of £287,633. The amount for 1880 was £319,847, exclusive of £57,912 for seat rents, making a total of £377,760. In 1881 the Church contributed for all purposes, including collections for infirmaries, the poor, &c., by church door collections, subscriptions, donations, and legacies, and £5867 for seat rents, the sum of £340,177. The unexhausted teinds in the hands of the

heritors or landowners amount to £140,000 per annum.

The example of the Free Church has had a powerful influence on the United Presbyterian Church, the third largest religious body in Scotland, which had not previously been very exemplary in the support afforded to its ministers. It consists of 551 congregations, with 174,557 members in full communion. The large amount of debt on its buildings, which, prior to 1843, was a heavy burden, especially on poor congregations, has been most part paid off by means of a debt liquidation fund raised by the wealthier members of the Church. By the aid of a Manse Fund a comfortable residence has been provided for nearly all the ministers in rural districts. A stipend augmentation fund, in aid of the amount paid by congregations for the support of their ministers, has had the effect of raising the average annual stipend to £267 18s. 2d. The ministers in town congregations receive

stipends varying from £400 to £1000, and there are very few now in any district of the country whose stipends fall below £200 a year, with a manse. A fund for the support of aged and infirm ministers has also been instituted. The Theological College has four professors and a lecturer, who have 121 students under their charge. The contributions of the denomination have for a good many years been steadily on the increase. The total income of the United Presbyterian Church for the year ending 31st December 1881 was £388,730, which is £46,991 above the income for the year 1879. The amount contributed for all purposes for the ten years ending at 31st December, 1880, has been £3,709,462, being £58,554 above the income for the ten years ending at 31st December, 1870, and giving an average annual income for each of these ten years of £370,946. The total amount raised by this Church from May, 1843, to December, 1881, has been £9,302,700.

CHAPTER III.

Origin of Railroads—George Stephenson's Locomotive—The Darlington and Stockton Line—The Liverpool and Manchester Railway—Competition for the best Engine—The 'Rocket'—Multiplication of Railway projects—Opposition of the Landlords and their rapacity—Joint-Stock Companies—Railway Mania in 1845—Enormous Speculations—Attitude of the Legislature—Immense expenditure on the Trent Valley Railway and the Great Northern—Parliamentary and other preliminary expenses—Jobbery of the Railway Companies—Collapse of the Speculations—Present State and Statistics of the Railways of the United Kingdom—Influence of the Railway System—The Belgian Railways—The method of their construction—Superiority of their system—The Railway Systems of Germany, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and the United States of America—Statistics and present condition of the American Railroads.

THE period of which we have been writing was not only fertile in political and ecclesiastical controversies and changes, but witnessed also social improvements of momentous importance. Conspicuous among these was the railway system, under which the whole country has been intersected by a network of iron roads, along which hundreds of millions of travellers are every year conveyed. Railways, or as they were first called, tramways, had been employed for at least 200 years in the north of England collieries, but it was not until the year 1800 that the principle of what is now distinctively called a railroad dawned on the ingenious mind of Dr. James Anderson, whose experiments and writings contributed not a little to the improvement of agriculture in Scotland. He proposed that a line of railways, for the draught of heavy loads, should be carried along the sides of the existing turnpikes. His scheme does not appear to have attracted much attention at the time; but in 1801 an Act of Parliament—the first of its kind—was passed for making an iron railway running from Merstham in Surrey to the Thames at Wandsworth, on Anderson's plan, and another Act was passed in 1809 for a similar railroad between Cheltenham and Gloucester. These local projects, however, were merely intended to facilitate the draught of heavy loads by horses; but meanwhile experiments were being made for the application of steam to the purposes of locomotion by land, which ultimately contributed greatly to expedite the construction of railroads. The inventors

who at this time constructed a locomotive engine intended to use it on ordinary roads. Mr. Murdoch, of Soho, a Cornish engineer, who was the first to illuminate his house and offices with gas, was probably the first Englishman who formed the model of a steam-engine. In 1802 Richard Trevithic, one of Murdoch's pupils, took out a patent for a steam-carriage to travel on the turnpike road, which attracted considerable attention, but was not carried out or perfected, mainly in consequence of the inventor having turned his attention to the making of another steam-engine, to run, not upon a road, but upon rails. After a short trial it was regarded as a failure, and was forgotten.

In 1813 a locomotive engine was constructed by the celebrated George Stephenson, the son of a Northumbrian collier, and at this time engine-wright to the Killingworth colliery; and to him, without doubt, belongs the credit of combining Trevithic's travelling engine with Anderson's project of a turnpike railroad for travelling purposes. It had hitherto been taken for granted that the smooth-tired wheels of the machine would not adhere sufficiently to the smooth surface of the rail, and speculators threw away a great deal of pains, money, and time in trying to surmount an imaginary difficulty. Stephenson, instead of relying on abstract theories, made the experiment which proved completely successful. In 1813 he took out a patent for his engine, which continued to work on the Killingworth Railway, but only in drawing heavy

loads at a slow rate of speed. He constructed a second and improved engine in 1816, and in 1819 he was employed by the proprietors of a colliery in the county of Durham to lay down a railway as a substitute for the waggon road on which their coals had hitherto been drawn to the river. It was completed in 1822, and five locomotives, framed under his own superintendence, were employed on the new line.

The progress of the locomotive had hitherto been very slow, but in 1821 it took a great onward start. In that year Mr. Edward Pease, a colliery proprietor near Durham, succeeded in obtaining an Act for making a railway—the first of the modern travelling class—between Darlington and Stockton. George Stephenson was appointed engineer to the new railway, and by his advice power was taken to work it by means of locomotive engines. The line was opened on the 27th of September, 1825; but the passenger traffic was at first moved by horses, one horse drawing with great ease, at the rate of ten miles an hour, twenty-six passengers, and sometimes more. It was not until the following year that Mr. Stephenson was allowed to employ his locomotive engines in this service, and even then the public were not satisfied of their general fitness for the work.

In 1825, a year fertile in projects, a company was formed for the purpose of connecting the two great towns of Liverpool and Manchester by a railroad similar to the Darlington and Stockton line. Their Bill was at first rejected, mainly through the influence of the Earls of Derby and Sefton; was renewed in the following year, with some alterations and concessions to remove the objections of landowners and ignorant and prejudiced but influential members of both Houses; and became law in 1826. Stephenson was appointed engineer; but though his locomotives had been working for ten years at Killingworth, the company were by no means certain that it would be expedient to introduce them on their railroad. He planned and executed with

consummate skill the works on this line, which he had to carry over Chats Moss, that a man could not walk upon; and at the Liverpool end he had to carry through a tunnel under the streets of that city. In 1829 the success of the railway was assured and the works so far advanced, as to require that the directors should decide the question whether the engines employed on it should be stationary or locomotive. They were induced by Stephenson to offer a reward of £500 for the best locomotive engine that could be made. Four different inventors sent engines to compete for the prize, on the 8th of October, 1829; but the 'Rocket,' constructed by Robert Stephenson, the son of the engineer, was the only one that fulfilled all the conditions of the contract, and was the undisputed winner of the reward. The double success of the railroad and the locomotive was now—under the united genius of the Stephensons, father and son—complete; and from the day of this competition may be fairly dated the accomplishment of the most important discovery of modern times. Even yet, however, the idea which had from the first suggested all the railroad projects, namely, the conveyance of goods, was still uppermost in men's minds; and no one seemed to have any notion that eventually the greatest value and surest profits of the railroad would be derived from the acceleration and cheapening of passenger travelling. 'It is a singular fact,' says Mr. Porter in his 'Progress of the Nation' (1838), 'that of all the railways constructed or contemplated up to the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line, not one was undertaken with a view to the conveyance of passengers.'

Railway schemes, however, now began to increase rapidly in number. Even while the Liverpool and Manchester line was still in progress twenty-four Acts for new lines had been obtained; then followed, between 1830 and 1836, twenty-six; in 1836, twenty-nine; and in 1837, fifteen. There was then a lull for two or three years; but the spirit of enterprise revived in 1843, when

twenty-four Railway Acts were passed; and in the course of that year seventy railroads, constructed at an outlay of £60,000,000, conveyed 25,000,000 passengers 330,000,000 miles at the average cost of 1½*d.* a mile, and with but one fatal passenger accident.

As soon as it became evident that efforts were about to be made to extend the railway system over the kingdom obstruction of a formidable kind was brought into operation, and every scheme had to be battled through the committees of both Houses of Parliament at an enormous cost of time and money; and a spirit of litigation, extortion, jobbing, bribery, and extravagance, disgraceful in its details and deplorable in its results, was brought into play.

There was at this time throughout the country a general hostility to railroads, the result of unreasoning prejudice and of dense ignorance as to their real nature and the ends they were intended and fitted to accomplish. The fact that the projected Stockton and Darlington line was to pass near one of Lord Darlington's fox covers raised the opposition of that powerful nobleman, and insured its rejection until the line was altered. Motives of a similar kind induced the Earl of Derby and other territorial Lancashire magnates to oppose the original scheme for a railway between Manchester and Liverpool, and compelled the directors to carry their line across an apparently impassable morass. Oxford and Eton, too, united in resisting the Bill for the construction of the Great Western Railway, and would not permit it to pass without the insertion of special clauses to prohibit a branch to Oxford and a station at Slough. Even after the line had been made, when the directors caused the trains merely to stop for the purpose of taking up and setting down passengers at Slough, they were interdicted by a Chancery order from making any pause where there is now one of the finest and best-frequented stations in England—honoured by the habitual use of the Sovereign. Proceedings of this kind were by no means peculiar to the seats of

education and learning; for in almost every district of the country the mere proposal to bring a railroad within five miles of a particular neighbourhood was sufficient to excite a hostile petition to Parliament, and even to draw forth a subscription to oppose such an obnoxious project.

Some allowance may be made for these foolish but honest prejudices, the result of sheer ignorance; but the superadded obstructions of cupidity and jobbery deserve the severest condemnation. The railroad companies seem to have been regarded as the lawful prey of every individual whose property they approached. The directors, as a general rule, were disposed to treat fairly, and even liberally, the landowners whose property was required for their works; but they were almost always met in a spirit of unreasonable opposition and unjustifiable extortion. In numerous cases the companies thought it prudent to submit to the most unwarrantable demands rather than venture into collision with the interests of powerful proprietors, especially members of either House of Parliament, either before committees or juries. Sums of money, varying from £5000 to £120,000, were given in numerous instances ostensibly for strips of land, but in reality for the purpose of buying off opposition. Some of the most flagrant cases of this kind obtained publicity, and drew down public reprobation. In one narrow neighbourhood it was found expedient to buy off opposition at a price which it was calculated would oblige the company to raise £15,000 per annum of additional tolls. As a general rule, the expense of obtaining land required for a railroad has been, at least, double the estimate and much more than double the fair price of the soil. On the South-Western Railway this head of expense, estimated at £90,000, actually amounted to £250,000, and this case was by no means singular.

At this period money was abundant in England, and it was difficult to find profitable employment for the rapidly-accumulating wealth of the country. The crisis of

1825-26, which brought ruin on so many individuals and mercantile establishments, had convinced people of the folly of investing their money in foreign speculations, which, in most cases, proved to be only a gigantic swindle. The capital risked and lost on foreign loans was computed at not less than £121,000,000, to which must be added £6,464,000, paid upon foreign money speculations described on high authority as being, with one or two exceptions, utterly worthless. The attention of capitalists was, therefore, turned to investments at home. Joint-stock companies were formed for every sort of undertaking; for the manufacture of cottons, for tanning, for the manufacture of glass, pins, needles, soap, turpentine, &c., for dealing in coals, for raising sugar from beetroot, for making railways in Hindostan, for loans to agriculturists, for the prosecution of the whale fishing, for trading and founding settlements on the south-east coast of Africa, and other projects of a similar kind, for which it would have been worse than absurd to have expected success. About £4,500,000 were subscribed and paid to establish British mining companies, which were designated by a competent judge as not only complete failures, but memorable proofs of the folly and cupidity of British capitalists on the one hand, and of the knavery of their projectors on the other. It was calculated by Mr. Poulett Thomson that so numerous and extensive were the joint-stock companies at that time on foot, that a capital of nearly £200,000,000 sterling, or about twenty times that of the Bank of England, would be required to carry them into effect.

The railroad system was thus inaugurated at a most favourable period, when a superabundance of unemployed capital was leading people into the 'wildest, the silliest, and the most ruinous speculations.' The work of forming railroads came, too, when it was most wanted—in the crisis of the Poor Law transition; and it speedily extended over the whole face of the country, visiting every district throughout England and

Scotland, and embracing every rank and interest from the mansion to the manufactory, from the palace to the cottage. As was justly remarked by Mr. Walpole, 'the investing classes found a new, safe, and illimitable field for the investment of their money; the labouring classes found a new sphere for the employment of their labour; and the country not only derived benefit from the freer circulation which railways produced, but also from the wider employment of labour and capital.'

As long as the new railway schemes were brought forward in moderate numbers, and were projected for the construction of railroads that were really necessary, they were productive of benefit both to the subscribers and to the public. But in no long time speculators of every kind and degree flocked to the scene, and an apparently uncontrollable mania for gambling in railway shares seized upon the public. In 1844 the number of projects in respect of which plans were lodged with the Board of Trade was 248, but in 1845 they had increased to 815. The most desperate exertions were made to get the plans ready in time, to be deposited before the expiry of the period fixed for their reception. Lithographic draughtsmen and printers were compelled to exert themselves to the utmost, and they had frequently to remain at work night after night, snatching a hasty repose for a couple of hours on lockers, or benches, or the floor. In some cases the contract could not be executed within the specified time, in others the work was done very imperfectly. One of the most eminent lithographers was compelled to bring over 400 workmen from Belgium, and even with the aid of this reinforcement he failed in completing some of his plans. Post-horses and express trains to bring to town plans prepared in the country, were sought in all parts. Horses were engaged days before, and kept under lock and key, to be ready to start at a moment's notice. Some railway companies exercised their power of refusing express trains for rival projects, and clerks were

obliged to make sudden and embarrassing changes of route in order to travel by less hostile ways. Up till midnight on the last day on which the plans of the new projects could be deposited with the Railway Board, crowds of messengers bearing the requisite documents were seen hurrying to the office, and some of them arrived after the time had expired and the door was shut. Upwards of 600 plans were duly deposited with the Board. The sum of 10 per cent. on the capital of each company was required, by a resolution of the Lords, to be lodged with the Accountant-General seven days from the assembling of Parliament. It amounted at this time to £59,136,300, being 10 per cent. on the enormous capital of £563,208,000, and 5 per cent. for Parliamentary expenses.

The wild and irrational passion for speculation in railways, which at this time spread over the whole country, affected every class of society, from the peer to the peasant. The excitement was unparalleled and quite uncontrollable. Scarcely anything else appeared to be thought of than applications for shares in new schemes, and speculations on the rise or fall of their price. A return was ordered for an alphabetical list of the names of all persons in the United Kingdom who had subscribed towards the railways sanctioned in 1845 for sums less than £2000—a sort of postscript to the return of all subscribers to railways above that sum. The return included upwards of 20,000 persons who had subscribed for an aggregate amount of £21,386,703. Among the names were to be recognized many of the leading nobility, partners in the largest manufacturing and mercantile firms, and men eminent in literature and science, in juxtaposition with multitudes belonging to the humblest ranks of society. The same columns presented a combination of peers and printers, members of Parliament and messengers, principals of colleges and their janitors, vicars and vice-admirals, professors and chimney-sweepers, half-pay officers and carpenters, queen's counsels and cooks,

spinsters and special pleaders, Roman Catholic priests and coachmen, attorneys' clerks and college and court waiters, relieving officers and excisemen, barristers, booksellers, and butchers, editors and engineers, dairymen and dyers, braziers, bankers, beer-sellers, and butlers, domestic servants, footmen, and mail guards, with a multitude of other callings not recorded in the Book of Trades.

The supply kept pace with the demand. A powerful body, consisting of local solicitors, engineers, and contractors, to say nothing of speculators, had a strong personal interest in the formation of new lines, and even in originating projects which were not expected to be carried into effect. Schemes which looked most plausible on paper were formed for the extension of existing railroads and the construction of subsidiary branches and feeders, until the map of England and Scotland was intersected in almost every part, however remote, by projected lines promising liberal dividends. The owners of large estates, who were at one time the greatest obstructives to railway enterprise, were now among its chief promoters. A marked change of policy had taken place since the time when the Liverpool and Manchester line was first defeated by the opposition of the landlords of the district, and succeeded in carrying its second Bill only by keeping out of sight of all mansions and avoiding all game preserves; and when the London and Birmingham Company, after seeing their Bill thrown out by a Committee of Peers who ignored the evidence, had to 'conciliate' their antagonists by raising the estimate for land from £250,000 to £750,000. The extraordinary advantages which landowners had derived, both directly and indirectly, fairly and unfairly, from a railway passing through or near their estates, gave a powerful stimulus to the formation of new schemes. When it became known as an incontrovertible fact, not only that estates had been greatly enhanced in value by the proximity of railways, but that 'compensation' was given to

their owners for alleged injuries which were never really inflicted—that the companies usually paid for land and ‘injury to amenity’ extortionate sums, varying from £6000 to £8000 per mile—that in one case £120,000 was given for land said to be worth only £5000—that in addition large bonuses, in the shape of preference shares and the like, were bestowed to buy off opposition—it was not surprising that landlords should have become active supporters of schemes to which they were once the bitterest opponents. It was no uncommon occurrence indeed for the local nobility and landowners themselves to take the lead in projecting a line for their own advantage and convenience. It was even hinted that an extensive landowner used his influence as chairman of a board of directors to project a branch running for many miles through his own estate, and put his company to the expense of a Parliamentary contest to carry this line; and that a line was proposed by a large capitalist for the purpose of effecting desirable communication with his own property. Stories were told and believed of landowners soliciting interviews with the engineer of a projected railway, urging him to bring the line through their district, promising support if he did, and threatening opposition if he did not, dictating the course to be followed on their estates, and hinting that a large price would be expected.

There can, of course, be no doubt that the great change in the attitude of the Legislature towards railways, from ‘the extreme of determined rejection or dilatory acquiescence to the opposite extreme of unlimited concession,’ was in a great measure due to the change that had taken place in the feelings of the landlords, who form so large a portion of both Houses of Parliament. Taking into account their private interests, both as owners of land and shareholders in railway companies, it was scarcely probable that they could be free from personal bias. A return ordered by the House of Commons showed that in 1845 there were 157 members of Parliament whose names were on

the registers of new companies for sums varying from £291,000 downwards. It was only what in these circumstances might have been expected, that the projectors of new schemes should boast of the number of votes they could command in either House, and that members and peers should be personally canvassed for their support. It was publicly complained in the Upper House that ‘it was nearly impossible to bring together a jury, some members of which were not interested in the railway they were about to assess.’ Directors and chairmen of companies eagerly sought to obtain—often at a great cost—a seat in Parliament for the express purpose of carrying out the extension of their lines; and even members who had no connection with railroads had powerful influence brought to bear upon them to give their support to railway enterprises. The inhabitants of unaccommodated districts were naturally urgent with their representatives to assist them to obtain a line. ‘Even where there was no political pressure,’ said a writer on ‘Railway Morals and Railway Policy,’ ‘there is the pressure of their leading political supporters; of large landholders whom it will not do to neglect; of the magistracy, with whom it is needful to be on good terms; of local lawyers, important as electioneering friends, to whom a railway always brings business. Thus, without having any immediately private ends, members of Parliament are often almost coerced into pressing forward schemes which, from a national or from a shareholder’s point of view, are very unwise ones.’

Owing to the concurrence of these and other kindred causes, the number of new railway projects which were brought before Parliament in 1845 was out of all proportion to the immediate requirements of the country. Not a few of them were pure bubble schemes, never intended to be carried into effect. Others, though safe enough in themselves, were quite premature. A number were rival projects, contending for possession of the same districts.

Not a few were subsidiary lines intended solely for the benefit of some great landlord or small pocket borough, which the directors of an adjacent trunk railroad were compelled to take up to prevent them from falling into the hands of their rivals. There was scarcely, in fact, a practicable line between any two considerable places, however remote, that was not at this time taken up by a company; and frequently two, three, and sometimes as many as four projects of rival lines between the same places, were submitted to the consideration of the public and the judgment of Parliament.

Railway legislation at this period had become a mere scramble, conducted on no system or principle. Sound and judicious schemes were rejected on merely technical grounds of the most frivolous kind, while others of an inferior character were sanctioned after enormous Parliamentary costs had been incurred. The expenses, direct and incidental, of obtaining an Act of Parliament to construct a railway were almost always excessive, and in many cases enormous. Even an unopposed line was heavily mulcted, and the opposition of a rival company was sure to bring a rich harvest to counsel, solicitors, engineers, and witnesses; and after all this lavish expenditure, often of thousands of pounds, had been incurred, it was by no means unusual for the measure to be rejected, not on account of any essential ground of objection, but frequently from some such trivial cause as that the notice to the proprietor of a small piece of waste land was left at No. 23 instead of No. 24 in a given street.

Mr. Stephenson mentions an instance of the hardship entailed on railway companies by this most unwise and oppressive system of legislation. The Trent Valley Railway was originally proposed under other titles in 1836. It was, however, thrown out by the Standing Orders Committee in consequence of a barn of the value of £10, which was shown upon the general plan, not having been exhibited upon an enlarged sheet. In 1840 the line

was again brought before Parliament. It was opposed by the Grand Junction Railway Company, now part of the London and North-Western. No less than 450 allegations were made against it before the Standing Orders Sub-Committee, which was engaged twenty-two days in considering these objections. The Bill was, however, allowed to proceed. It was read a second time, and then went into committee, by whom it was under consideration for sixty-three days, and Parliament was prorogued before the report could be made. Such was the enormous expense, to say nothing of the delays which the forms of the House occasioned in this case, that it is probable that the ultimate cost of constructing the whole line was not much more than the amount expended in obtaining permission from Parliament to make it. Another example mentioned by the same authority will show the absurdity and oppressiveness of the expensive formalities, the delays and difficulties, with which the wisdom of Parliament surrounded railway legislation. In 1845 a Bill for a line now existing went before Parliament with eighteen competitors; nineteen different parties being thus condemned to one protracted course of contentious litigation. They each and all had to pay, not only the costs of promoting their own line, but also the cost of opposing eighteen other bills.

But the most conspicuous example, which overshadows all others, of excessive expenditure in Parliamentary litigation, as well as in land and compensation, is supplied in the history of the Great Northern Railway Company. The preliminary expenses of surveys, notices to landowners, &c., commenced in 1844, and the Bill was introduced into the House of Commons in 1845, when it was opposed by the London and North-Western, the Eastern Counties, and the Midland railways. It was further opposed successively by two other schemes, called the London and York, and the Direct Northern. The contest lasted eighty-two days before the House of Commons, more

than half the time having been consumed by opposition to the Bill, which, after all, was allowed to stand over till next year (1846), when, on account of the magnitude of the case, it began before the Committee of the House of Lords where it left off in the Lower House in the year 1845. It was before the Upper House between three and four weeks, and was at length passed in the same session. The promoters of the rival projects were bought off, and all their expenses paid, including the costs of the opposition of the neighbouring lines already mentioned, before the Great Northern Bill was passed; and the 'preliminary expenses,' comprising the whole expenditure of every kind up to the passing of the Bill, at the end of two years' litigation, was £590,355—the greater part incurred needlessly. Since the passing of the Act an additional sum of £172,722 has been paid for 'law and engineering expenses in Parliament' to 31st December, 1857, which has been expended almost wholly in obtaining leave from Parliament to make various necessary alterations. Thus, it would appear that a sum total of £763,077 was spent as Parliamentary charges for obtaining leave to construct 245 miles, being at the rate of £3115 per mile.

During the same period the payments made by the Great Northern Railway Company for 'land and compensation' amounted to £1,901,371, or nearly two millions sterling, at the rate of £7760 per mile. The Parliamentary and land and compensation charges together make a sum of £2,664,448, or £10,875 per mile of the original line. The total payments on capital account were £11,299,300, and of this amount these items constitute the formidable proportion of twenty-three and a half per cent.; being nearly one-fourth of the capital forestalled before the ground was broken.

Though the Great Northern Railway was the most flagrant it was by no means the only case which illustrates the absurdity of the system of railway legislation—the costly and harassing manner in which

railway Bills have to be fought through competition and opposition in Parliament. It has been found that legal and Parliamentary expenses have varied from £650 to £3000 per mile. In one contest £57,000 was spent among six counsel and twenty solicitors. The sums expended by one company alone in nine years in legal and Parliamentary expenses reached £480,000, averaging £53,000 a year. In more recent times the cost of railway making has greatly diminished; but the average capital expenditure in railways has been nearly maintained by otherwise excessive expenses at the same high rate having amounted in the end of 1857 to £35,000 per mile. The reduction of dividends in many cases to one-half their original amount has made the shareholders realize the folly of needless and fruitless litigation, and of the multiplication of unnecessary and unremunerating branch lines.

It was estimated by Mr. Laing (and Mr. Stephenson thought he had not overstated the case) that 'out of the £208,000,000 raised before 1854 for the construction of our railways, £70,000,000 had been needlessly spent in contests, in duplicate lines, in 'the multiplication of an immense number of schemes prosecuted at an almost reckless expense;' and Mr. Stephenson believed that this sum is 'a very inadequate representation of the actual loss in point of convenience, economy, and other circumstances connected with traffic, which the public has sustained by reason of Parliamentary carelessness in legislating for railways.' In 1855 it was shown by a return ordered by the House of Commons, which, however, was far from complete, 'that the amount expended by existing railway companies in obtaining the Acts of Parliament by which they were incorporated was no less, in Parliamentary, legal, and engineering costs, than £14,000,000 sterling. By a return made four years later, it appeared that the Parliamentary expenses alone incurred by railway companies owning £263,000,000 capital amounted

to about £8,500,000 sterling, or thirty-two per cent. A considerable portion of the expenditure thus incurred proved in the end to have been completely thrown away, so far as the interest of the railway companies was concerned; for, prompted by jealousy and antagonism, they obtained at this time powers for 2000 miles of railway which they never made. The millions thus squandered in surveys and Parliamentary contests—'food for lawyers and engineers'—would nearly all have been saved, and so would the reduction on the original trunk lines, if the Government and the Legislature had exercised a proper superintendence over the railway Acts. The result was that the various companies, after battling their way through Parliament at an enormous expense and paying exorbitant compensation to landed proprietors and others, had at last their own way, and were in a condition to make reprisals upon the public for all their unnecessary expenses and vexations.

It must, however, be admitted that the railway companies did not go before Parliament with clean hands. It was notorious that men of straw held shares amounting to £100,000 and even £200,000—that numerous directorates were filled by the same persons, one individual having a seat at twenty-three boards—that subscription contracts were made up with signatures at ten and even four shillings apiece. It transpired that some boards kept their books in cipher, made false entries, and took prudent care not to record their proceedings in minute books; that in one company £500,000 capital was set down to fictitious names; that in another, directors bought for account more shares than they issued, and so forced up the price; and that on many others they re-purchased for the company their own shares, paying themselves with the depositors' money.

In not a few instances railway management was quite in keeping with the manner in which railway companies had been insti-

tuted and railroad Acts sanctioned. The published report of an investigation committee brought to light the discreditable conduct of the directors of one of the English lines, who allotted among themselves 15,000 new shares then at a premium in the market, showed that they used the company's funds in order to pay the deposits on these shares, and that one of their number thus accommodated himself in meeting both the deposits and calls to the extent of £80,000. The report also showed that certain of the directors took loans to themselves out of the company's floating balances at a low rate of interest when the market rate was high, and paid themselves larger salaries than those assigned, entering the difference in an obscure corner of the ledger under the head of 'petty disbursements.' The mode in which boards contrived to carry contested measures was, if possible, still worse. To say nothing of garbled statements and 'cooked accounts,' issued for the purpose of misleading shareholders and 'making things pleasant,' and of proxies given for a specific purpose having been used for other and different purposes, the managers of one railway company were convicted of having carried their own schemes by the aid of preference shares standing in the names of station-masters, and of being aided by the proxies of the secretary's children, too young to write.

For a brief space the speculations in railway construction and in railway shares were successful beyond the most sanguine expectations; and large fortunes were supposed to have been gained by the speculators who had embarked in them at the risk of their whole fortune, and not unfrequently a great deal more. But in due time the inevitable revulsion came, hastened and aggravated, if not produced, by the famine in Ireland. Mercantile disasters speedily followed, bringing destruction and dishonour to thousands. The disasters of 1847 not only swept away all the gains of most of the deluded gamblers in railway shares, whom the eager haste to be rich had led

into temptation, and snares, and fraud, and ruin, but brought severe suffering on vast multitudes who were free from all complicity in their offences. The progress of railroad construction was suddenly arrested; not a few schemes that had absorbed large sums of money were of necessity abandoned; and the profits which even the best lines had yielded were reduced by a half or even two-thirds. In time railroad property recovered from this depression, and a judicious and steady rate of progress was established and continued. In 1880 there were nearly 18,000 miles of railway in the United Kingdom open for traffic. At the close of 1881 they had increased to 18,176, and the total length constructed during the previous ten years was 2799 miles.

The paid-up capital of the railways in the United Kingdom at the end of that year was £745,528,162, or £41,019 per mile of line open. It is noteworthy that the proportion of paid-up capital to mileage is steadily increasing. In 1871 it was only £35,943 per mile of line. The increase of £5076 per mile is not owing to an advance in the cost of construction, but is partly due to a large nominal increase in the capital of some of the companies, caused by the consolidation of their stocks; partly to the fact that enormously expensive metropolitan lines have been undertaken within the last few years. Some part also of the increase may probably be due to the extent to which iron rails have been replaced by steel—an expenditure that will of course be ultimately compensated by the diminished cost of maintaining the permanent way.

The gross receipts of all the railways in the United Kingdom in 1881 amounted to £66,557,442. This is the largest gross sum ever earned in one year by our railroads, being equal to £3662 for every mile open. The receipts from traffic were £63,908,237, or £3516 per mile open, and 5s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per train mile run; and this is the lowest amount per train mile that has been earned since 1870. In other words, if the railways

have earned more money than ever before, they have given for it more work in proportion to receipts than in any previous year. They carried in 1881, exclusive of season-ticket holders, 623,047,787 passengers, or about 19,000,000 more than in 1880; but the receipt per passenger in that year was rather more than 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. against less than 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in 1881. This reduction must mean, either that fares have been lowered, or that railway travellers have been more economical. The working expenditure was £34,602,616, or 52 per cent. of the gross receipts, while in 1880 it was only 51 per cent. Thus the proportion of net earnings to paid-up capital was only 4.29 per cent. in 1881, against 4.38 per cent. in 1880, though the gross receipts were larger by upwards of £1,000,000 sterling.

With regard to the railway systems of each of the three kingdoms, the paid-up capital of the English railways at the end of 1881 was £616,437,449; of the Scottish railways, £94,819,089; and of the Irish railways, £34,271,624. The proportion of paid-up capital per mile of line open was in England, £48,211; in Scotland, £32,394; and in Ireland, £14,040. The difference is no doubt partly owing to the fact that 12,087 miles of the English railways, out of 18,176 miles, or nearly two-thirds, are of double line, while Scotland has only 1134 miles of double line out of a total of 2927, and Ireland only 568 miles out of 2441. But the greater cost of land in England, and the very large expenditure consequent on the incessant Parliamentary strife among the companies, also go a long way to account for the much greater capital outlay in that country. In respect of net earnings, after deducting working expenditure, the English lines received 85.3 per cent., the Scottish 11.1 per cent., and the Irish only 3.6 per cent. The proportion of working expenditure to gross receipts was in England 52, in Scotland 51, and in Ireland 56 per cent. The heavy expense incurred in working the Irish railways no

doubt arises from the fact that with an aggregate capital which is scarcely a third of that of a single English railway—the London and North-Western—they have a most disproportionate array of boards of directors, general managers, and separate working staffs, constituting a heavy charge on their receipts, a great part of which might be saved under a judicious scheme of amalgamation.

Of the 623,047,787 passengers, exclusive of season-ticket holders, conveyed by all the railways of the three kingdoms in the year 1881, the English lines carried 558,193,078, or 89½ per cent. of the whole; the Scottish railways conveyed 47,211,449, 7½ per cent.; while only 17,643,260, or less than 3 per cent., were carried by the Irish lines. These numbers give for every inhabitant of England and Wales 21·5 railway journeys during the year; for every inhabitant of Scotland 12·7 journeys; and for every inhabitant of Ireland 3·4 journeys—facts which throw considerable light on the relative condition and means of the respective populations of the three kingdoms. In England the proportion of first class passengers was 5·6 per cent., of second class 6·5 per cent., and of third class a little more than 84 per cent. In Scotland the first class passengers were 10·3 per cent., the second class 6·5 per cent., and the third class 83·2 per cent. In Ireland the proportions were—first class 9·5 per cent., second class 22·8 per cent., and third class 67·7 per cent. The great number of sportsmen and wealthy tourists who travel from the south through Scotland no doubt accounts for the large proportion of first class passengers who travel on the Scottish railroads; but it is difficult to account for the extraordinary excess of second class passengers in Ireland over those in England and Scotland. The average receipt per passenger in England in 1881 was rather more than 8¼*d.*, in Scotland it was 11½*d.*, and in Ireland a fraction over 1*s.* 4*d.* It is evident from these details that fares are much lower in England than in the other two kingdoms,

and this fact accounts for the much greater development of the passenger traffic there than in either Scotland or Ireland.

The total quantity of minerals and merchandise carried by the English railways during the year 1881 was 207,477,468 tons, or 16,200 tons per mile of line open. On the Scottish lines the quantity conveyed was 33,939,472, or 16,595 tons per mile of line; and on the Irish railroads there were carried only 3,572,658 tons, or 1463 per mile of line—a striking proof of the insignificance of Irish commerce and industry as compared with those of the sister kingdoms. The receipt per ton carried was in England nearly 3*s.*, in Scotland 2*s.* 6½*d.*, and in Ireland 6*s.* 7*d.*—which shows both that much higher rates are levied on the Irish railways and that they carry an inconsiderable quantity of minerals, which are always charged at a comparatively low rate.

The influence which the railway system, notwithstanding the grievous defects attending its organization, has exercised on the various interests of the United Kingdom has been in the highest degree beneficial. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce have all felt the impulse given to them by the improved means of communication. They have enabled man to triumph over space and time. The increased facilities of intercourse have not only increased the traffic which originally existed, but created traffic then unknown, and have led to the most extraordinary development of trade and manufactures that has ever been seen. They have greatly promoted the development of the natural resources of the country, and have contributed largely to the improvement of agriculture by cheapening the cost of land drainage and the conveyance of artificial manures, and by opening a ready and rapid access to distant markets for the productions of the most remote districts of the kingdom, especially for such perishable articles as milk, cream, fresh butter, vegetables, and dead meat. The value of land has been raised in the more distant places, and both the rent of the

landlords and the profits of the farmers have been increased by the rapid and comparatively cheap communication which railways have established between the capital and the great central towns and the outlying rural and pastoral districts. One of the chief advantages of railway travelling, as Sir Robert Peel remarked, is the facility it affords to those whose capital consists in labour, and the excursion trains which enable the artisan to leave the crowded city, to refresh his mind and body by breathing the pure air of heaven, are most important elements in the moral as well as in the physical improvement of the working classes. Railways have thus not only powerfully contributed to increase the wealth of the country by economizing time, by cheapening conveyance, and by enabling branches of industry to be pursued which without them would have been impossible, but they have conferred most important indirect benefits on the community, by diffusing knowledge and intelligence, establishing bonds of commercial and friendly intercourse, and removing mutual antipathies between distant nations, the result, to a great extent, of mutual ignorance. The comfort, cheapness, and speed of railway journeying has enormously increased the facilities of travel through our own and foreign countries; and this freedom of intercourse has already dispelled many previously inveterate prejudices and contributed to the maintenance of those 'friendly relations which are the best security of mutual advantage, of common knowledge, and of general peace.'

'In considering the history of railway legislation,' says an Edinburgh Reviewer, 'it is impossible to look back without humiliation and dismay at the conduct of Parliament, and, we must add, of many of the statesmen who ought to have guided the decisions of Parliament on those questions. No general principle has ever been consistently adhered to. No general plan or system, embracing the railway communications of Great Britain, was ever conceived. Everything has been done piecemeal; every

scheme has been alternately opposed by factious or rival interests, and promoted by petty and personal interests. Enormous sums have been wasted in these disputes. Sums not less enormous have been extracted from the pockets of shareholders and the public for wild and worthless purposes. And all this has occurred because no resolute attempt was made by the Government to assert some principle of authority, and to rescue railway speculation from the anarchy into which it had been allowed to fall.' Speaking of this question, the late Mr. Robert Stephenson, in his Address delivered to the Institution of Royal Engineers, in January, 1856, said, 'If, instead of leaving the decision of these subjects to inexperienced tribunals, a mixed commission could be organized of practical men of acknowledged legal, commercial, and mechanical ability, there might be hope for us. What we want is a tribunal upon these subjects competent to judge, and willing to devote its attention to railway subjects only. We do not impute to Parliament that it is dishonest, but we impute that it is incompetent. Neither its practical experience, nor its time, nor its system of procedure is adapted for railway legislation. What we ask is knowledge. Give us, we say, a tribunal competent to form a sound opinion. Commit to that tribunal, with every restriction you think necessary, the whole of the great questions appertaining to our system. Let it protect private interests apart from railways; let it judge of the desirability of initiating measures of all proposals for purchases, amalgamations, or other railway arrangements; delegate to it the power of enforcing such regulations and restrictions as may be thought needful to secure the rights of private persons or of the public; devolve on it the duty of consolidating, if possible, the railway laws, and of making such amendments therein as the public interests and the property now depending upon the system may require; give it full delegated authority over us in any way you please: all we ask is that it shall

be a tribunal that is impartial and that is thoroughly informed; and if impartiality and intelligence are secured, we do not fear for the result.'

This earnest appeal on the part of the most eminent railway authority of the age was made in vain. The Government and the Legislature declined to interfere or to lay down any definite principle on which railway legislation should be based; and the companies were left to fight their way through the opposition or the unscrupulous greed of landowners, the wranglings of the bar, the contradictions of men of science, and the complicated intrigues of lawyers, engineers, contractors, and local solicitors. The antagonism fostered by this culpable negligence on the part of the Government has led to the waste of enormous sums of money in useless Parliamentary contests, and to the loss of an almost incredible amount of national capital in the making of railways which were not needed at the time, and for many of which there is even yet no due requirement; and has reduced the investments of shareholders to less than half the amount which they ought to have yielded, and would have yielded under a proper system of legislation.

The contrast between the plan acted upon in Belgium and in Great Britain, and their respective results, is striking and instructive. Belgium was the first State in which the construction of railways was adopted as a measure of public policy, and it was due to the foresight and the firmness of King Leopold. He had scarcely been installed sovereign of his new kingdom in 1831, when he directed the attention of his ministers to the construction of railways as one of the most effective means of developing the resources of the country. In England at that time (the birthplace of the railway and the locomotive) the proposal to extend these 'tram roads,' as the Duke of Bridgewater termed them, was encountered by obloquy, denunciation, and resistance. It is not therefore surprising that the rural deputies in the Belgian Chambers looked upon the

scheme of their sovereign with considerable apprehension. The sagacity and perseverance of the King, however, well supported by his ministers, overcame all resistance; and in May, 1834, powers were granted to construct an almost complete system of main lines throughout Belgium, connecting the principal towns and cities of the kingdom with each other. The end aimed at was not the gain of the individual, but 'the extension of the traffic and communication of the country, to the utmost limits of the public capabilities, at the lowest rate of charge at which the original outlay can be reimbursed.'

It is impossible to conceive a greater contrast than is presented by the manner in which the preliminary steps toward the construction of a railway are taken in Belgium compared with those taken in Britain. Every one is familiar with the mode in which the plan of a railway originates in the latter—its promoters, its capitalists and associates, its engineers and solicitors and salaried agents, its prospectuses and advertisements, its Parliamentary struggles and the harpies who prey upon it at every stage, to say nothing of the claims for the land required to form it, and for compensation for alleged injury to amenity, for all of which the public must ultimately pay. 'The first step,' says the report of the Minister of Public Works, 'which the Belgian Government took for the accomplishment of its object, was to employ a number of competent engineers to survey the kingdom, and to determine the main lines with reference not only to the general features of the country, but also to the interests of the several large towns, and to their internal and foreign relations.' The report goes on to say that, as the result of this mode of proceeding, 'the people have had the advantage of a much earlier introduction of this important means of communication than if the undertaking had been left to private speculation—without risk to individuals—without the interference of private interests—on lines, perhaps,

which of themselves would have offered no temptation to private enterprise, but which, as part of an extensive system, will repay, either directly or indirectly, the money expended upon them.' If a similar system had been followed by the British Government, the Parliamentary costs, amounting sometimes to £1000, rarely to less than £500, a mile, might have been saved. The flagrant extortion of landed proprietors, amounting sometimes to £10,000 a mile, might have been prevented, and the result would have been that the average cost of the lines executed in England and Scotland, instead of from £30,000 to £40,000 a mile, would have been, as in Belgium, only about £8526 a mile. The greatest expense incurred in the construction of any portion of the Belgian line is about £10,000, equal to the lowest sum incurred in the construction of the cheapest line in England, while it does not amount to one-fourth of the expense which hundreds of miles in England have cost—all of which, of course, ultimately falls upon the public.

It was in May, 1834, that the law authorizing the Government to carry out their scheme was passed, and the works were carried out with such promptitude that the first portion of the public railway from Brussels to Malines was finished and opened for traffic on the 3rd of May, 1835. Successive additions were afterwards made to the Belgian railway system, until eventually 347 miles of public lines were constructed at a total cost of £8,410,128. In addition to the State railroads, 900 miles of railways, principally branches, were constructed by private companies, to which concessions had been made by the Government. Of these lines 117 are worked by the State, and 783 by the companies themselves, making the total of railway accommodation of Belgium 1247 miles, or one mile of railway for every ten square miles of territory. Even in the case of private companies the railroads virtually belong to the Government, for their management and the profits derived from their working are merely con-

ceded for a limited period to the companies, and by a gradual process of redemption will ultimately become the unburthened property of the State.

The results of this arrangement have been in the highest degree satisfactory. 'Every year's expenditure,' says the 'Compte Rendu' of 1862, 'demonstrates that the patriotic law of the 1st of May, 1834, is worthy of the warmest sympathies of the nation, continuing as it does to take the very first rank among the great things that independent Belgium has been able to accomplish.' When M. Fassiaux, Director-general of the Posts, Railways, and Telegraphs in Belgium, was asked before the English Royal Commission, 'Does experience show the expediency of the railways belonging to the Government?' his reply was—

'The experience obtained in Belgium of the working by the State of at least a portion of the railways existing in that country is entirely in favour of that system. The results are better in a financial point of view, and notwithstanding this superior financial result the lines worked by the State are those kept in the best order. The working of them gives the greatest satisfaction to the commercial world, and to the public in general, as regards regularity of conveyance, cheapness of transit, and comfort of passengers. The State not being solely guided by the prospect of financial gain, but having constantly in view the interest of the public which it represents, is in a better position than private companies to introduce all desirable improvements, not only as regards the efficient performance of the service, but also as respects the cost of conveyance, without, however, altogether disregarding the increase of revenue which its operations may bring into the public treasury.'

The profits on the capital expended on the line between Brussels and Malines amounted in the first year to 8 per cent., and those on the line between Brussels and Antwerp to 16. Taking all the Belgian lines overhead, in

1858, the net profits, after providing for all interests and outgoings, was $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the capital expended; in 1860 it was $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and now it is 7 per cent. In eight years (1856-64) the charges on goods were lowered an average of 28 per cent. The public despatched 2,706,000 tons, or 72 per cent. more, while they economized by the reduction of rates the sum of £800,000, and the profits realized by the public treasury were £231,240 more than before cheaper transport was adopted.

The average cost of establishing the system of Belgian lines was £16,600 per mile, considerably less than one-half the expense of constructing the lines in our own country. The expense of working the railroads is much less, and is diminishing from year to year. That the fares of railway travelling in England should greatly exceed those in Belgium is a necessary consequence of the difference of outlay expended in their construction. The latter, taken overhead, are less than one-fourth of the former. 'Travellers from London to Brussels,' says the *Quarterly Review*, 'are readily enabled to compare the working of the Belgian with the English system. In making their journey between the two cities the distance travelled on English ground is 78 miles, and on Belgian 89 miles. On the English side are two well-appointed railways, the property of private companies, both running trains between London and Dover, each with its separate chairman and board of directors, general manager, staff, and working plant. On the Belgian side is a single railway, the property of the nation, worked by government officials, responsible to the administration for the time being. Of the two railways on the English side the one most recently constructed was authorized by Parliament in order to give the public the benefit of "competition" by railway. But Parliament in its wisdom does not seem to have provided for the emergency of the new company combining with the old one, and rendering "competition" impossible. The companies *have* combined,

and now see the advantage which the public has derived from the competition policy so much favoured by Parliament. First take express trains. While the fare by both the English lines to Dover for 78 miles is 20s. first class, and 15s. second class, or over $3d.$ and $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per mile respectively, the fares charged by the Belgian State railway for the journey of 89 miles is only 5s. first class, 3s. $4d.$ second class, and 2s. $6d.$ third class, or less than seven-tenths of a penny per mile first class, less than five-tenths of a penny second class, and a little more than three-tenths of a penny third class, or about one-fourth the rate of travelling in England. In the case of ordinary trains the fares charged for the 78 miles run on the two English lines is 18s. $6d.$ first class, 13s. $6d.$ second class, and 6s. $6d.$ third class, while that charged for the 89 miles run on the Belgian State lines is equivalent to 4s. $2d.$ first class, 2s. $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ second class, and 2s. $1d.$ third class. Nor is there so much difference in the speed as might be supposed. The English express trains perform the journey of 78 miles in two hours and twenty minutes, and the ordinary trains in a little over three hours; while the Belgian express trains perform the journey of 89 miles in two hours and twenty minutes, and the ordinary trains in little less than four hours.' The Belgian Minister of Public Works was fully justified in saying 'that facility and cheapness of travelling are in principle as fruitful of benefits to all classes of society as the economical transport of goods can be for the producers and for the consumers.'

The extraordinary increase of railway passenger traffic on the Belgian railways is one of the most striking features of the system. Before the establishment of these lines of communication the number of passengers between Brussels and Antwerp per annum was 75,000. In the first eight months, after the opening of the railways, the number was 541,129; and afterwards the number of travellers between these

cities amounted in 1857 to 1,145,467, and has since been largely augmented. The passengers by railway between Liverpool and Manchester in 1836 amounted to only 522,991. On an average, therefore, each inhabitant may be supposed to take one trip a year. The population of the three Belgian towns, Mechlin, Antwerp, and Brussels, did not amount in 1837 to one-half of that on the English line, and neither the population nor the commercial activity of the surrounding districts can be compared with those of its competitor; yet the intercourse in 1857 was more than twice as great, and with reference to the difference of population was four times as great, the average number of trips to each inhabitant having been five per annum.

The example of Belgium, with reference to the construction and working of railways, was shortly after generally followed by the other continental sovereigns and governments. In some cases the State took the initiative, projecting and constructing the railways, and retaining the working of them in their own hands. In others, the plans of the proposed lines were submitted to and approved by the ministers of state, and concessions were granted to private companies to construct and work them, subject to the control and approval of Government. The King of Holland was naturally anxious that his kingdom should share in the advantages of railway communication enjoyed by its nearest neighbour; but the Dutch Chambers were by no means as keenly sensible of the advantages as their sovereign, and declined to give the required legislative encouragement to such enterprises. In these circumstances King William gave his personal guarantee to a company, which undertook the line from Amsterdam to Rotterdam, fifty-three miles in length, and completed in 1844. Owing to the nature of the ground, which requires no difficult or costly engineering works, it was constructed at little more than £5000 per mile, exclusive of the stock. The line from Amsterdam to the frontier of Prussia

cost £15,000 per mile. It was constructed by the State, but was afterwards leased to an Anglo-Dutch company. A complete system of railways has since been established in Holland, surveyed and laid out under the immediate superintendence of the Government, but constructed by private companies, to which special privileges were granted for the purpose. In Prussia about one-half of the railroads were constructed and are worked by private companies. Of the other half, a society was formed at the expense of the State, and is worked by a Government staff. The remainder were constructed by private companies, under concessions, and are also worked by Government. In 1863 the State lines yielded a profit of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the capital expended in their construction, the other lines worked by the Government yielded 5 per cent., and the lines worked by private companies $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., though some companies have divided over 20 per cent.

The large profits yielded by these railways are no doubt due, in great part, to their cheap original cost. As Mr. Mulvany stated before the Royal Commission on Railways, 'the various expenses of one class and another accompanying the passing of railway bills in Britain, before a sod was cut, would amount to something very nearly like the cost of the whole Prussian railway system.' Care has also been taken to prevent their depreciation as a property by the setting up of competition between rival lines, while at the same time the public are protected from the exaction of too high fares. The Government sees to it that these are sufficiently low to suit the means of the travelling portion of the community, and especially of the poorer classes. A certain portion of the net earnings of the lines constructed and worked by private companies is set apart for the redemption of the share capital, after which these lines become the property of the nation.

The same policy has been adopted by the minor German States, in some of which the railways contribute largely toward the public

revenue. Thus in Baden the State railways yield a profit upon the capital expended on them of not less than 15 per cent. Although the Germanic States were united by community of manners, race, and language, yet at the time the railway system was inaugurated they were governed by different sovereigns and subject to different administrations, and in consequence there was a want of unity in their proceedings. 'Each government acted for itself, independently of the others. Nevertheless, partly from the physical character of the countries, and partly from the distribution of the population and seats of industry, and a consequent harmony of interests, these separate and independent measures have of themselves assumed a considerable uniformity of plan,' and the Germanic States are now overspread by one of the most magnificent systems of interior communication of which Europe can afford any example. It consists of 7600 miles of railway, which have absorbed £74,793,600, being very nearly at the rate of £10,000 per mile.

The railway policy of France has been of a somewhat similar character. When public railways were first introduced in that country in 1836, the Government undertook to assist in their formation, by granting sums in aid and by constructing earthworks and bridges. But owing to the distractions to which the Government had been exposed, and the engrossing nature of the political questions which occupied the French Chambers at that time, it was not until 1842 that the Government formally resolved that a system of railways should be planned and executed which should connect the capital with those points of the frontier, by land and sea, that should best serve the purposes of foreign commerce, at the same time taking into account the requirements of the interior in the course which these lines should follow. The plan then formed has been fully carried out by the construction of six great lines, issuing from the capital and connecting it with the Belgian frontier, Germany, and Spain, and

with the ports of the Channel and the Atlantic. The French lines are for the most part leased to six great companies for a period of ninety-nine years. A portion of the profits is reserved for the redemption of the capital, after which the railroads become, as in the case of those of Germany and Belgium, the absolute property of the State. Nearly all the French lines pay large dividends to their proprietors.

The financial condition of Austria rendered it impossible for its Government to raise money direct for the construction of railways. It had therefore to adopt the plan of granting concessions to private companies, whose proceedings, however, are under the control of the Administration, which guarantees a certain rate of interest. At the end of the lease, which in no case exceeds ninety years, the property in the railways and their appurtenances passes to the State. Meanwhile they yield an average profit of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the working.

The Austrian Government, no doubt actuated by other motives than those of a desire to promote the wellbeing of the people, extended the benefits of railway communication to the territories which at that time it possessed in Italy, and constructed a line nearly 200 miles in length, traversing the Lombardo-Venetian territory, and connecting Venice with Milan. The advantages which this railroad has conferred upon the kingdom of Italy may serve to compensate to a certain extent the Italian people for their sufferings for upwards of forty years from Austrian domination.

Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal, have all established railways in their respective territories on what may be called the Continental in opposition to the British system, and have all reaped important advantages from their mode of construction, combining as it does the advantages arising from private enterprise with sufficient security for the public against the abuse of the powers intrusted to the railway companies. But it is in the United States of America that the railway

system has been carried out to the greatest extent. As soon as the result of the operations in Britain became known, the enterprising spirit of the Americans was directed to the establishment of a system of steam communication by land throughout their vast territories. The progress was so rapid that in 1846 the New England states were in every direction intersected by railways; nearly 1000 miles of railroad had been constructed in the State of Pennsylvania, and an equal length in the State of New York. Altogether 4500 miles of railway were in operation at that early period in the United States. Every year witnesses the construction of new lines on a large scale; and from the main lines which traverse the country in every direction, at every point diverge innumerable ramifications either by branch railways, or by tributary navigable rivers, or by common roads; and now the native forests, where until within a few years human foot never trod—the vast prairies and solitudes, the silence of which was never disturbed even by the red man—are traversed by these iron roads.

The extension of railways in America has been greatly facilitated by the cheapness of their construction. Not only is the ground obtained without payment, but in a good many instances the State Legislatures have given large grants of land bordering the railways, as a contribution towards the cost of these undertakings, to induce companies to form lines through their territories. With a few exceptions the tracts of country over which these railways pass form nearly a dead level; there is therefore but little earthwork to construct. Low embankments and shallow cuttings, and these only occasionally, are all the difficulties the engineer has to surmount. Of works of art, such as viaducts and tunnels, there are almost none. Where the lines have to be conducted over streams or rivers, bridges are built in a rude but substantial and secure manner, of timber which is supplied from the forests at the

road side, subject to no other cost save that of hewing it. The station houses, booking offices, and other buildings are likewise slightly and cheaply constructed of timber. A further and much larger saving is effected, as compared with European lines, by the method of construction. As they are formed to supply a very limited amount of traffic in proportion to their length, the American railways are generally single lines. The structure of the roads themselves has been carried on upon a most economical scale, the average cost of the passenger lines being only about £9000 per mile, and the working of the lines is conducted in a similar inexpensive manner. It is evident, however, that the American lines have to a large extent been formed in an imperfect and temporary manner, requiring constant reconstruction and repair; for in 1881 more than £20,000,000 sterling was expended on the permanent way of existing railroads in the States, exclusive of the ordinary charges for maintenance.

A report issued by Mr. West, the British Minister at Washington, shows that at the close of the year 1881 there were 104,813 miles of railways open for traffic in the United States, of which 9358 miles were opened in the course of that year. Since 1870 there has been added 51,899 miles of line to the previously existing roads, so that during twelve years the extent has been nearly doubled. But the British system is far larger in proportion to the area to be served: for while in the United Kingdom there is a mile of railway for every $6\frac{2}{3}$ square miles of country, the States have only one square mile of line for every 29 miles of area. The estimated cost of the additions made to the American railways last year was £48,739,000, or £5208 per mile. The total capital and funded debt of the American lines at the end of last year was £1,043,831,000, or £10,913 per mile, while that of the British railways was £745,528,162, or £41,019 per mile. The gross receipts of the British lines in 1881 were £66,557,442, or rather less than 9

per cent. on the stock and loan capital, while those of the American railways amounted to £151,109,399, or nearly 14½ per cent. on their capital and funded debt. In other words, they have earned in the gross twice as much as ours, but then their mileage is nearly six times as great. We have 1939 persons for every mile of railway open, while the Americans have only 507 inhabitants for every mile. In Britain the railways earned in 1881 £3662 per mile; in the United States the earning only amounted to £1599 per mile on the railways worked during the year. The working expenditure of the British lines was £34,602,616, or 52 per cent. of the gross earnings; with the Americans it was £93,659,598, or 62 per cent. of the gross earnings. There do not appear to be any returns of the amount of passenger traffic on the American lines; but the estimated

amount of merchandise carried during 1881 was 350,000,000 tons, which is equal to 3811 tons per mile of line actually worked, while the goods carried on the British railways amounted to 244,989,958 tons, or 13,479 tons per mile of line open. The net receipts devoted to the payment of interest on the funded debt of the American railroads was £26,851,459, and £19,446,708 was available for the payment of dividends. The total net receipts were equal to 4·43 on the capital and funded debt. The net earnings of the British railways were £31,954,826, equal to 4·29 per cent. on the stock and loan capital. But the rate of interest which the American companies have to pay on loans is much higher than that which most of the British railway companies have to pay, so that the profits of the American shareholders must be proportionately smaller.

CHAPTER IV.

The New Ministry—Their difficulties—Condition of Ireland—The Potato Failure—Starvation and Mortality among the Peasantry—Measures of Relief adopted by the Government—The Public Works Bill and its injurious effects—Failure of the Measure—A change of System tried—Its results—Amount of Relief granted by Parliament—Extensive voluntary contributions at home and abroad—Activity and zeal displayed by the public officers—Enormous diminution of the population of Ireland by emigration and death—Money lent by the Treasury for Public Works, the improvement of Estates, and Irish Railways—Condition of many of the Irish Landlords—The Encumbered Estates Act—Its effect—Potato blight in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland—State and habits of the Peasantry—Report of Sir John M'Neill—The Crofters and Cottars—Position and liberal measures adopted by the Landlords—The Destitution Fund—Its influence on the habits of the people—Need of Emigration—Commercial distress in England and Scotland at this time—Measures taken by the Government to restore public confidence—Last speech of O'Connell in the House of Commons—His death at Genoa.

ON the resignation of Sir Robert Peel (June 29th, 1846), Lord John Russell was intrusted by Her Majesty with the formation of a new Administration, which was now effected without difficulty. Lord Russell was, of course, first Lord of the Treasury; the Marquis of Lansdowne became Lord President; Lord Cottenham, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Minto, Privy Seal; Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Palmerston resumed his former office of Foreign Secretary; Earl Grey, who had in some way got over his objections to this arrangement, was appointed Secretary for the Colonies; Sir John C. Hobhouse returned to the Board of Control; the Earl of Clarendon became President of the Board of Trade; Lord Campbell, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; the Marquis of Clanricarde, Post-master General; the Earl of Auckland, first Lord of the Admiralty; the Earl of Bessborough, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with Mr. Labouchere as Chief Secretary.

The new Ministry entered upon the duties of their office in very critical circumstances, and they were at once called on to grapple with the famine that was commencing its ravages in Ireland. The Irish people had for generations been always on the brink of famine. The Irish peasantry were usually dependent on the potato, which furnished them with the bare means of subsistence. A population whose ordinary food is bread and butcher meat can

retrench in periods of scarcity, and resort to cheaper kinds of food, such as barley, oats, rice, and potatoes; but as the Irish people were habitually and entirely fed upon potatoes, they lived upon the extreme verge of human subsistence; and when they were deprived of their accustomed food, there was nothing cheaper to which they could resort. They had already reached the lowest point in the descending scale, and there was nothing beyond but starvation or beggary. A failure of the potato crop had repeatedly occurred in Ireland, involving the population in great privation and suffering, and requiring liberal assistance to save them from starvation. 'There never was a country,' said the Duke of Wellington in 1838, 'in which poverty existed to so great a degree as it exists in Ireland. I held a high situation in that country thirty years ago, and I must say that from that time to this there has scarcely been a single year in which the Government has not, at certain periods of it, entertained the most serious apprehension of actual famine. I am firmly convinced that, from the year 1806 down to the present time, a year has not passed in which the Government has not been called on to give assistance to relieve the poverty and distress which prevailed in Ireland.'

The potato disease which now occurred was incomparably more severe and extensive than any of the previous failures. It began in the autumn of 1845, and though

the early crop of potatoes, which is generally about one-sixth of the whole, escaped, the late, or what is commonly called 'the people's crop,' was very seriously affected. But the attack was partial, and although the destruction of human food was, on the whole, very great, a considerable portion of the produce was saved. But in 1846 the blight on the potatoes took place earlier, and was of a much more sweeping and destructive character. On the 27th of July, wrote Father Mathew, 'I passed from Cork to Dublin, and this doomed plant bloomed in all the luxuriance of an abundant harvest. Returning on the 3rd of August I beheld with sorrow one wild waste of putrefying vegetation. In many places the wretched people were seated on the fences of their decaying gardens, wringing their hands and wailing bitterly the destruction that had left them foodless.' In less than a week from the time when the first symptoms of the disease appeared, the face of the whole country was changed, the fields assumed a blackened appearance, as if they had been burned up, and the growth of the potatoes was arrested when they were not larger than a marble or a pigeon's egg. 'Distress and fear,' said Captain Morris, 'were pictured in every countenance, and there was a general rush to dig and sell or consume the crop by feeding pigs and cattle, fearing that in a short time they would prove unfit for any use.' The most skilful men of science were completely baffled in their efforts to discern the origin of the disease, and they found themselves equally unable to devise a remedy for its ravages. The anticipated result speedily took place. On the 5th of December the news from Skibbereen was—'Hunger, nakedness, sickness, and mortality, almost equal to the ravages of an epidemic disease, are the prevailing feature of the dwellings of the poor. Fever afflicts hundreds of them, and dysentery, produced by cold and want of nutritious food, is equally common. The workhouse contains 900 paupers; the fever hospital, built to accommodate forty patients,

contains 161. The deaths in the infirmary were eighty-seven; in December they amounted to 135. The mortality is very great among the poor, and the aspect of the burying-grounds is assuming a new form. In many cases the dead are buried without coffins, and instances are known where they are not even brought to a burial-ground, but are interred in the fields.' On the 17th of February it was reported, 'Day by day the accounts that reach us are becoming more horrifying. There is scarcely a county in Ireland—unless Kildare may be an exception—in which the people are not dying of starvation. Within one week there have been no less than ninety-five deaths in the Union Workhouse of Lurgan, being nearly an eighth part of the entire inmates. In Fermanagh destitution is rapidly extending, and, we are sorry to add, crime has greatly increased. In Sligo, so rapid has been the mortality, that the coroners are totally unable to perform their duties; in one place there were forty dead bodies waiting inquests.' So far as could be ascertained the workhouse mortality in Ireland for the first week of January was 1405 out of 108,500 receiving relief, and in the second week 1493 out of 110,561.

From Mayo it was reported that the gaunt and long-dreaded scourge of famine had at length broken out. At Clonmell the mob broke into every baker's shop in the place, and took out all the food they could lay their hands on. At Carrick-on-Suir the populace rose and broke into all the meal and provision stores, and afterwards into the shops generally. A boat proceeding from Limerick to Clare was attacked by a body of starving peasants, and plundered of her cargo of corn and Indian flour. Similar famine riots broke out in the various towns in the south and west of the country.

It was evident that the immediate interposition of the Government and the Legislature was required to save the peasantry from starvation; but it was very difficult to devise a remedy that would

be at once adequate and safe. Sir Robert Peel's Administration, alarmed by the first serious failure of the potato crop in 1845, had privately imported Indian corn to the amount of £185,000; £70,000 was granted in aid of subscriptions for relief; the execution of various public works, consisting principally of roads, was authorized; and funds were voted to a considerable extent, making up a total expenditure of rather more than £852,000, one half of which was given as a loan. The first effect of these measures seemed to be beneficial; distress was relieved and suffering was postponed. But as Lord John Russell stated in the House of Commons, in August, 1846, when introducing his Public Works Bill, other and very different results soon began to show themselves. Relief having once been given, the people immediately concluded that it would be continued as long as the distress lasted. It was found impossible to apply the labour test effectually; the tillage of the land was neglected; the peasants who were employed on the improvements in the Shannon and the arterial drainage left these works, where they were earning 1s. 6d. a day, to dawdle on the Relief roads, where they could only obtain 9d.; and numbers who had been in the habit of repairing to England and Scotland, to assist in the labours of the harvest at high wages, now preferred to remain at home. A rush took place from all quarters upon the Relief fund, and the special object of relieving the distress of the people who were suffering from the failure of their accustomed food, was to a great extent lost sight of in the general fear of being deprived of what they called 'their share of the grant.'

This system of Relief works was brought to a close on the 15th of August, 1846, but the new and more extensive failure of the potato crop called for greater exertions to meet the necessities of the case. The measure now introduced by the Prime Minister empowered the Lord Lieutenant to summon a meeting of any county or

barony in which scarcity of employment was represented to exist, and authorized and required that meeting to order the execution of public works of the kind most needed in the locality, and of an extent proportioned to the deficiency of employment. In order to check the exorbitant demand which had been made during the preceding season, the whole of the expense of these works was made a local charge or loan to bear interest at 3½ per cent., and to be repaid in ten years. The works were to be carried on under the superintendence of officers appointed by the Government Board of Works. It was determined that the wages given in the Relief Works should be somewhat below the average rate of wages in the district, and that the labourers employed should as far as possible be paid in proportion to the work actually done by them. In cases where the locality in need of assistance was so poor as to be unable to bear the interest and repayment of a loan, grants might be given; and the sum of £50,000 was agreed to be voted during the present session to meet such cases.

The Relief Committees of the preceding season were reorganized, the rules under which they had acted were carefully revised, they were instructed to furnish lists of persons requiring relief, which should be strictly scrutinized by the officers of the Board of Works, and inspectors were appointed to superintend their proceedings. With these precautions the scheme might have answered its purpose if the resident gentry and ratepayers, who had the requisite local knowledge, had done their duty and taken pains to ascertain as far as possible the probable amount of destitution in their neighbourhood, the sum required to relieve it, and the works upon which that sum could best be expended. But according to their use and wont, the country gentlemen, magistrates, guardians, and overseers did nothing, and contented themselves with devolving their duties upon the officers of the Board of Works, who were strangers

to the district. They had in addition to 'advance the funds; to select the labourers; to superintend the works; to pay the people weekly; to enforce proper performance of the labour; if the farm works were interrupted, to select and draft off the proper persons to perform it; to settle the wages to be paid to them by the farmers, and see that they were paid; to furnish food not only for all the destitute out of doors, but in some measure for the paupers in the workhouse.' The Board of Works became the centre of a colossal and unmanageable organization; 5000 separate works had to be reported upon; an army of superintendents, amounting at one time to 12,000, had to be appointed. Their letters averaged upwards of 800 a day, and sometimes reached to 5000 and even 6000.

The superintendents were undoubtedly men of ability and indefatigable industry, but the task was soon found to surpass human capacity. The number of persons employed upon the works increased with portentous rapidity. The utmost exertions of two sets of inspecting officers were insufficient to revise the lists or to exclude those who had no just claim for such employment. The attraction of the 'Queen's pay,' as it was popularly called, led to a general abandonment of other descriptions of industry. The peasantry flocked in a body to the public works—many who could have found employment elsewhere—many who needed no employment at all. 'Landlords competed with each other in getting the names of their tenants placed on the lists; farmers dismissed their labourers, and sent them to the works; the clergy insisted on the claims of their respective congregations. The fields were left untilled, and the farmers could neither sow nor reap; the fisheries were deserted; and to such an extent had the population of the south and west of Ireland turned out upon the roads, that it was often difficult even to get a coat patched or a pair of shoes mended.' Instead of the Irish labourers migrating to England and Scotland in great numbers, as in former years,

they actually flocked home from both these countries. But the preference of employment as alms to independent labour was not the worst fault exhibited by the Irish in their new condition of able-bodied paupers. The Government superintendents were bullied, robbed, and murdered by the objects of their charity; and all this time the deposits in rural and in savings banks increased at an unprecedented rate, so did the consumption of whisky, and the gun-trade never was so brisk.

It had been resolved that no relief should be given to able-bodied men except in return for work performed, and that they should be paid in proportion to their work. But the Irish peasantry had been poorly fed, and were incapable of sustained and heavy toil. Having no strong motive to exertion, they had been accustomed to a life of indolence, and it was soon found impossible to exact from the multitudes employed on the roads an amount of labour which would act as a test of destitution. One of the officers of the Board of Works, observing the emaciated condition of the labourers, reported that, as an engineer, he was ashamed of allotting so little task-work for a day's wages, while as a man he was ashamed of requiring so much. Huddled together in masses there was no means of distinguishing the indolent from the diligent, or of knowing who did a fair proportion of work and who did not, and the difficulty was aggravated by the habitual collusion between the labourers and the overseers who were appointed to measure their work. The Irish peasant had been accustomed to remain at home cowering over his turf fire during the inclement season of the year, and exposure to the cold and rain on the roads, without sufficient food and clothing, greatly contributed to the prevailing sickness. To obviate this as far as possible, orders were issued that, in case of snow or heavy rain, the labourers should merely attend roll-call in the morning, and be entered in the pay-list for half a day's pay.

In such circumstances as these it was to be expected, as a matter of course, that an immense and rapid increase should take place in the number of persons employed in connection with the Relief Works. In October the average number of persons employed was 114,000, in November 285,000, representing a million and a half of the population; and the expenditure was £117,000 a week, or at the rate of nearly £6,000,000 a year. In January, 1847, the number of pauper workmen reached 570,000, and the expenditure was £250,000 a week. In February the persons daily employed became 708,000, and in March they amounted to the enormous number of 734,000, representing, at a moderate estimate of the average extent of each family, upwards of 3,000,000 persons.

A change of system had become inevitable, not only on account of the enormous pressure on the springs of national industry by the support of so large a portion of the Irish people at the public expense, but in consequence of the disastrous neglect of tillage which was threatened. It had become quite evident, that so long as the people were retained on the public works their lands would remain uncultivated. Orders were issued by the Government that, on the 20th of March, 20 per cent. of the persons employed should be struck off the lists, and successive reductions were made until, by the end of June, the number was reduced to 28,000. The expenditure was limited to £100,000 a month for June, July, and the first fifteen days of August, when the Act expired. This monstrous system was thus brought gradually and quietly to a close. The necessary labour which had been withdrawn was returned to agriculture in time to lay the foundation for the abundant harvest in Ireland of 1847, which contributed greatly to stay the downward progress of that country.

The system of public works having thus completely broken down under the pressure of the famine, it was determined to give relief to the needy by the distribution of

food on the basis of the Poor Law—the expense of which was to be borne either immediately or ultimately out of the rates. An Act was accordingly passed for this purpose, constituting in each electoral division a Relief Committee, composed of the magistrates, one clergyman of each persuasion, the Poor-Law Guardians, and the three highest ratepayers. A Finance Committee was formed to control the expenditure in each union. Inspecting officers were appointed, and a Commission sitting in Dublin superintended the whole system. The expense was to be defrayed by payments out of the rates, and when this fund was insufficient, as it always proved to be, it was reinforced by loans to be repaid by rates subsequently levied. Grants were also made in aid of the rates in those unions in which the number of destitute poor was largest compared with the means of relieving them; and when private subscriptions were raised, donations were made to an equal amount.

The provision that the expense of this system of relief should be borne by the rates exercised a most salutary influence on its administration. The Relief Committees remembered that it was their own money they were now distributing, and the lists of persons claiming to be relieved were revised and purged of those who were not entitled to relief. The personal attendance of all persons requiring relief was insisted on, exceptions being made in favour of the sick, the impotent, and children under nine years of age. It had been discovered that the meal previously distributed to the indigent had frequently been disposed of, even by the most destitute, for tea, tobacco, or spirits; and the relief was therefore now directed to be given only in the shape of cooked food, usually made of Indian meal and rice steamed, distributed in portions declared by the best medical authorities to be sufficient to maintain health and strength. This regulation, while it proved quite effectual to prevent any attempt on the part of the recipients to convert the food into

money, also proved quite adequate to overtake all who really required relief, including the helpless portion of the community, who had been neglected under the former system. In the month of July, 1847, when the new system had reached its highest point, no fewer than 3,020,712 persons received separate rations, of whom 2,265,534 were adults and 755,178 were children. When the season of harvest came, and there was a general demand for labour, new supplies of food became available. This multitude were gradually thrown on their own resources, and relief entirely ceased on the 12th of September. This system of relief had thus proved quite effectual. As an eye-witness wrote, 'The famine was stayed. The "affecting and heart-rending crowds of destitutes" disappeared from the streets; the cadaverous, hunger-stricken countenances of the people gave place to looks of health; deaths from starvation ceased; and cattle-stealing, plundering provisions, and other crimes prompted by want of food, were diminished by half in the course of a single month.' 'This enterprise,' said the last Report of the Relief Commissioners, 'was in truth the grandest attempt ever made to grapple with the famine over a whole country. Organized armies, amounting altogether to some hundreds of thousands, had been rationed before, but neither ancient nor modern history can furnish a parallel to the fact that upwards of 3,000,000 persons were fed every day in the neighbourhood of their own homes by administrative arrangements emanating from and controlled by one central office.'

In the Commissariat branch of operations the work was carried through with great assiduity and success. The whole world was ransacked for supplies. Enormous quantities of Indian corn were imported, until the Irish market was completely glutted with this article, and the price fell in the course of six months from £19 to £7 10s. a ton. In the first six months of 1847 no less than 2,849,508 quarters of corn were imported into Ireland, worth, at the

then current prices, £8,764,943, and the Irish market was, in the words of the Lord Lieutenant, 'freer, cheaper, and better supplied than that of any country in Europe where distress prevailed.' Upwards of 300,000 quarters of corn were purchased from time to time to supply the Government depôts on the western coast of Ireland, and large stores of biscuit and salt meat, which had been laid up at the different military stations in the year 1843, were now applied to the relief of the people. As the means of grinding were seriously deficient the Admiralty mills at Deptford, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and even Malta, besides two large hired mills, were constantly employed in grinding the corn bought by the Commissariat. Thirty-four large depôts were established on the western side of Ireland, and several ships of war were moored in convenient stations and used as store ships. The largest war steamers were appropriated to the conveyance of the meal from the mills in England to the depôts in Ireland, and every other available steamer—not excepting the Admiralty yacht—was employed in making the necessary transfers between the depôts, and in conveying the supplies which the Relief Committees had purchased. As many as 1097 Relief Committees were established, under the superintendence of the Commissariat, while £199,470 was subscribed by private individuals, upon which Government donations were made (making together £389,384) in support of these operations. Other considerable sums, however, were raised by local Irish subscriptions, through the medium of some of the Relief Committees, of which no account was furnished to the Government. Large funds were also administered by private individuals quite independently of the local Relief Committees. The sum provided by Parliament, which was expended in the distribution of food and in medical relief, was £1,676,268, of which £961,739 was to be repaid, and the remaining £714,529 was a free grant. The sum was moderate, compared with the mag-

nitude of the object. The sum expended under the first Relief Works Act was £476,000, one half of which was a free grant, and the other half was to be repaid by twenty half-yearly instalments. The expenditure under the second Act was about £4,850,000, half of which was remitted, and the other half was to be repaid by similar instalments of £145,500 each, including interest. The cost of the staff of the Board of Works and of the Relief Commission, the Commissariat staff, and the heavy naval expenditure was defrayed out of the public treasury, without any demand for repayment; and so were the freight and charges (exceeding £50,000) on the supplies of food and clothing sent to Ireland from the United States and Canada and by charitable societies and individuals in Great Britain.

The voluntary contributions of private individuals formed no unimportant portion of the assistance rendered to the sufferers from this terrible calamity. A powerful and tender sympathy for them pervaded every class of society, and from the Queen on the throne down to the humblest cottager, expenses were curtailed and privations were endured to swell the subscriptions for the starving Irish. The London season was noted for the absence of expensive entertainments, and the opera, the fashionable ball, and the fancy bazaar contributed their share. The Society of Friends, as usual, led the way in this benevolent work, and opened a subscription in London in November, 1846. The 'British Association for the Relief of extreme distress in Ireland and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland' was instituted on the 6th of January, 1847, with Mr. Jones Lloyd as chairman, and Mr. Thomas Baring and Baron Rothschild among its members. A week later a Queen's letter was issued with the same object, and the 24th of March was appointed by proclamation for a general fast or humiliation before Almighty God 'on behalf of ourselves and of our brethren who in many parts of this kingdom are suffering extreme famine and sickness.' The sum collected under

the Queen's letter was £171,533. The amount separately contributed through the British Association was £263,251, and this aggregate amount of £434,784 was divided in the proportion of five-sixths to Ireland and one-sixth to Scotland. There were numerous Ladies' Associations formed in Scotland and England, to collect small weekly subscriptions and to make up clothes to send to Ireland. From every part of the British empire—the remotest stations in India, the most recent settlements in the backwoods of Canada, the West India islands and Nova Scotia, from British residents in St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and the city of Mexico—came expressions of sympathy and contributions to the charitable fund. The feeling among our kinsmen in the United States of America was strong and universal, and the manifestations of sympathy most generous and munificent.

In Ireland itself the exertions made for the relief of their fellow-countrymen were most praiseworthy. Independently of local subscriptions, which were very considerable, £9888 was contributed through the 'General Central Relief Committee for all Ireland,' of which the Marquis of Kildare was the chairman. The sums received by this committee from British North America, the United States, British India, the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, South America, &c., amounted to upwards of £50,000. Another committee, established in Dublin, under the name of the 'Irish Relief Association for the Destitute Peasantry,' had funds placed at their disposal amounting to nearly £42,000. But the most considerable of the Dublin charitable committees was that composed of members of the Society of Friends. The contributions intrusted to them, in money and provisions, were to the amount of upwards of £168,000, of which no less than £108,651 was the estimated value of provisions consigned to them from the United States of America, along with the sum of £15,567 in cash. In addition to these large donations of money and food, consignments of clothing were received from

England and America. It was estimated that altogether the sum contributed by public grants and private subscriptions from all quarters for the relief of Irish distress amounted to upwards of £18,000,000—an effort without parallel in ancient or modern history.

It is gratifying to be able to add that Sir R. Rough, Sir John Burgoyne, Colonel Jones, Admiral Sir Hugh Pigot, Mr. Nicholls, and Mr. Bromley, who were intrusted with the management of the various departments, displayed administrative ability of the highest order, and that the zeal, unanimity, and self-denial with which the large body of officers under them devoted themselves to their onerous and responsible duties deserve the most cordial commendation. Not less praiseworthy was the manner in which the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy vied with each other in their personal sacrifices and in their exertions for the famishing and fever-stricken people; and in numerous instances their lives became a sacrifice to the discharge of their exhausting, harassing, and dangerous duties.

As was almost inevitable, the mortality in Ireland during the famine was frightful. In 1841 the population amounted to 8,175,124. Taking into account the natural increase, it must in 1846 have reached 8,379,500. At the next census in 1851 it had fallen to 6,515,794—a diminution of 1,863,706 in five years, or 372,740 per annum, while on an average of the three years preceding the famine the annual mortality of Ireland amounted to only 77,754. Even this statement does not give an adequate idea of the rate at which depopulation in Ireland had proceeded during this period. The rate of increase since 1831 had been 5 per cent. in Connaught and 8 per cent. in Munster. In 1846 the population in Connaught amounted to 1,454,330; in 1851 it had dwindled down to 1,011,917—a decrease in five years of 442,413. In Munster there was in 1846 a population of 2,492,000; in 1851 it had

diminished to 1,831,817—a decrease of 660,183. In other words, nearly one-third of the population of Connaught (30·4 per cent.), and more than one-fourth (26·5 per cent.) of that of Munster, was swept away in five years. In the Union of Skibbereen nearly the whole population, consisting of 11,000 persons, perished of famine, and the deaths in the workhouses were 140 in a single month. ‘Every circumstance of horror and dismay that could attend an enfeebled population overtaken by a calamity for which they were wholly unprovided, was illustrated in the ghastly story of Ireland during that year; and the hearts of the British nation were duly wrung by narratives, “nothing exceeding which,” to use the language of Lord Brougham, “is to be found in the pages of Josephus, or on the canvas of Poussin, or in the dismal chant of Dante.”’

It is not easy to ascertain with precision what proportion of this appalling diminution—unparalleled in history—is due to actual mortality and what to emigration, but it is possible to arrive at a near approximation. Early in the year 1847 the roads to the Irish sea-ports were thronged with families hastening to escape the sufferings of impending starvation. The emigration continued with accelerated rapidity throughout the whole year. At its close the total number of emigrants from the United Kingdom was found to have amounted to about 250,000, nearly double that of 1846. It was above that number in 1848, and in 1849 it reached 300,000, and was still increasing. Of these 300,000 about 39,000 went to Australia and other parts; the residue, 361,000, went to the United States and the North American provinces. In all probability the number of Scottish and English who emigrated to America will be nearly balanced by the Irish who emigrated to the Australian colonies. To the emigrants from Ireland to foreign ports must be added the emigrants to England who took up their permanent residence there. From the 13th of January to the

1st of November 278,005 immigrants arrived at Liverpool from Ireland, of whom only 122,981 sailed from that port to foreign countries. The influx of poor Irish into Scotland by way of Portpatrick, Ardrossan, and Glasgow, and into Wales by Bristol, was also very large; 5000 Irish paupers were relieved in Manchester in the last week of February, and this was the average rate for several weeks following. Nearly 90,000 destitute and disabled Irish, including women and children, received parochial relief in Scotland, at an expense of about £34,000. The entire emigration from Ireland to all quarters could not have been less than 250,000 per annum, or 1,250,000 during the five years. This would leave a balance of 613,706 as the amount of this diminution of population due to increased mortality.

Wherever these wretched emigrants went they carried with them the seeds of fever and other virulent diseases, and so formidable did the influx of this mixed multitude prove to the health of the people of Liverpool that it was found necessary to station quarantine ships in the Mersey to receive the infected, and to hire or construct extensive premises for the purpose of being used as temporary fever hospitals. Nineteen relieving officers died at Liverpool alone, of fever caught in the execution of their duties. Quarantine arrangements had to be made in the Clyde also, similar to those at Liverpool. There was a frightful amount of mortality among the Irish emigrants to Canada. There were 3900 deaths on the passage, and in addition 5734 died during detention at quarantine or at the Marine Hospital—making a total of 9634.

As soon as the plague was stayed, it became necessary for the Legislature to adopt measures to prevent the recurrence of such a terrible calamity. The Irish Poor Law was amended and extended; but as it was impossible that the Poor Law could bear alone the whole weight of the pauperism which at that time existed in Ireland, its unproductive expenditure had to be

supported by adequate industrial efforts, in order to prevent all classes of society from being involved in one common ruin. The Treasury was therefore empowered to lend money to the extent of £1,500,000, on moderate terms, to landlords for the general improvement of their estates, including drainage, subsoiling and trenching, irrigation, the embankment of lands from the sea, inclosing or fencing the fields, the reclamation of waste land, the making of farm roads, and other similar works of a permanent and productive character, to be executed by the proprietor. The Treasury was also authorized to make advances for the construction of works of public utility, such as the Shannon navigation, the construction of new floating docks and markets at Limerick, works at Hawlbowl, the construction of three new colleges and of several prisons and lunatic asylums, and the repair and construction of fishery piers. A proposal, made by Lord George Bentinck, to lend £16,000,000 to the Irish Railway Companies on favourable terms was resisted by the Government, on the ground that while it was inadequate as a measure of relief it was too large and indiscriminate when viewed as a measure for the promotion of public works; and with the powerful help of Sir Robert Peel it was rejected by a majority of 214. But at a later period the sum of £620,000 was voted by Parliament to be lent to railways which had paid up half their capital. Sanguine expectations were entertained that by thus affording employment with fair wages to the Irish peasantry there would in a short time be seen among them 'more industry and exertion, less politics and more ploughing, less argument and more action, less debating and more doing.'

The famine which had so largely diminished the population of Ireland led in no long time to the utter ruin of a large number of the landowners. The embarrassments which a long course of carelessness and extravagance had brought upon the Irish gentry, as a body, were matters of notoriety. It was well known that large

numbers of them had been habitually living beyond their income, had borrowed money from generation to generation, and mortgaged their property time after time as security for their loans, and had thus in many cases become little more than nominal owners of the patrimonial estates they held. But no one was aware until now of the extent to which this system of spending and borrowing and mortgaging had gone. The potato failure brought matters to a crisis with this thriftless and thoughtless class. They were now receiving little or no rent, and had no means either of subsistence or of meeting the interest of the mortgages on their property. To complete their ruin, the Poor-Law rates and the interest on the money lent by Government to feed the starving peasantry had to be paid. A proprietary so helpless and indebted could do little or nothing for the peasantry whom they had allowed to crowd their estates, and to divide and subdivide the land until the holdings were in many cases reduced to such small patches as to be incapable of producing sufficient food for the tenant cottars if they had even held them rent free.

The condition of the Irish landlords at this time has been thus depicted by a writer who was intimately acquainted with the state of the country—'Proprietors of estates are but too often only mere nominal owners, without influence or power over the persons holding under them. Their real condition is often pitiable; nor is it possible, in the great majority of cases, to relieve the estates. The burden of debt or the evils of improvident leases are fastened upon the land in such a manner as to convert the owner into a mere annuitant, often glad to obtain from a good estate a scanty annuity (after payment of the encumbrances thereon and the public burdens) for his own subsistence. Proprietor and tenant are equally powerless for good, and the whole kingdom suffers from the disorders which have resulted from this state of real property in Ireland.'

The author of another valuable publica-

tion on the same subject remarked at this time, respecting the landlord even of an unembarrassed estate, 'The possessor of the property is not in reality the owner; he cannot deal with it as an owner; he is merely a trustee for others; he has no interest in its future thorough permanent improvement except so far as he may wish to benefit his successors—he can never reap the benefit himself; he cannot sell; he cannot dispose of a part even though the alienation of a part might greatly enhance the value of the remainder; he holds it during his lifetime as his predecessor held it—unaltered, unimproved—to transmit it to his heir clogged with the same restrictions, alike injurious to him and to his country. This is the case of an unembarrassed landlord.' The case of an embarrassed proprietor is much worse. He is 'owner for life of a large tract of country, with a long rent-roll, but in fact a small property. Of course he cannot afford to lay out anything on improvements; on the contrary, though perhaps naturally kind-hearted and just, his necessities force him to resort to every means of increasing his present rental. He looks for the utmost amount; he lets to the highest bidder without regard to character or means of payment. If his tenants are without leases he raises their rents. If leases fall in he cannot afford to give the preference to the last occupier. Perhaps with all his exertions he is unable to pay the interest, or put off his creditors. Proceedings are commenced against him, and the estate passes during his lifetime under the care of the worst possible landlord—a receiver under the Court of Chancery.' In the year 1843 the number of such cases was 764. The rental of the estates thus thrown into Chancery was £563,022. The arrears of rent when the receiver was appointed amounted to £27,243, but by 1847 these arrears had risen to £290,292. On an average of the three years, 1841–42–43, the number of cases was 686; the rental was £570,147; the arrears when the receiver was appointed

were £27,243, and when he last accounted they were £312,357.

It became indispensably necessary to provide a remedy for this most unsatisfactory state of affairs. It was evident that the master-key to unlock the field of industry in Ireland was to facilitate the sale of the encumbered estates, to provide a simple, cheap, and secure system of transfer in lieu of the existing barbarous, unsafe, and exciting system, so that land could be bought and sold with as much freedom and security as linen and bacon. The present owners were known to be incapable of making a proper use of their property, or of discharging the duties of landowners either to their tenants or to the State. It was confidently believed, on the other hand, that the purchasers would be improvers; that they would give extensive and permanent employment to numbers of people around them in carrying out the improvement of their newly-acquired landed property; that they would promote industry everywhere, and would greatly increase the value of land generally. Employment with regular wages must be had for the peasantry, and a large number of the landowners were unable to provide it. Capital was indispensably necessary for the improvement of the land, and they did not possess it. It was impossible that Government should continue to supply the capital required, not as a loan upon an emergency, but as part of its regular system of action. It was therefore evident to all thoughtful men that the land must pass into the hands of those who do possess the means of employing the people—of men who will carry on agriculture as a business, and will bring to their occupation the capital, the habits of business, the energy, and the intelligence which are necessary to make it profitable to the owner and beneficial to the people in his employment.

The Government, being deeply impressed with the importance of these views, introduced a Bill into Parliament in 1847 for the purpose of enabling the owners of en-

cumbered estates in Ireland to sell the whole or a portion of them after the circumstances of each estate had been investigated by a Master in Chancery, with a view to secure the due liquidation of every claim upon it, and to take care that the first encumbrance should be paid in full. The Bill passed the House of Lords, but was withdrawn in the Commons owing to the opposition of some of the Irish proprietors, who were unwilling to be denuded of their heavily mortgaged estates, and of the great Insurance Companies, who were the principal lenders on Irish mortgages, and did not wish that their investments should be disturbed. But the evils of the existing system speedily became so flagrant and intolerable that an effectual remedy had to be provided without delay. In May, 1848, the Government introduced into the House of Lords a Bill for the establishment of an 'Encumbered Estates Court,' to facilitate the disposal of encumbered land in Ireland on application from the owner or his creditors, expeditiously and on inexpensive terms. The Bill passed through both Houses without opposition, and became law at the close of the session.

The first petition was filed in this court on the 25th of October, 1849, and others rapidly followed. Among the petitioners were a marquis, thirteen earls, three viscounts, four barons, five honourables, twenty baronets, five knights, seven members of the House of Commons, and five who had sat in previous parliaments. The number of petitions for the sale of estates presented in the course of two years, down to September 23rd, 1851, was 1945, of which only 212 were dismissed by the Commissioners. The total number of proprietors in Ireland (omitting the mere forty shilling freeholders who still remained) was estimated at 8000, so that even at that period nearly one-fourth of the whole landowners in Ireland were under notice of enforced sale on account of their encumbrances. Four hundred and forty estates had already been sold by decree of the court, realizing

£3,654,500. It was found that in these 1954 cases the interest on the encumbrances at five per cent. swallowed up the whole rental, so that the nominal proprietors had not only been hampered and mortgaged to a degree which left them no power of doing justice to land, labourers, or tenants, but they did not really own a single acre of the property of which they were the ostensible possessors. The net annual rental of these estates was £1,141,090—a little more than £586 a year each—while the annual interest on the encumbrances amounted to £1,122,928, leaving a surplus of only £18,162, or less than £10 apiece, which was all that these 1945 landowners had to live upon after paying the interest of their debts. At twenty years' purchase—the usual price which the encumbered estates sold by authority of the court brought at that time—their total value was £22,821,800; while the total amount of the encumbrances on these estates was £22,458,576, leaving a surplus of £363,204, or about one-sixtieth of the whole (£181 each), to be divided among the *proprietors* after all debts were paid, even if, as was probable, the whole of this surplus were not eaten up by the costs of the sale. The spectacle of men, who had at one time held a good position in the country reduced to absolute destitution was sad in the extreme. Among other numerous instances of a similar kind, a gentleman who had at one time filled the office of High Sheriff of his county was fain to accept the situation of a javelin man in the train of his successor in order to save himself from starvation.

The Encumbered Estates Court continued its melancholy but necessary work with unabated vigour and speed. The number of estates disposed of up to 9th of August, 1852, was 777, in 4083 lots, producing a total of £7,353,736. When its operations were brought to a close, 31st of August, 1858, it was reported that there had been sold through its agency 11,024 lots, representing a money value of £23,161,093. The total number of petitions presented, includ-

ing those for partition and exchange, was 4413, and the number of conveyances executed by the Commissioners was 8364.

It was confidently expected and predicted that the stupendous eleemosynary assistance given by the people of Great Britain at home and abroad, supplemented by the contributions of the United States and Canada, followed by inducements held out to the Irish to help themselves, and by the transference of a large portion of the soil from impoverished owners to landlords who possessed the requisite capital for its proper cultivation, along with the energy and intelligence to turn it to account, would have redeemed and regenerated Ireland. But experience has shown that while the measures adopted by the British Legislature and people for staying the plague, undoubtedly mitigated much misery and kept many alive who would otherwise have perished, they yet brought the Irish through the crisis with their numbers fearfully thinned, their character lamentably demoralized, and their habits of recklessness and of helpless dependence upon extraneous aid confirmed and extended. It is painfully evident that the root of Ireland's malady has not yet been reached—possibly that malady lies beyond the reach of any remedy that can be externally applied.

The potato blight, which in the years 1846–47 fell upon Ireland with such appalling severity, visited the Hebrides and the Western Islands, but in a form less severe. The inhabitants, like the Irish, are a somewhat indolent and unenterprising race, and like them are constantly on the brink of destitution, and at any moment an unfavourable season may plunge them into severe distress. The population in these districts consists mainly of 'crofters,' who hold small plots of land, and 'cottars,' who hold no land, but earn a scanty subsistence by labour or fishing, receiving frequently as part of their wages permission to cultivate for their own use a small patch of land belonging to their employer. In Skye, the largest of the Western Islands, these two classes amounted

at this time to 19,000 out of a population of 22,500, or 3645 families out of a total of 4335. The land of the crofter—seldom more than eight acres—and the labour of the cottar usually failed to supply subsistence for them and their families for more than half the year. The almost invariable custom was for the head of the family, as soon as the ground was dug and sown in spring, to set out from home in search of employment, returning in June for the harvest; and he generally contrived, by assisting in the herring fishing on the north-east coast or by agricultural labour and employment on the railways, to earn enough to purchase clothing and to buy meal for his family, and to pay a portion of his rent.

Sir John M'Neil, who at the time of the potato failure was chairman of the Poor-Law Board of Scotland, and undertook a personal investigation into the state of the inhabitants of the Hebrides and Western Highlands, says that, 'with rare exceptions, to whatever distance they may have gone they return home for the winter and remain there, nearly altogether idle, consuming the produce of the croft and the proceeds of their own labour, till the return of summer and the failure of their supplies warn them that it is high time to set out again. Those whose means are insufficient to maintain them till the winter is past, and who cannot find employment at that season at home, are of course in distress, and having exhausted their own means are driven to various shifts and forced to seek charitable aid. The tenacity of their attachment to their native soil, and their repugnance to a residence in parts of the kingdom where they are foreigners, is great. Years of intercourse with the more advanced districts seem to produce no desire to change their condition. For twenty successive years one of the crofters had worked for the summer six months in East Lothian for the same master, from whom he had a certificate of character and conduct such as any man in his position might be proud of. At the commencement of each winter he returned to his

small croft at the northern extremity of Skye, for which he paid a rent of £5 a year. He travelled about 600 miles and worked hard for six months every year that he might continue to enjoy his croft in comparative idleness for the other half year in Waternish. And such was the feeling of every one.'

About the beginning of the century, when the old system of joint occupation was generally abandoned in the Highlands and Islands, the crofts were divided in suitable portions among the occupiers, who had hitherto held them in common. The rents then fixed were seldom raised, and the tenants as rarely dispossessed. They descended from father to son as long as the stipulated rent was raised. But unfortunately in these districts, as in Ireland, the process of subdivision went on as the population increased, until the original croft was cut down to a very small plot.

'As originally allotted,' says Sir John M'Neil, 'the crofts appear to have been quite sufficient to afford maintenance to a family and the means of paying the rent; but when kelp was largely manufactured, when potatoes were extensively and successfully cultivated, when the fishings were good, and the price of cattle high, the crofter found his croft more than sufficient for his wants, and when a son or daughter married he divided it with the young couple, who built themselves another house upon it, lived upon the produce, and paid a part of the rent. Thus many crofts which still stand in the rent roll in the name of one occupant, who is held responsible for the whole rent, are in fact occupied by two, three, or even four families. On some properties an effort was made to prevent this subdivision. The erection of an additional house on any croft was prohibited, and the prohibition was enforced; but the evil was not thereby arrested. The married son or daughter was received into the house of the original occupant, and if the land were not actually divided it was not the less required to support two or more families.

Attempts were in some cases made to put an end to this practice; but they were found to involve so much apparent cruelty and injustice, and it was so revolting to the feelings of all concerned that children should be expelled from the houses of their parents, that the evil was submitted to and still continues. The population was progressively increasing, and a large part of the increase was accumulated upon the crofts. Other circumstances contributed to the same results. The manufacture of kelp, which at one time brought to the proprietors in these districts a revenue equal to that derived from the land, gave employment to a great number of the inhabitants; but as that employment was only for six weeks or two months, and it was necessary to provide for the manufacturer the means of living during the whole year, small crofts were assigned to many persons in situations favourable to the manufacture, which was not alone sufficient to maintain a family, but which with the wages of the manufacturer were sufficient. When a change in the fiscal regulations destroyed this manufacture, these crofters, though deprived of a chief portion of their maintenance, did not seek refuge in emigration, but clung all the more closely to their small crofts, which were now insufficient to support them.'

In the manner thus clearly and strikingly described the population in the Hebrides and Western Highlands continued steadily to increase, while the means of subsistence continued as steadily to diminish. Even before the potato failure the people suffered frequently from scarcity, and were almost constantly on the verge of it. Their means in ordinary years were only just sufficient to afford them a bare subsistence, and of course the unfavourable season of 1846 plunged them at once into the severest distress. The potato failure found them in their usual state of poverty and privation, and even a much slighter pressure would have brought them to the utmost extremity of wretchedness.

So far there was a close resemblance between the circumstances of the Highlanders and of the Irish; but in one point there was fortunately a marked contrast. Nearly the whole of the encumbered estates in the districts where the greatest amount of poverty and distress existed, had some years before the occurrence of the potato blight been sold either by the embarrassed proprietors or their creditors, and had been purchased by gentlemen of great wealth and enterprise, who spent enormous sums of money in improving their estates and giving employment to the crofters and cottars. Sir James Matheson purchased in 1844 the island of Lewis, an old possession of the Seaforth family. It contains about 400,000 acres, of which 10,000 are arable, and the population amounted to nearly 20,000. He immediately commenced improvements on an extensive scale, under the superintendence of men of great ability and of long experience, with the view chiefly of giving employment to the inhabitants. In six years he expended on works of various kinds, executed by the people, £101,878, besides donations of £5892 for purposes of education and charity—or £67,980 (exclusive of cost of management) more than the whole revenue derived from the property in three years, deducting taxes and public burdens; but the result was most unsatisfactory. Mr. Rainy, the resident proprietor of the island of Raasay, expended between 1846 and 1850, in draining, trenching, road-making, and other improvements for the benefit of his people, the sum of £1672 in addition to his entire revenue from the estate. In the end he had spent upon it a sum equal to the price which he paid for the island. In the parishes of Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, in the isle of Mull, the stipulated rental of which is £4371, the Duke of Argyll expended, between 1846 and 1852, the sum of £1790 in addition to the whole revenue derived from the property. Mr. Clark of Ulva, in the four years succeeding 1846, expended on wages of labour and

gratuities not only the whole revenue derived from this estate, but £367 from other sources. The proprietors of Sorne, Coll, and Harris made similar sacrifices for the benefit of the crofters and cottars on their estates; and Colonel Gordon, the proprietor of South Uist and Barra, during the seven years between 1845 and 1852, expended no less than £19,752 in labour and relief, and during the last four the expenditure exceeded the revenue by £4834. The disheartening result in all these and other similar instances was that, notwithstanding the large outlay on wages and the extensive improvements effected, the condition of the people continued to decline.

In addition to the efforts of the proprietors to check the increasing poverty of the people, and to relieve their distress, a 'Destitution Fund' was raised by voluntary subscription in Scotland, England, the Colonies, and Foreign Countries, on the failure of the potato crop, and the general dearth of food in 1847. It was administered by two committees—one sitting in Edinburgh and the other in Glasgow—who undertook the care of different districts. They employed paid agents to take charge of the distribution of their bounty on the spot, who seem to have discharged with prudence and fidelity the duty intrusted to them during the four years over which the fund was extended. Stringent regulations were rigidly enforced in order to obviate the danger that the relief provided by the Poor Law for one class of destitute persons, and that provided by voluntary charity for another, might be confounded together by the working population in remote parishes. The labour test was applied, and at the same time the amount of relief was reduced to a bare subsistence. The experience of several years enabled the administrators to mature their system, and correct, under the local superintendence of paid officers, whatever had been found defective. 'Yet,' says Sir John M'Neill in his Report, 'men of all classes and denominations concur almost unanimously in the opinion that the relief

thus administered had a prejudicial effect on the character and habits of the people; that it induced them to misrepresent their circumstances in order to participate in it, and caused them to relax their exertions for their own maintenance. The extent to which they had become demoralized frequently extorted from the old inhabitants expressions of bitter lamentation. This effect is attributed not only to the relief from the Destitution Fund, but also to the change in the laws for the relief of the poor; but whatever may be the cause, the fact is unquestionable, that a people who some years ago carefully concealed their poverty have learned to parade and, as a matter of course, to exaggerate it.' So completely had the people been demoralized by the charitable assistance given to them from time to time, that numbers of the men who were at work in the Lowlands, and were in the receipt of good wages, threw up their employment and returned to the Highlands, in order that they might obtain a share of the eleemosynary aid administered at their homes.

The almost unanimous testimony of the persons best fitted to form an intelligent and impartial opinion on the subject shows, that the charitable aid administered for so many years exercised a pernicious influence on the people, in sapping their self-dependence, in relaxing their exertions, in checking the regular stream of emigration which had set in before the famine, and even in diminishing the number of those who used to go south in summer for employment. So long as an eleemosynary supply of food, even though scanty, could be obtained, they would make no effort to earn their own bread. It was positively declared by many that 'there were able-bodied men in Lewis who would starve, and allow their families to starve, rather than earn their subsistence by daily labour.'

'The inhabitants of Lewis,' says Sir John M'Neill, 'appear to have no feeling of thankfulness for the aid extended to them, but on the contrary regard the exaction of

labour in return for wages as oppression. Yet many of these very men, on a coast singularly destitute of safe creeks, prosecute the winter cod and ling fishing in open row-boats, at a distance from the land that renders it invisible unless in clear weather, and in a sea open to the Atlantic and Northern Oceans, with no land beyond it nearer than Iceland or America. They cheerfully encounter the perils and hardships of such a life, and tug for hours at an oar, or sit drenched in their boat without complaint; but to labour with a pick or a spade is to them most distasteful. It was even found necessary to bring labourers from other districts to execute part of the work, because the inhabitants could not be induced to engage or to persevere in it.'

Sir James Matheson, whose princely liberality was met by the most disheartening ingratitude, offered the most liberal aid to all who were willing to emigrate. 'He proposed to cancel all arrears of rent, forgive them all debts, purchase their cattle if they could find no other purchasers, provide them with a free passage to Canada, and even, if a sufficient number went, to send a pastor of their own persuasion with them at his expense. But few were found to take advantage of such offers. The like offer was made to the inhabitants of Harris, with the further boon of being settled in Canada on the property of the same noble family under whom they lived at home. Not one family would accept; nor were they disposed to seek employment nearer home.'

'It is not easy,' says Sir John M'Neill, 'to determine how much of this indisposition is to be attributed to ignorance and want of previous intercourse with other places, and how much to the efforts which have been made to support them at home. They have certainly considered not only the relief from the Destitution Fund, but also the wages and gratuities furnished by the proprietor, too much in the light of assistance to which they had a right, and which would therefore be permanent.'

It is evident that a permanent improvement of a population such as this can only be brought about by a total change of their condition, as well as of their state of feeling, and by their means of subsistence and their numbers being brought into harmony. The first step, and indeed the grand pre-requisite towards this most desirable consummation, is the extensive and speedy removal to our colonies of all who cannot find full employment and a comfortable sustenance at home; and the second is by the gradual operation of education, and other concurring influences, to strengthen the character and to essentially improve the habits of the people.

At the time when the Government and the Legislature were called upon to grapple with the calamity of famine and pestilence which had fallen upon Ireland, and, though in a less destructive form, also upon the Western Islands and Highlands of Scotland, the country was passing through a period of severe commercial distress, the result of the extravagant speculations of the year 1845. Employment had grown scarce, wages had fallen, the crops had failed throughout the greater part of Europe, and in consequence our trade with the continental countries had greatly diminished. Bankruptcies were increasing in number, and the working classes, pinched by poverty, had grown discontented and restless. In February, 1847, the price of wheat rose to 102s. a quarter, and it rose still higher in the following months. A heavy cloud hung over the land, and it became denser and darker as the year advanced. The monetary confusion became so great that the trade and enterprise of the country were for a time at a stand-still. Day after day tidings of gigantic failures poured in. It was stated that in Lancashire alone these amounted to nearly £16,000,000, and Birmingham, Glasgow, and other great towns were in the same deplorable condition. The reckless speculations in railway shares were answerable for not a little of the ruin which now fell on the commercial classes; but a variety of other causes contributed to that

result. Great bodies of shareholders in sound railways were obliged to sell out at a ruinous loss. The immense fall in the price of corn made many of the largest houses bankrupt. Several considerable banks stopped payment. A panic arose which reached a crisis when it was found that on the 21st October the reserve in the Bank of England had sunk to £1,600,025. Credit was suspended, and the whole trade of the country seemed about to be paralyzed. The pressure of the great London banking houses at length induced the Government in this emergency to authorize the Bank of England on the 25th October to issue notes beyond the amount prescribed by the Bank Charter of 1844, on the ground that 'the time had arrived when they ought to attempt by some extraordinary and temporary measure to restore confidence to the mercantile and manufacturing community.' The good effect of this step was immediately felt. Confidence was restored, gold began to pour in, the coffers of the bank were speedily replenished, and by the end of January, 1848, the rate of interest had fallen from eight to four per cent. It is much to the credit of the Government and the Legislature, and especially to the great body of the people of England and Scotland, that embarrassed as they were with these financial difficulties, and straitened in their own circumstances, not only were the immense sums of public money given without a murmur, but private subscriptions were made on an unprecedented scale of liberality to relieve the sufferings of their Irish fellow-subjects.

It is noteworthy that the last time the great Irish agitator, Daniel O'Connell, addressed the House of Commons (8th February, 1847), was on the subject of the distress which at that time prevailed so widely in Ireland. His health had for some time been failing, and the sufferings of his countrymen had completely crushed his spirit. His voice was now sunk almost to a whisper, but the members from all sides of the House

gathered round the eloquent orator to listen to the last words delivered by him in the House of Commons, which formed an appropriate close to his career there.

'I am afraid,' he said, 'that the House is not sufficiently aware of the extent of the misery; I do not think that its members are sufficiently impressed with the horrors of the situation of the people of Ireland. I do not think they understand the miseries, the accumulated miseries, under which the people are at present suffering. It has been estimated that 5000 adults and 10,000 children have already perished from famine, and that 25 per cent. of the whole population will perish unless the House will afford effective relief. They will perish of famine and disease unless the House does something speedy and efficacious—not doled out in small sums, not in private and individual subscriptions, but by some great act of national generosity, calculated on a broad and liberal scale. If this course is not pursued Parliament is responsible for the loss of 25 per cent. of the population of Ireland. I assure the House most solemnly that I am not exaggerating. I can establish all I have said by many and many painful proofs, and the necessary result must be typhus fever, which in fact has broken out and is desolating whole districts. It leaves alive only one in ten of those whom it attacks.'

With the hope that change of climate and relief from the distressing scenes which he witnessed at home, might restore his health and reinvigorate his constitution, O'Connell resolved to pay a visit to Rome. The Pontiff, Pius IX., who was at that time pursuing a course of popular measures soon to have a painful termination, was preparing, with the cordial approbation of his subjects, a triumphal reception for the man who had done so much for the Roman Catholics of Ireland, when the tidings reached him that the Liberator's illness had terminated somewhat suddenly at last, at Genoa, on the 15th of May, in the seventy-second year of his age. His heart was

embalmed and carried on to Rome; his body was conveyed back to Ireland, and interred with great pomp and ceremony in the cemetery of Glasnevin, near Dublin. In 1869 his remains were removed from the vault where they had lain twenty-two years, and placed in a new tomb erected in the same cemetery. No one will question the vast importance of the services which O'Connell rendered to his own countrymen, though the drawbacks were not inconsider-

able. If the moral qualities of 'the Liberator' had been equal to his intellectual powers, his reputation as a patriot would have been held in as great respect among Englishmen and Scotsmen as it once was among his own countrymen. But the agitators who since his death have acquired a predominant influence in Ireland, have been of such a character as to make O'Connell regretted even by those who in his lifetime were most strongly opposed to his policy.

CHAPTER V.

Dissolution of Parliament and the new Election—Anarchy and crime in Ireland—Coercion Bill—State of affairs in Spain—Intrigues of the Queen-Mother—Proposals for the Marriage of the young Queen and her Sister—Demands of the French Ministry—Statement of Lord Aberdeen—Louis Philippe's pledge to Queen Victoria—Policy of M. Guizot—Intrigues of M. Bresson—Marriage of Isabella and the Infanta—Breach of faith on the part of the French King—Its effects on his character and position—Annexation of Cracow by Austria—Condition of Portugal—Civil war between the Government and the Junta—Unsatisfactory state of affairs in Spain—Dissensions in Switzerland—War between the Sonderbund and the Diet—Pope Pius IX.—His reforms and character—Influence of his policy on the other Continental States—Lord Minto's Mission—Alarming state of France—Submission of Abd-el-Kader—Unpopular policy of Louis Philippe—The Reform Banquets—The last of them prohibited by the Government—Riots in the streets—Resignation of the Ministry—Conflict between the Troops and the Populace—M. Thiers appointed President of the Council—Abdication of the King—Failure of the attempt to appoint the Duchess of Orleans Regent—Dissolution of the Chambers—Storming of the Palais Royal—The Republic proclaimed—Flight of the King and Queen—Their escape to England.

THE Parliament was dissolved in the month of July, 1847, and the writs for the new election were made returnable on the 21st of September. The adoption of Free Trade had removed the main question on which the two political parties had for some years contended, and there was no subject of any great importance to excite popular feeling. The recent split in the Conservative party had greatly impaired their strength, and the supporters of Sir Robert Peel were much more friendly to the Government than to the Protectionists, who looked to Lord Stanley, Lord George Bentinck, and Mr. Disraeli as their leaders. On the whole, the Government gained by the elections. The city of London returned three Liberals, with Lord John Russell at the head of the poll, and one Conservative, who gained his seat by only three votes. Westminster sent De Lacy Evans and Lushington, and the other metropolitan burghs returned Radicals rather than Whig candidates. Roebuck was ejected from Bath, which he had represented for fifteen years. Edinburgh, to the surprise and regret of many, showed its resentment at Mr. Macaulay's votes in favour of the Maynooth grant by placing him third on the poll. Mr. Villiers, the veteran leader of the Free Trade party in the House of Commons, was returned for South Lancashire, as well as for Wolverhampton, which he had repre-

sent since 1835; and Mr. Cobden was elected both for the West Riding of Yorkshire and for Stockport. Mr. Gladstone's seat for Oxford was vigorously but unsuccessfully assailed by a Mr. Round, a champion of the No-Popery party. Sir John B. Hobhouse, however, was defeated at Nottingham by a combination of Protectionists and Chartists; and by an equally unnatural alliance of Orangemen and Repealers Mr. Reynolds was returned for Dublin along with Mr. Grogan.

The Ministry, however, had not gained much strength by the election, and their stability was dependent on the divisions among their opponents rather than on the cordiality of their supporters. They found it necessary to summon the new Parliament to meet on the 18th of November, in consequence both of the commercial distress prevailing throughout England and Scotland, and the distracted and dangerous state of affairs in Ireland. In that unhappy country no gratitude had been either expressed or felt for the munificent aid which England and Scotland had so readily given to the Irish people in the time of their distress. The increase of crime kept pace with the progress of the famine. The new Ministry, on their accession to office, proposed the temporary renewal of the Arms Bill; but in consequence of the dissatisfaction which this proposal caused among their

supporters, they were obliged to drop the measure. It speedily became apparent, however, that extraordinary powers were necessary for the repression of crime in Ireland. The outrages upon life and property, as Lord Stanley remarked, had made the state of the country that of civil war. 'One by one,' he added, 'the best members of society fall victims of assassination, and it is now an admitted fact that it is safer in that island to violate than to obey the law.' Adequate powers to grapple with this state of anarchy and crime could no longer be delayed, and by rejecting the Coercion Bill the Government had now to pay the merited penalty of their union with the Protectionists to overthrow the Peel Ministry. They found themselves compelled to come with a very bad grace to Parliament, and to solicit from it powers even greater than those which they had assisted in refusing to their predecessors.

On the 28th of November, six days after the Parliament met, Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, introduced a Coercion Bill for the purpose of repressing assassination, attempts on life, incendiarism, and robberies of arms in Ireland. These crimes had more than doubled in the course of a few months. In the month of October the total number had been 195; 139 had occurred in the counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary. In the six months ending October, 1847, the number of homicides was 96; the number of attempts on life, 126; the number of firings of dwellings, 116; and the number of robberies of arms, 530. Even in the face of these facts there were found some members who resisted coercion in every shape, and taunted the Ministry with the adoption of the policy which they had opposed when brought forward by Sir Robert Peel—to whom, an Irish member said, reparation was due for having turned him out of office on a Coercion Bill. But that noble-minded statesman, casting aside all personal feelings of resentment, gave his hearty support to the measure introduced by Sir George Grey, and declared

that 'now the best reparation that could be made to the last, was to assist the present Government in passing into a law the measure they had brought forward.' The Bill was carried through the House of Commons by overwhelming majorities, and passed the House of Lords without a division.

The state of affairs on the Continent at this time, and especially in Spain, was causing no little uneasiness to the British ministry. That country was in its chronic state of dissension, and almost anarchy. A military revolution, which broke out at La Grange, a summer palace at which Queen Christina was then residing, expelled the *Moderados* from office, and the *Progresistas* or Liberal party came into power, organized a National Guard throughout the towns, and established municipal corporations on a popular basis. The civil war, which had so long raged in Spain between the Carlists and the Christinas, terminated successfully for the Queen Regent, mainly through the support given to her cause by the National Guard and the popular corporations. But she had never forgiven the insult she had experienced at La Grange, and encouraged by the *Moderados*—the aristocratic party in Spain—she determined to make an attempt at remodelling the constitution. The first blow was aimed at the corporations; but they saw their danger, and the National Guard took up arms in their behalf. Everything at such a crisis depended on the army, and Queen Christina resolved to try the effect of her personal charms and eloquence on General Espartero, the commander-in-chief, who had acquired extraordinary influence in the country by his success in bringing the civil war to a termination. She left the capital and repaired to the camp in the neighbourhood of Barcelona. But the honest soldier was proof against all her arguments and blandishments; and finding that she could not carry out her policy, the Queen sought refuge in France, and was succeeded in the Regency by the

general whom she had failed either to convince or seduce from duty. This result was the reverse of agreeable to Louis Philippe and his ministers, who had relied on Queen Christina to maintain a French party at the Spanish court; and they thought fit to impute both the insurrection at La Grange and the overthrow of the Queen Regent's rule to the influence of British gold and of the resident minister at Madrid. They therefore did not hesitate to give underhand encouragement to the various intrigues and plots against Espartero's government. At length an extensive rising of the *Moderados* took place in 1843, aided by a dissatisfied section of the *Progresistas*, which was brought to a successful issue by the landing at Valencia of General Narvaez, a *Moderado* officer of repute, who had been for some time an exile in France. Marching rapidly on the Spanish capital, he defeated a considerable body of troops in its vicinity, and entering the city at once established his authority. General Espartero was forced to embark for England. Queen Isabella, who was in her thirteenth year, was immediately invested with the royal authority, and her mother returned to Spain and married a young officer of the Royal Guard named Muñoz, to whom she had already borne several children. The obnoxious corporations were remodelled, the National Guard was suppressed, and a law which had been passed while the *Progresistas* were in power, requiring the Queen to seek the sanction of the Cortes to the husband she might select, was abolished.

These sweeping changes prepared the way for resuming and carrying into effect plans which had long been contemplated, for making such arrangements for the marriage of the young Queen and her sister as should be fitted to perpetuate both the interests of France in Spain and the influence of the *Moderados* on Spanish affairs. The French court and ministry, of which M. Guizot was the head, were bent on making these marriages subservient both to political and dynastic interests. So far back as 1840,

when the two princesses were mere children, Guizot said to Lord Palmerston, 'The Queen will marry Cadiz, and then Montpensier will marry the Infanta.' The evident objections to a scheme which might not improbably have seated a French prince on the Spanish throne, and made France the predominating power in that country, were at once stated by the British minister; but there is good reason to believe that M. Guizot never lost sight of the idea. It has transpired that the Queen-Mother had gone much further, and had made proposals to Louis Philippe for a double marriage, which would have united Queen Isabella to the Duke D'Aumale and the Infanta to the Duke de Montpensier. But the French king, though ever on the watch to promote the interests of his family, and by no means scrupulous as to the means he employed for that purpose, saw clearly the imminent dangers which such a step would involve, and declined the proposal. He went further, and declared both to the English ministers and the Queen that he would give his consent to no arrangement which would have the effect of placing the crown of Spain upon the head of any of his sons.

In return for this concession he urged upon the British Government to give their assent to a stipulation, that the young Queen's choice of a husband should be limited to a member of the Bourbon family descended from Philip V. of Spain. The proposal was both unjust in itself and insulting to the dignity of the Queen and the Spanish nation, and the British Government steadily refused their consent to it. The reply of Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, always was, 'The Queen, being absolutely free, and Spain independent, no other Power could pretend to dictate upon such a subject. If Spain, however, decided to accept a Bourbon within the limitations mentioned by the King of the French, Great Britain would readily acquiesce, all the more because of the positive exclusion of his sons pronounced by the King of the French.' Lord Aberdeen ought to have

adopted a bolder course, and to have insisted that the offensive restriction should be withdrawn; and there can be no doubt that the mild tone of the British Foreign Secretary emboldened the French king to persist in his underhand intrigue for the marriage of the Infanta to his son the Duke de Montpensier. Meanwhile, however, this purpose was carefully kept out of sight, and when it was ultimately avowed in 1845 Louis Philippe assured Lord Aberdeen, during the visit which the Queen paid to him at Eu, that he had resolved not to proceed with the match until Queen Isabella should be married and *should have children*. On the same occasion he gave a voluntary pledge to Queen Victoria that 'he never would hear of Montpensier's marriage with the Infanta of Spain until it was no longer a political question, *which would be when the Queen is married and has children*.'

Meanwhile the Queen-Mother had indirectly intimated her desire that the hand of her daughter should be given either to the reigning Duke of Coburg, Prince Albert's brother, or his cousin Prince Leopold, brother of the King of Portugal and third son of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg. The proposal, however, met with no countenance from the British Ministry, though there is good reason to believe that it would have been highly acceptable to the poor young Queen herself, whose personal happiness was about to be ruthlessly sacrificed for selfish and sinister purposes by her mother and the French king; and the French Government were made distinctly aware that Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues had resolved to give no encouragement to the Coburg match.

The restriction of the Queen's hand to a Bourbon of the line of Philip V., strenuously insisted on by Louis Philippe, left Isabella a very limited and by no means an acceptable choice. The only qualified candidates, in the estimation of the French king, were Count Montemolin, the son of Don Carlos; the Count de Trapani, the youngest brother of the King of Naples

and of Christina the Queen-Mother, and consequently Queen Isabella's uncle; and the two sons of the Infant Don Francisco de Paula the Queen's uncle—Don Francisco de Assis, Duke of Cadiz, and his younger brother Don Enrique, the Duke of Seville. The son of Don Carlos was not to be thought of. The Count de Trapani was most unpopular in Spain, and was detested by the Queen-Mother. The Duke of Cadiz was every way, intellectually and physically, a poor creature; and there were reports, which Queen Christina herself believed to be true, that it was most improbable that the young Queen would have any children to him if he became her husband. Don Enrique, again, was obnoxious both to the Queen and the Government, on account of his personal arrogance as well as of his political opinions, and he was at this time actually an exile on account of his supposed complicity in the plots of the *Progresistas*.

M. Guizot himself admitted that the Bourbon candidates had little chance of success. In a memorandum sent by him to the French ambassador in London, in February, 1846, and read to Lord Aberdeen, he said—

'The Count de Trapani is greatly compromised. 1. By the demonstration which has been made against him. 2. By the fall of General Narvaez.

'The sons of the Infante Don François de Paul are greatly compromised; by their mistaken conduct; by their intimacy with the Radical and the antipathy of the Moderate party; by the dislike of the Queen-Mother and of the *young Queen herself*.

'The sons of Don Carlos are for the time out of the question. 1. By the opposition, loudly proclaimed, of all parties. 2. By their exclusion formally pronounced by the Constitution. 3. By their own proceedings, which have always been very remote from conduct which could alone give them a chance.

'The actual situation of the descendants of Philippe V. in the question of the marriage of the Queen of Spain, has therefore become bad.'

The Count Trapani had hitherto been the favourite candidate of the French Government; but their persistent efforts to force on a marriage between the young Queen and her own uncle had completely failed. The sons of Don Carlos 'were out of the question.' There remained therefore only the Dukes of Cadiz and Seville, whom Guizot admitted were disliked both by the Queen-Mother and her daughter; and yet after this acknowledgment he had the effrontery to say, that 'the English Cabinet must take active steps in concert with us to press home the claim of one of the descendants of Philip V., *no matter which*, and to arrange his marriage with Queen Isabella, and in the meanwhile to prevent the marriage of the Infanta either with Prince Leopold or any other prince not a descendant of Philip V.' And this statement was accompanied by the assertion of the monstrous proposition that 'France shall consider herself absolved from all her engagements, either as to the Queen or the Infanta, if their marriage either 'to Prince Leopold, or any other prince not a descendant of Philip V., shall become probable and imminent.'

Now that the chances of the Bourbon candidates seemed desperate, it appears that the court and the Government of Madrid once more turned their thoughts towards Prince Leopold, who as a Roman Catholic, and a young, active, intelligent, and good-looking person, seemed likely to make a good husband to the Queen and a good king to the country. 'The Government of England,' said Sir Henry Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling), who was at this time British Minister at Madrid, 'could have no possible reason for pushing forward this alliance, the Government of France no plausible reason for opposing it. The only objection that could be taken was the family one of Louis Philippe, viz., that the proposed husband was not a Bourbon. But when the tranquillity of Spain, and the happiness of its sovereign, and the concord of Europe were all concerned in not carrying to an

extreme a most absurd pretension of family pride, there was no irrational hope that this pretension would be ultimately laid aside if Spain acted resolutely and asserted her rights. This was the Queen-Mother's opinion. She determined therefore on addressing a letter, containing the proposal for a marriage between Queen Isabella and Prince Leopold of Coburg, to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, then at Lisbon; and she requested Sir Henry Bulwer to allow this letter to go, as her letters and the despatches of the Spanish Government could always go, by his messenger. She told him, however, what the letter contained. Sir Henry would not refuse a letter from the Queen-Mother to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg. He would not argue against a Coburg marriage, because his Government had said that the Queen of Spain was free to marry whom she thought proper; but he said to the Queen-Mother, what he had formerly said to Count Bresson, that a Coburg marriage was not an English one, and that he saw no reason for supposing that the English Government would support it if it were.'

Sir Henry Bulwer remained to the last under the conviction that the Queen-Mother had made this proposal in all sincerity; but facts were subsequently brought to the knowledge of our Government, which led them to believe that it was merely a trap which had been devised in the hope that it would be countenanced by Lord Aberdeen, and would thus afford a plausible plea for the renunciation by Louis Philippe of his pledge to postpone the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier until the Queen had married and had children. The Duke of Saxe-Gotha, however, after ascertaining the opinions of his own family, including the King of the Belgians, and also those of Lord John Russell's Cabinet, declined the proposal, mainly on the ground of the injury likely to result to Spain from a marriage contracted in opposition to the views of the French King and his Ministers. Of this fact both Louis Philippe and M. Guizot were made aware, and the latter

acknowledges in his 'Memoirs' that he was thoroughly convinced of the perfect sincerity of the Prince and the Ministry, both in their intentions and their words.

In the meantime, however, M. Bresson, the French Minister at the Court of Madrid, acting under the instructions of M. Guizot, had zealously pressed his negotiations with the Queen-Mother and the Government, and on the 12th July, 1846, he announced to the French Prime Minister that he had obtained their consent to the simultaneous marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Cadiz and of the Infanta with the Duke de Montpensier. It is only a bare act of justice to Louis Philippe to say that when information of this arrangement was communicated to him he expressed his strong disapproval, and wrote to M. Guizot, 'It is indispensable that the Queen be made aware that Bresson was forbidden to say what he has said, and that the simultaneity is inadmissible.' There is no reason, however, to believe that the disavowal was ever made, and Bresson was not recalled, but remained at the Court of Madrid to carry out the 'inadmissible' arrangement. Guizot was not to be diverted from the policy on which his heart was set, and he seems to have found no great difficulty in reconciling the King to the breach of his word. A pretext to justify this immoral conduct was discovered in a despatch of Lord Palmerston, in which he spoke of the candidates for the Queen's hand being reduced to three, 'namely, the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg and the two sons of Don Francisco de Paula. As between these three, Her Majesty's Government have only to express their sincere wish that the choice may fall upon the one who may be most likely to secure the happiness of the Queen and to promote the welfare of the nation.'

Although the very despatch which contained this statement spoke of Don Enrique as 'the candidate who appeared to us the most eligible, because the most likely to prove acceptable to the people of Spain,'

the French King and his Minister professed to have inferred from it that the Coburg marriage had become 'probable and imminent,' and that France was therefore liberated from its engagement. But, as Queen Victoria remarked, 'the very danger which the French declared would absolve them of their promise, viz., Leopold's marrying the Queen, was put an end to by the Queen's marrying Don Francisco! Why then join on the marriage of the Infanta?' Nothing more was necessary to expose the hollowness and insincerity of the pretext put forth as an apology for Louis Philippe's scandalous breach of faith; and the elaborate defence of his conduct which he sent to his daughter, the Queen of the Belgians, for the perusal of our Queen, elicited a crushing reply which not only stripped off the flimsy and dishonest allegations by which he sought to shift the imputation of want of sincerity from himself to the English Government, but made him aware, to his great alarm, that his trickery had lost him both the confidence of the Queen and the friendship of the country.

Louis Philippe deluded himself with the notion that the people of Great Britain were wholly indifferent as to the subject of the Spanish marriage. It was a private affair, he said everywhere, between Lord Palmerston and himself, and would therefore entail no political consequences. M. Guizot boasted that he had achieved a great political triumph over England. 'The affair of the Spanish marriages,' he said, 'is the first grand thing that we have effected, completely single-handed, in Europe since 1830.' He admitted to Lord Normanby, the British ambassador in Paris, that it would create a bad feeling in Britain, but 'nothing that will last.' The French monarch and his Minister were, however, speedily undeceived in regard to this point. Apart from the flagrant breach of faith which the transaction involved on the part of Louis Philippe, merely for the purpose of promoting his family interest,

the haughty heartlessness with which the feelings, affections, and happiness of the young Queen had been sacrificed was an outrage to the public feeling of Europe. The language of vehement condemnation was heard on every side. The leading statesmen of both parties in Britain felt deeply, as Lord Aberdeen said, 'the breach of the engagement.' 'Everybody,' said the calm and judicious Lord Lansdowne, 'must now see the necessity of turning over a new leaf with Louis Philippe, whose conduct will not increase his power, *which after all must be chiefly made up of opinion*, though it may imperil the relations hitherto subsisting between States.' 'You cannot represent too strongly to the King and Queen my indignation and my sorrow at what has been done,' wrote Queen Victoria to her uncle, King Leopold, Louis Philippe's son-in-law. 'Prince Albert felt the blow as a man must,' wrote Stockmar, 'as unrighteous in its essence, as a national insult in the shape it took, and a personal wrong.'

The absolute sovereigns on the Continent and their Ministers saw with great satisfaction the dissolution of the '*entente cordiale*' which had existed since 1836 between Great Britain and France; but at the same time they made no secret of the unfavourable opinion they had formed of the transaction. 'Tell M. Guizot from me,' said Prince Metternich, 'that one does not with impunity play little tricks with great countries. He knows I do not think much of public opinion; it is not one of my instruments, but it has its effect. The English Government have done their best to establish Louis Philippe in public opinion. They can withdraw what they gave; and I have always said the moment he loses that, he is on the very verge of a war, and his is not a dynasty that can stand a war.' Baron Stockmar, writing to the Queen (15th September, 1846), said that the transaction would appear in the eyes of Europe 'a piece of selfish and wicked policy, from the scandal of which the King's fame will never recover.'

The two marriages were celebrated at the same time, on the 10th of October, which was Queen Isabella's birthday; and the French king and his minister congratulated themselves and the French people on the success of their long-cherished project, which they deemed a masterpiece of policy, although both were well aware that it had been purchased by the loss of the friendship of the British Government and people, which, however, they imagined would only prove temporary.

The coolness which had taken place between Great Britain and France was matter of great satisfaction to the arbitrary continental powers—Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and they immediately took advantage of it to suppress the Republic of Cracow, which the Treaty of Vienna had declared to be 'a free and independent city.' When a Polish insurrection broke out in Silesia, in February, 1846, a revolutionary Provisional Government was installed in Cracow. The insurgents were, however, speedily defeated, and the city was occupied by the allied forces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, who stipulated that the militia of the Republic should not be reorganized, and that the town should be occupied alternately by the troops of the three Powers. This step was admittedly a violation of the Treaty of Vienna, and it naturally excited the suspicions of both Britain and France, who agreed in declaring that that Treaty must be upheld. Lord Palmerston, at the close of the session, significantly expressed a hope 'that the Governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia would recollect that if the Treaty of Vienna was not good on the Vistula, it might be equally invalid on the Rhine and on the Po.' If the two Western Powers had remained united, the other three parties to the Treaty would in all probability not have ventured to go further. But, emboldened by their knowledge that a coldness had arisen between Britain and France, they ventured to annihilate the last shred of Polish independence. Without any previous communication

with these two Governments, Austria proclaimed, on the 11th of November, that with the concurrence of the other protecting Powers—Russia and Prussia—she had annexed the city and territory of Cracow, and incorporated them as an inseparable portion of the empire. Formal protests were separately made by France and England against the annexation of Cracow, but these were of course disregarded, as the Northern despots were well aware that they would not be followed by any aggressive measures. The high-handed proceedings of the allied Powers, however, were as unwise as they were immoral, and they were speedily followed by merited retribution.

The alienation between the two constitutional Governments of Europe seemed likely to exercise a more injurious influence upon the affairs of Portugal. Though the young Queen had been indebted to Britain for the possession of her throne, she had fallen under the influence of the French Court and Ministry, who had laboured to weaken British influence in her kingdom. Yielding to the suggestions of unprincipled advisers, she had been guilty of various arbitrary and unconstitutional actions, and had deprived her subjects of a portion of their just rights. Civil war had in consequence broken out between the Government and the Junta. The British Minister had warned her, but without effect, that 'a throne whose stability rests on the point of the bayonet has a very ticklish and uncertain basis,' and that Britain would neither support her nor allow Spain to give her assistance in continuing a system of misgovernment. But encouraged by France, Donna Maria and her Prime Minister, the Marquis of Saldanha, who was also commander-in-chief of the army, disregarded these remonstrances, and even proposed to call in a Spanish force to crush the Liberal party. The civil war continued some time longer, but Saldanha proved unable to suppress the insurrection, and was forced to resign. Upon this the Queen accepted the

offers of the British Ministry to mediate between her and the insurgents, upon the terms suggested by Lord Palmerston. The Junta, however, were now unwilling to accept these terms, and at last the British Government was obliged to interpose, and, in conjunction with Spain, brought matters to a specific settlement. Their intervention brought upon them a fierce attack from the united forces of the Radicals and the Protectionists in the House of Commons, which perilled their existence; but with the powerful support of Sir Robert Peel they weathered the storm.

In Spain affairs were in a most unsettled state. Ministry followed ministry in such rapid succession that no fewer than six were formed and dissolved in the course of a few months, after the Queen's marriage. Like dissolving views they appeared on the scene one after another for a brief space, and then disappeared without any intelligible reason. Court intrigues and royal scandals were the engrossing themes of public interest. As had been confidently anticipated, the Queen and her husband speedily became completely estranged from each other, and neither appeared together in public nor had the slightest communication in private. At this juncture she retired to Aranjuez, leaving the King-Consort in Madrid, and urged upon her Ministers the necessity of taking immediate steps to procure a divorce. She was on no better terms with her Government than with her husband. The differences between them reached such a height that an abdication was imminent, and was being pressed by the French partizans in the country, though Louis Philippe himself was opposed to that step. In the beginning of October, Narvaez was made President of the Council, and the Queen-Mother a few days after quitted her asylum in France and returned to Madrid—events of evil omen to the stability of the throne and the peace and prosperity of the country.

Switzerland was on the brink of a civil war, which soon after broke out between

the seven Roman Catholic cantons, the Sonderbund, and the other fifteen cantons under the Diet. The dispute was mainly caused by the conduct of the canton of Lucerne in seeking to promote an Ultramontane policy, not only within its own territory, but in the neighbouring cantons, which had the effect of stirring up strife amongst their citizens, and insurrections against the local Government. A revolution which took place at this time in the Canton Vaud and in Berne and Geneva, and substituted a Radical for a Conservative Government, contributed greatly to fan the flame which had been kindled by Lucerne. The Jesuits had long been established in the Valais, Friburg, and Schwytz, with control over the education both of the clergy and of the people; but they now began to manifest unusual activity, perambulating the Roman Catholic cantons as missionaries and special preachers, and denouncing the Liberal Governments as injurious and hostile to religion. The irruption caused by these proceedings was greatly increased by the Grand Council of the canton of Lucerne in adopting a resolution, on the 24th of October, 1844, to invite the Jesuits into Lucerne, and to confide to them the education of the people. Great numbers of those who showed dissatisfaction with this resolution were arrested and imprisoned, and a still greater number fled from the canton to escape similar treatment, so that during the winter of 1844-45 there were not fewer than 1100 exiles from Lucerne scattered throughout the neighbouring cantons. Organized bands of volunteers from Berne, Soleure, Basle-Campagna, and Argau, in conjunction with the exiles, made an attack upon the town of Lucerne; but with the help of contingents from Uri, Zug, and Unterwalden, the citizens defeated and drove out the assailants with considerable loss.

These events contributed to increase the existing hostile feeling against the Government of Lucerne. The Great Council of the canton of Argau had previously proposed in the Diet, on July, 1844, that the

Jesuits should be expelled from Switzerland, but had received scarcely any support. The proposition was renewed in the Diet of 1845, and obtained the votes of ten cantons and two half cantons; nine cantons voted against it. The question in dispute was complicated by the formation early in the year 1846 of the armed separate league, called the Sonderbund, between the cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Friburg, Zug, and Valais. It was alleged to have been instituted exclusively for purposes of common defence; but the members of the league not only bound themselves to furnish contingents of men and money, and to obey a common military authority, but proceeded at once to arm and organize themselves though no attack on them was threatened. On the 20th of July the Diet resolved that the alliance of these seven cantons was incompatible with 'the essential dispositions' of the Federal Compact of 1815, and declared it to be dissolved. The Diet also reserved to itself, should circumstances require, to adopt ulterior measures to enforce obedience to its decree.

On the 3rd of September the Diet decreed that the existence and the secret practices of the Jesuits are incompatible with the order and peace of Switzerland. The cantons in which the Jesuits were established were invited to expel them from their territories, and the admission of the members of the order into any of the cantons was forbidden. The cantons of the Sonderbund protested against both of these decrees as a violation of the rights of the Federal compact, and immediately commenced preparations for war. Commissioners appointed by the Diet visited each of the leagued cantons, and endeavoured to persuade the authorities to submit, but without effect. An attempt at mediation by the canton of St. Gall proved equally ineffectual. Nothing remained, therefore, but an appeal to arms to settle the quarrel.

Accordingly, on the 11th of November, General Dufour, the Commander-in-chief of the Federal forces, appeared before

Friburg at the head of a strong and well-appointed force. The town capitulated on the 13th of that month. On the 22nd his army reached the vicinity of Lucerne, the capital of the Sonderbund, which he attacked on the following day. After a gallant but ineffectual resistance the city surrendered at discretion. The remaining cantons of the Separatist League soon afterwards sent in their submission. Meanwhile the five great Powers had agreed to tender their joint offices as mediators, in order to prevent the effusion of blood; but their tardy proposal came too late. Before their collective note was presented to the Diet the war was at an end, and the Sonderbund was dissolved. The offer of their mediation was therefore declined. It was fortunate that the contest had terminated so speedily, for great apprehensions were entertained that, had it continued much longer, Austria would have interposed on behalf of the Roman Catholic cantons—a step which would in all probability have led to a European war.

Austria, however, had her hands full at home, and was in a state of great apprehension respecting the security of her Italian dominions. The whole of the Peninsula, indeed, was in a state of great political excitement, and a strong feeling pervaded the people that they ought no longer to endure the arbitrary domination of the governments that had so grievously oppressed and degraded them. They were especially determined to throw off the hated yoke of the foreigners, and to compel their native rulers to grant them liberal institutions and a constitutional Government. This movement was greatly accelerated and strengthened by the election to the Papal chair, on the 16th of June, 1846, of Cardinal Mastei, who assumed the name of Pius IX.—an ecclesiastic who was believed to entertain enlightened and liberal views. He immediately published a general amnesty for political offences, and inaugurated several much-needed and highly popular reforms.

At this juncture the British Government

resolved to send the Earl of Minto, Lord Privy Seal, as their confidential representative at Rome, with the view of strengthening the hands of the Pope in the course of action on which he had entered. He was instructed to keep strictly in remembrance that the object of his mission was to assist in securing 'the independence of each State within the proper limits, and the perfect liberty of each Sovereign to undertake any reform he pleased.' He was charged with the task, as Prince Albert said, of 'confirming the Pope and the other Italian Princes in the resolution *themselves* to undertake the most necessary reforms, and not to be afraid of their subjects, to preach to the people confidence in the Government and the intentions of their rulers, and to assure both of the moral protection of England against *foreign* disturbance in the necessary but ticklish process of regeneration.' The liberal movement commenced by the Pope in nominating a Council of Ministers, organizing a National Guard, and commencing various local reforms, had made his name a watchword of freedom and hope throughout the rest of Italy, and induced various other Princes to follow his example in liberalizing their institutions. But unfortunately the Pontiff was not fit to control the movement which he had set on foot. He was exceedingly impulsive, had little firmness or acuteness of intellect, and, like all persons of his class, was very accessible to outward influences. He not only wished to keep the control of the movement in his own hands, but insisted that he alone possessed the right to direct the movement, as it emanated from him, and to say 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further.' It very speedily, however, passed beyond his management. The mission of Lord Minto was regarded by an excitable population unaccustomed to liberty, and inflamed by revolutionary publications and emissaries, with whom Italy was swarming, as an undoubted indication of the sympathy of Great Britain with the demand for a united and independent Italy; and thus

encouraged, as they fancied, they made no secret of their determination to expel the Austrians from the country. Lord Minto was everywhere received with courtesy, and by the revolutionary party with enthusiasm. The Pope treated him with the respect due to the representative of Great Britain, and conversed freely with him; but His Holiness must by this time have become seriously apprehensive that the popular movement was carrying him much further than he intended, or than his own judgment approved. By the republican party the arrival of Lord Minto was hailed as a great triumph; a crowd loudly cheered him on the Piazza de Spagna, while from the windows of the Europe Hotel he made a short speech in favour of Italian independence. He was entertained at a grand banquet, at which not only the ministers of the Council of State were present, but 'the Modern Rienzi,' Cicerovacchio, one of the leaders of the extreme republican party; and no step was left untaken to impress upon the populace the notion that the British Government sympathized with their views.

While Italy, Germany, and Switzerland were in such a state of commotion, the political atmosphere in France was lowering, and threatening an impending tempest. The alienation of England had left the King and his Government without an ally in Europe. The accusations of duplicity and breach of faith which the English journals had brought against Louis Philippe and M. Guizot had been eagerly turned against the Ministry by the Liberal party in France; and they and their master having sown the wind were now about to reap the whirlwind. The murder of the Duchess of Praslin by her husband, followed by his suicide, had given fresh point to the charges of immorality brought against the Court. The lamentable disclosures that had taken place in the affair of MM. Teste and Pellapra had brought to light the discreditable fact that some of the highest officers of the State had been guilty of gross

corruption, that contracts had been procured, spoliation of the public stores connived at, and even high honours conferred for the sake of a bribe. The Government, though mistrusted by the nation, no doubt still possessed a large majority in the Chambers; but it was commonly believed that that majority had been secured by the most prodigal expenditure of public money. The basis of the electoral constituency was so narrow, and the franchise so limited, that it was everywhere said the Government and not the nation were represented in the Chambers. The public finances, too, were in a state of disorder, and the annual deficit was steadily increasing. Want of employment had produced great suffering, and consequently great discontentment among the working classes, and Socialism was widely spread among the artisans of the capital and the other large towns of France. Prince Albert, with characteristic sagacity and foresight, wrote to Baron Stockmar about the close of 1847—'In foreign politics the state of France is the most critical. The proceedings in the law courts have laid bare a state of internal corruption that is frightful, and the effect of these revelations on the mass of the people will be immense. Communism is in the ascendant, and a Parliamentary reform will probably be carried before long, if it be possible for the French to do anything without tumult and insurrection.'

There was a growing conviction in France that the 'King of the Barricades' had systematically violated the principle on which his throne was professedly based—that of a limited monarchy, surrounded by republican institutions; and that he had deliberately recurred to the old Bourbon policy, both at home and abroad. His Ministers had exerted their influence in Switzerland and Italy in favour of the Absolutist party, and it was suspected at the time, and has now been proved beyond a doubt by the revelations of Count d'Haussonville, one of the Ministers, that in consequence of the encouragement given by the British

Cabinet to the Constitutional movement in Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and Italy, France had actually settled the terms of an alliance with Russia, Prussia, and Austria against Great Britain. This proceeding was all the more dangerous to the throne that in general estimation the policy of the Cabinet, both domestic and foreign, had become personally identified with the sovereign, who was believed to have reversed the favourite maxim of the Liberal party in France, 'The king reigns, but does not govern.' In consequence, the general dislike towards the Government was extended to the King himself, and ultimately to the Orleans dynasty. Louis Philippe and his Ministers, however, were apparently quite unconscious of the perilous position in which they stood, and were lulled into a false security by the support which their measures commanded in both Chambers; and the opening of the year 1848 was signalized by an occurrence which, throwing lustre on the French arms, seemed likely to give additional strength to the Government. Abdel-Kader, the indomitable antagonist of the French dominion in Africa, at last yielded to their superior power, and voluntarily surrendered himself to General Lamoricière, on condition of being sent to Alexandria or St. Jean d'Acre. An agreement to this effect was formally made in writing by General Lamoricière, and was solemnly ratified by the Duke d'Aumale, the King's son, the Governor-General of Algeria. But to the great discredit of Louis Philippe and his Ministers, it was deliberately violated by them, and the brave chief was sent to France, where he was detained a prisoner, first at Toulon, and afterwards in the Château d'Amboise. After the lapse of several years he was at length set at liberty by Louis Napoleon, and took up his residence in Syria.

A strong desire for reform of the representative system of France was cherished by all the most thoughtful and patriotic members of the community, and the narrow and restricted character of the franchise was

quite indefensible. But the Ministry most unwisely treated the demand as if it were intended to bring about, not the reform of abuses, but the overthrow of the constitution and the monarchy. In vain were they warned by M. Mesnard, a distinguished member of the Conservative party, that the desire for reform had taken deep root in the public mind, that it was the only subject of conversation and discussion, and had in fact become with the public a sort of necessity, which it would be most dangerous to slight. M. Guizot and his colleagues obstinately adhered to the policy which they had adopted, and treated the moderate reformers as a faction 'who were to be silenced, not by the removal of unquestionable abuses, but, if necessary, by force.'

During the autumn of 1847 a number of Reform banquets, as they were called, were held in different parts of France, at which the conduct of the Ministry was denounced in no measured terms. These banquets, however, had failed to excite public attention or to serve the ends of their promoters. M. Regnault, the 'Secretary of the Central Committee of Reformers,' frankly admits that 'after six months' advertisements, correspondence, meetings, harangues, and all kinds of provocations, the total number of persons throughout the whole of France who took part in these banquets never amounted to 17,000, and towards the close of the year the device was so worn out and discredited that the Central Committee declined at first to sanction the banquet which was intended to be held on the 22nd of February, 1848.'

The banquet referred to was proposed and prepared by the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, and it was the original intention of the Government not to prohibit and prevent it by force, but to protest against the proceedings, and afterwards to try the question of their legality in a court of law. M. Odillon Barrot and the other constitutional reformers had concurred with the Ministry in this arrangement, but the revolutionary party, who, in the words of

their Secretary, 'took electoral reform as a watchword, but abstained from stating their real object,' refused to acquiesce in this course; and to defeat this pacific policy, and render the forbearance of the Ministers impossible, M. Marrast, the editor of the *National*, drew up the *programme* of the banquet in such a form as to give it the air and spirit of an incendiary proclamation. 'With a tone of authority' it called out the National Guards, assigning to each legion the place where it was to assemble, and invited the young men of the University and schools to join the movement. This illegal proceeding, which was intended as an audacious defiance of the Ministry, made the more moderate portion of the Opposition aware of the danger of the course they were following in conjunction with such allies, and determined the Government to prohibit the banquet.

On the evening of the 21st of February there was a meeting of Opposition deputies, journalists, and electors, at which M. Odillon Barrot proposed to adjourn the intended demonstration, and to try the question of the legality of the banquets before the judicial tribunals. This pacific proposal was opposed by Lamartine, Duvergier de Haurane, and Marrast, who taunted the moderate reformers with their cowardly attempt to escape from the responsibility of a crisis which they themselves had created. But prudence prevailed, and Barrot and the great majority of the parliamentary opposition relinquished the public conflict, and contented themselves with bringing before the Chamber an impeachment of the Ministers for the measures which they had adopted.

On the morning of the 22nd the people, excited by the Radical journals, and ignorant that the deputies had withdrawn from the movement, crowded the streets of Paris in a tumultuous manner, and even made some attempts to erect barricades in the most populous parts of the city; but the troops tore them down, removed the materials, and dispersed the mob.

Matters had now assumed a serious aspect. Exclusive of the Legitimists and Bonapartists, who had not yet taken any part in the agitation, there were three distinct parties who had coalesced against the Government—the Parliamentary Opposition, who simply wished to drive M. Guizot and his colleagues from office; the party of the *National*, who were bent on expelling the Orleans dynasty; and the Secret Societies and Communists, who hoped to establish the Red Republic on the ruins of the Monarchy. In this alarming position of matters, when the Chamber of Deputies met on the 23rd, M. Guizot announced the resignation of the Cabinet, and mentioned that the King had sent for Count Mole, and had intrusted him with the formation of a new Ministry. The people had meanwhile assembled in great crowds in the streets, and had erected barricades in various places. Numerous collisions took place during the day between the populace and the troops, but the former gave way whenever they were charged, and but few lives were lost. The most ominous circumstance was the evident reluctance of the National Guards to act against the mob. The announcement, however, in the course of the afternoon, of the resignation of the Ministry was received with enthusiastic delight, and for a time it appeared as if all disturbance was at an end.

In the evening an immense body of the working classes, headed by men who carried blazing torches, marched along the Boulevards. At the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs a strong body of troops was stationed. A man of the name of Lagrange deliberately shot the officer in command dead on the spot. The troops then immediately fired a volley and killed several persons in the crowd. It afterwards transpired that the murder of the officer had been planned by Lagrange and some of his confederates, in order to provoke the troops to fire upon the crowd; and these associates were actually waiting in an adjoining street with tumbrels on which to

place the bodies of those who might lose their lives by the expected volley of the soldiers, and parade them through the streets, and thus rouse the mob to avenge their death.

The news of this occurrence, in the most exaggerated form, spread rapidly through the city, and next morning it was seen that the demands and the attitude of the mob had undergone a serious change. More barricades were erected in the principal streets, and it was evident that, unless the troops and the National Guards were prepared to unite in acting promptly and vigorously, Louis Philippe's throne was placed in imminent danger. Meanwhile, Count Mole had found it impossible to form a Ministry. M. Thiers was therefore sent for by the King in the course of the night of the 23rd, and accepted the office of President of the Council. But the concession came too late. The crowds in the streets received the announcement with shouts of *Vive la République!* and rushed in great numbers towards the Tuileries, where the Ministers were assembled in earnest consultation with the King. At this stage, when all was utter confusion and dismay, the proposal that Louis Philippe should abdicate was first mooted. M. Emile de Girardin, the editor of *La Presse*, hastened to the palace, and on the plea that the Monarchy was placed in imminent danger, urged that the King should at once abdicate the throne in favour of his grandson, the Count de Paris. In the course of the morning one of the guard-houses of the Municipal Guard was stormed by the mob, and the soldiers were all massacred on the spot. Soon after, several regiments of infantry of the line, and a body of the National Guards, allowed the mob without resistance to seize their ammunition and cannon.

Early in the afternoon proclamation was made that Louis Philippe had abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson, but this step came too late to preserve the throne. The Republicans and the Com-

munists were now bent on the expulsion of the Orleans dynasty, and by terrorism and chicanery they succeeded in accomplishing their purpose. At one o'clock on the 24th the Chamber of Deputies assembled, and the Duchess of Orleans and her two sons, accompanied by her brothers-in-law, the Dukes de Nemours and Montpensier, were admitted into the hall. Although there seems to have been a good deal of noise and confusion, the proposal that the Duchess of Orleans should be appointed Regent during the minority of her son was favourably received, and would no doubt have been carried if the question had been speedily put to the Chamber; but the Red Republicans had resolved to provide against this contingency. Regnault states that early in the morning it was arranged between MM. Ledru-Rollin and Caussidière that the latter should collect the armed portion of the Secret Societies, march against the Chamber of Deputies, and collecting all the bodies of insurgents by the way, force an entrance into the Assembly and expel the members. But this movement had been somehow delayed; a great portion of the day had passed and still there was no appearance of the expected auxiliaries. Ledru-Rollin mounted the tribune to create delay. He opposed the regency and denied the right of the Chamber to confer it, in a speech which he spun out designedly to give time for the arrival of Caussidière and his confederates. M. Berryer, impatient of his long harangue, cried 'Question! come to a point.' But the Red Republican orator was far from wishing to come to a point; he only wanted to waste time. At last, seeing that M. Lamartine showed a desire to speak, he made way for him. Lamartine pursued the same subject, and at last, in the middle of his speech, arrived Caussidière and his associates, who burst open the outer doors and filled the galleries and the body of the house with an armed and turbulent mob. The President and the great majority of the members fled. A few devoted friends

carried off the Duchess and her children, who were with great difficulty rescued from the infuriated populace. The deputies who were favourable to a revolution remained, and united with the intruders in preparing a list of a Provisional Government, consisting of MM. Dupont (de l'Éure), Lamartine, Crémieux, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, and Garnier Pages. After the names had been read out, Ledru-Rollin said, 'We must now close the sitting and proceed to the seat of Government.' Upon this announcement the whole body, amidst loud shouts, rushed to the Hotel de Ville. Here was exhibited a scene of wild and tumultuous violence. The hall was filled with a mob in a violent state of excitement, demanding with terrific cries the proclamation of a Republic. Their imperious demand was obeyed; the Republic was proclaimed, and the rule of the Orleans dynasty terminated.

In the meantime a sanguinary conflict had been going on at the Palais Royal, which was occupied by a company of troops of the line. The National Guards had ranged themselves on the side of the insurgents, and the conflict raged with great fury for about two hours. At last a body of the National Guards, conspicuous among whom was Arago, the celebrated astronomer, carried the palace by storm. Before this took place, however, Louis Philippe and the royal family had made their escape. The Duke de Nemours had assumed the command of the troops, which were drawn up in the courtyard of the palace, and there is every reason to believe that they were ready and willing to act against the insurgent populace, but they were reduced to a state of inactivity by the prohibition issued by Thiers and Odillon Barrot, when they were commissioned to form a Ministry, against the troops using their arms. In consequence not a shot was fired, and the troops remained inactive while the mob thronged the courtyard and swarmed round the entrance to the palace. Along with the King and Queen were the Duke and Duchess de Nemours, the Duke and Duchess

de Montpensier, and the Duke and Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg, surrounded by a large number of friends, among whom were the Duke de Broglie, M. Thiers, and many of the principal members of both Chambers.

It had evidently become necessary to take immediate steps to protect the royal family from the imminent danger to which they were exposed. As soon as the resolution to abdicate was taken, the royal carriages were ordered to proceed to the *Grille*, or iron gate of the Tuileries gardens, opening into the Place Louis XV. But as they were crossing the Carrousel they were arrested by the mob there, the outrider that was directing them was wantonly and brutally murdered, the horses were killed, and the carriages themselves were set fire to and burned. The Duke of Nemours, who was stationed in the front court of the Tuileries, which was separated from the Carrousel by the high and massive *Grille*, could do nothing to prevent this outrage. But there happened to be standing in the front court two of those little one-horse carriages called 'Broughams,' and a two-wheeled cabriolet, and the Duke ordered them to proceed to the spot where the travelling carriages had previously been ordered. Under the escort of a body of cavalry, opportunely brought up by General Dumas, the three little carriages were taken to the centre of the Place to which the royal party had made their way through a hostile crowd. Into these carriages, constructed to carry six persons, fifteen were crowded. Some shots were fired at the King after he had got into the first carriage. Escorted by the second regiment of Cuirassiers and a detachment of the cavalry of the National Guard, the dethroned monarch and his family proceeded to St. Cloud, where the escort left them. He thence repaired to Trianon, and in the evening to the old Château of Dreux, where he spent the night.

The royal family, consisting of about twenty persons, found it absolutely necessary to separate, and made their escape literally north, east, south, and west, in

five or six different batches. The King and Queen had intended to proceed to the old Château of Eu, in Normandy, a favourite residence which he had repaired and embellished. But at Dreux he learned that the proposal of a regency had failed, that the Chamber had been dissolved and the monarchy overthrown, and that Paris was in a state of anarchy. This unexpected turn of events made it evident, that nothing remained for the royal pair but to reach some point off the coast of Normandy and embark for England. They accordingly procured disguises, and before daylight next morning set forward on their journey to the coast, travelling chiefly by night. As the roads and railroads were closed against them by the order of the Provisional Government (in all probability by Marrast), they were obliged to travel through byways, and they narrowly escaped interruption near Pacy and arrest at La Roche St. Andre. They reached Honfleur early on the morning of Saturday, the 26th of February, but were prevented from embarking at Trouville, about fifteen miles west of that town, by an order sent from Paris to 'embargo the coasts.' The boisterous state of the weather compelled them to remain there till the following Thursday, though they were in imminent danger of discovery and narrowly escaped arrest. In the meantime arrangements had been secretly made with the commander of the *Express* steamer, which plied between Havre and Southampton, to convey the royal party to England. Louis Philippe, in order to facilitate his escape, obtained a passport made out in the name of 'William Smith,' and contrived to pass through Honfleur in disguise, along with the Queen and attendants, and by means of a fishing boat to reach Havre without being discovered. The *Express* was lying at the quay with her steam up, and the King and Queen at once stepped on board. An official who recognized the King wished to stop the vessel, but she immediately put to sea; and the King and Queen, together with Generals Dumas and Ru-

migny, who had accompanied them in their flight, were landed safely on the following morning (March 3) at Newhaven, on the coast of Sussex. The Duke and Duchess of Nemours, the Duchess of Montpensier, and some other members of the royal family, had already found an asylum in England; and others came, as Prince Albert said, 'one by one, like people shipwrecked.' The Duchess of Orleans, who at this crisis displayed the greatest courage and presence of mind, found an asylum in Germany, where she remained during the rest of the year in a state of privacy and seclusion.

After the flight of the royal family the mob, as we have seen, forced their way into the Palace, and filled it to overflowing from hall to attics. Devastation and destruction seemed at once the order of the day, and plunder was carried on to an immense extent. Mr. T. Palgrave Simpson, an eye-witness of the scene, mentions that in the state-room the throne was pulled down and carried away, the curtains were torn to the ground, the lustres and candelabra smashed, the busts broken, the pictures riddled with balls; everywhere thronging, yelling, half-intoxicated crowds. In the king's private apartments the scene was, if possible, more disorderly still. There everything was recklessly destroyed, papers were hurled about in showers like a snow-storm. Furniture, dresses, papers, curtains were flying out of every broken window, and heaped upon bonfires made of the royal carriages. Jewels and bank-notes, spoons, objects of art, cups, gold fringes, and other articles of value were eagerly seized and carried off by the plundering *patriots*, while bottles of wine protruded out of almost every pocket. It was interesting and instructive to observe that though the crowd in the apartments of the Duchess of Orleans was as great as anywhere, they gazed only with curiosity, but handled nothing, so favourable was the impression which the courageous conduct of that noble lady produced on the minds even of the dregs of the population of Paris.

The destructive propensities of the Provisional Government were much more dangerous than those of the mob. Proclamation followed proclamation, abolishing all the ancient titles of nobility, prohibiting the meeting of the *ex-Chamber* of Peers, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, engaging to guarantee the subsistence of the workman by his labour, and to guarantee work to all citizens. National workshops were declared to be open for those who are without work; and the articles pledged at the Mont-de-Piété, on which not more than ten francs had been lent, were to be restored at the public expense. Royalty under any form was declared to be abolished; and so determined were the new rulers of France to sweep away every vestige of monarchy that the names of journals, streets, and public buildings, which had any reference to royalty, were immediately changed.

'Liberty, equality, and fraternity' was adopted as the motto of the new Republic; but liberty was understood by the mob to mean license, and the power of compelling the whole nation to adopt their views. Every new concession only served to elicit new and more preposterous demands; and it was owing to the courage and eloquence of Lamartine that France was not subjected at once to another revolution at the hands of the Red Republicans. Outrages, indeed, took place in various parts of the kingdom. Bands of men traversed the country, burning or laying waste and plundering the mansions of the landed proprietors, destroying portions of the railroads in order to intercept communications, and setting fire to the stations. The royal château of Neuilly was attacked by one of these mobs and burned to the ground. These and other excesses, however, of the lawless rabble were promptly suppressed by the Provisional Government; but in no long time they had to encounter a much more formidable rising among the workmen and the populace of the capital.

Great surprise has often been expressed that a Minister of the experience and

sagacity of M. Guizot should have been so blind to the signs of the times as to have persisted in carrying out a policy so repugnant to the feelings of the people, and so utterly at variance with the Liberal principles which he had always professed. It was a matter of still greater surprise that a sovereign so sagacious, and with such experience of life as Louis Philippe, should have supported and encouraged his Ministers in a policy at once so arbitrary and so dangerous; and that he should have abandoned his throne in such a manner, at the dictates of a Parisian mob, without an effort in defence either of his crown or of that social order which it was his first duty to maintain. It is only fair, however, to give Louis Philippe's own defence of his conduct. When informed by M. Lemoine, who visited him at Claremont, that his friends complained that he gave up the game too soon, he exclaimed, 'Never was there a more unfounded reproach. They don't know, then, what really happened. They don't know, then, that everybody—Ministers, friends, servants—*everybody*, I repeat, told me, "If you yield not a drop of blood will be shed!" They don't know, then, that it was by this persuasion that I was at first induced to change the Ministry. They don't know, then, that it was by this persuasion that my abdication was obtained. Could I, ought I to have done, in opposition to everybody, otherwise than I did? It was urged upon me that we were on the brink of a civil war. They told me, "The National Guard demand reform; if it is refused them blood must flow—the blood not of the agitators only, but of the National Guard, the well-disposed workmen, the real people; all these are bent, rightly or wrongly, on reform; give them a reforming Ministry and all will be settled—*all*; not a shot will be fired." You know how this promise was kept. The same persons soon returned to tell me that the National Guard was exasperated; that it would be no longer satisfied with a Thiers-Barrot Ministry;

that my own abdication was now the ultimatum. They added that it was true that resistance was still possible—that the troops would be eventually successful; but that it would cost dear, and be the commencement of a civil war.'

These statements tend to confirm the belief that Louis Philippe's action was paralyzed by his determination that no blood should be shed in defence of his dynasty, as he was not on the throne by hereditary right but by the voice of the people, and that if they turned against him he would not remain. But it has been justly said, 'When a nation places a monarch on the throne, they have a right to expect that he shall maintain himself there unless they have declared in unmistakable terms that they accept a revolution, with its inevitable disasters, in preference to retaining him. This was just what France had not declared, and the fact is remembered there to this hour with peculiar bitterness.'

There can be no doubt that the revolution was not contemplated or expected, and that it took every one by surprise—especially Odillon Barrot and his associates, who had taken a lead in the agitation for reform. They wished to overturn the Ministry, but not the constitution or the throne. A timely change of Ministry might have averted the catastrophe, and if the first outbreak on the part of the populace had been firmly dealt with, the rising would

have been speedily suppressed. But 'the action of a reckless mob bent on the gratification of selfish or vindictive passions, and instigated by leaders prompt to turn to profit the confusion into which both sovereign and subjects had been suddenly thrown, and who were ready at a moment's notice to tear down all existing institutions for the purpose of recasting them in moulds of their own devising, was mistaken for the movement of a nation deliberately resolved to substitute for a monarchy of which it was weary that ideal republic of which it had long dreamed.' At the same time it cannot be denied that the selfish apathy and timidity of the middle classes in Paris contributed not a little to the overthrow of the government and the dynasty, and a righteous retribution speedily overtook them. But a still more unfavourable idea of public morality in France at this period is given by the manner in which distinguished generals, including Marshal Bugeaud; eminent public functionaries; heads of the law like M. Seguin, *Premier President* of the High Court of Appeal, and M. Dupin, *Procureur-Général* of the Court of Cassation, the confidential law adviser of Louis Philippe; dignitaries of the church, among whom the Archbishop of Paris was conspicuous for his abject subserviency; Legitimist and even Orleans deputies—hastened in the most fulsome terms to give in their adhesion to the new Republic 'Verily they had their reward.'

CHAPTER VI.

Character of the Austrian Government in Lombardy—Its treatment of the Milanese—Insurrection in Milan—General Radetzky driven back to Verona—Risings in Venice, Lucca, Modena, and Tuscany—Appeal of the Lombards to the King of Sardinia—His Position and Motives for taking up Arms against the Austrians—Supineness of the Milanese, and perversity and folly of the Republicans—Energy and skill displayed by Radetzky—Junction of Nugent's corps with his forces—The Papal army beaten—Conduct of the Pope—The Neapolitan troops withdrawn from the Italian army—Negotiations for the surrender of Lombardy—Radetzky's vigorous movements—He defeats the Piedmontese and compels them to retreat to their own territory—Armistice between Austria and Sardinia—Revolution in Sicily and Naples—Concessions of the King—Their rejection—Suppression of the Insurrections in the Two Sicilies—Condition of affairs in the Papal States—Murder of Count Rossi—Flight of the Pope—Revolutionary movements in the German States—Tumults in Vienna—Metternich's resignation and flight—Policy of the Austrian Camarilla—Feebleness of the Emperor—Futility of his concessions—His departure from the Capital—Agitation among the Slavonians—Clubs formed in Prague—An insurrection of the populace suppressed by Prince Windischgrätz—Outbreak at Vienna—Murder of Count Latour—Bombardment of the City—Its surrender—Execution of Deputy Blum and the Commandant of the National Guards—Formation of the Schwartzberg Ministry—Abdication of the Emperor in favour of his Nephew—Revolution in Berlin—Ordinances issued by the King of Prussia—His vacillating and imprudent conduct—Collision between the Populace and the Military—Concessions of the King—Injurious effects of his policy—Revolutionary conduct of the Assembly—Outbreaks of the mob—Appointment of the Brandenburg Ministry—Adjournment of the Assembly to Brandenburg—Foolish and violent conduct of the Majority—Their expulsion from the Chamber—Dissolution of the Assembly—Proclamation of a new Liberal Constitution—Insurrection of the Poles in Posen—Sanguinary conflicts between them and the Germans—Suppression of the Insurrection.

THE sudden and formidable convulsion which had taken place in France acted like fire set to heather, among the inflammable materials with which Europe was at this time filled. The news of the revolution operated like an electric shock upon Italy, and every one expected that the Lombards would at once make a vigorous attempt to throw off the hated yoke of Austria. For upwards of a quarter of a century they had been subjected to oppression in its most galling form. They were harassed by the brutal force of military despotism, and ruled at the point of the bayonet. Laws of the most arbitrary character were thrust upon them, and administered by foreign functionaries who were ignorant both of the statutes and customs of the people, and enforced by the prison, the pillory, and the gallows. All classes suffered alike; but the oppression was most keenly felt by the higher and more educated classes, who were deprived of all that freemen most value—especially of the right of free thought and of free speech. Civil rights they had none, and every man held his personal liberty and his property at the discretion of an inquisitorial political police and subservient or corrupt magistrates, aided by an organized army of

spies. The development of the commerce and industry of the country was restricted, to favour the interests of other provinces of the empire and of government manufactories. Even religion was enslaved by the Austrian despots, and turned into an engine of government.

To crown all, it was by Austrian power that the other bad governments of Italy were upheld. Some of them were prohibited by direct engagement from conceding a constitution to their subjects, and every attempt on the part of the people in any of the Italian states to improve their system of government was suppressed by force of arms. The Government of Austria was justly termed 'the great insurance office for the otherwise dangerous speculations of tyranny.' As an indication of their feeling towards the Austrian rule, which had become intolerable, and also for diminishing the revenue, the Milanese resolved to give up the use of tobacco; and on the 2nd of January the only smokers in the streets were the police and a few persons who were not aware of the public determination. The smokers were hissed, and the soldiers began to insult and ill-use the people. The Austrian authorities resolved to avail them-

selves of the opportunity to excite an insurrection, which would afford them a pretext for measures of the utmost severity. On the 3rd they spread a report among the soldiers that a conspiracy to murder them had been discovered, and a printed handbill, which undoubtedly originated with the police, was circulated among them, of a kind calculated to rouse their worst passions. A liberal allowance of brandy and cigars was then distributed among the soldiers, and thus excited they were permitted to go about the streets in parties of thirty or forty, without officers, insulting and annoying peaceful citizens. Towards evening these licensed bandits drew their swords and fell indiscriminately on the unarmed inhabitants who chanced to come in their way. In this manner sixty-one persons were murdered, some of them with shocking barbarity, and forty-two were severely wounded. No attempt was made to repress these disorders, and Radetzky, when appealed to, merely said, 'the *injured* troops cannot be restrained;' and the Emperor was made to sign a letter to the Viceroy of Lombardy, not only approving what had taken place, but threatening worse for the future. Two letters were intercepted from the Archduke Rainer, the Viceroy's son, expressing his hope that 'at least 500 Milanese have been killed on the spot. . . . The soldiers,' he added, 'will have shown little moderation; so much the better.'

Notwithstanding these cruel outrages, no rising took place among the Lombards until tidings reached them that a revolution had broken out in Vienna, and that Prince Metternich, the author of the Austrian policy in Italy, was a fugitive. On the 18th of March the citizens of Milan rose in insurrection, overpowered the guard, took the Vice-governor O'Donnell prisoner, hoisted the Italian tricolor on the Viceroy's palace and on the cathedral, and after several days' desperate fighting compelled Radetzky to evacuate the city. He retreated towards Lodi with the intention

of occupying the line of the Adda, and renewing his attack on Milan. By this time, however, the revolt was universal. The Austrian general was in consequence obliged to retreat to the line of the Mincio, and to take up a position in front of the strong fortress of Verona.

The citizens of Venice, who had felt with especial bitterness the pressure of the Austrian domination, following the example of Milan, established a Provisional Government, and pledged themselves by proclamation, on the 26th of March, to join with the Milanese in discussing the most suitable form of Government 'when the hallowed soil of the country should have ceased to be sullied by the foot of the foreign oppressor.'

In the previous year the inhabitants of the Duchy of Lucca demanded in a peaceful yet significant manner that a National Guard should be constituted, and that some patriots who had been arrested should be set at liberty. The Duke at once intimated that he would follow the example of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and would grant the liberty of the press, a National Guard, and the liberation of the prisoners. But he repented of these concessions almost as soon as they had been made, and fled to the Modenese territory. On the following day, however, he returned to Lucca, at the request of a deputation of his subjects. His unfitness for his office had become apparent to all, and to the great delight of the people an amicable arrangement was made for the annexation of Lucca to the Duchy of Tuscany, to which a new and popular constitution had been granted by the Grand Duke. The same spirit of abhorrence of Austria as pervaded Lombardy and the Venetian territory spread throughout the Tuscan States. The Duke of Modena, who had been the willing tool of the Viennese Cabinet, and had the management of their police system in Italy, was driven from his dominions. The Duke of Parma shared his fate, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany was obliged to yield to the pressure of his subjects, and

to join in the national movement against Austria.

Earnest appeals had for some time been made by the insurgent Lombards to the King of Sardinia, who had promulgated a new constitution to his own subjects, to come to their assistance in the struggle for Italian unity; but he long hesitated as to the course which he should follow. His previous career, indeed, had not been calculated to inspire much confidence in him as a supporter of liberal institutions; and though he no doubt felt a generous sympathy with the cause of Italian independence, at this juncture he was mainly influenced by personal considerations in the policy which he ultimately adopted. He was well aware that his own crown would be endangered, if he turned a deaf ear to the clamorous demands of his subjects that he should assist in expelling the obnoxious foreigners from the Italian territories. He also knew that if he did not at once lend his aid to the Milanese to vindicate their independence, they might, with the aid of France, establish a republic at his own doors, and such a step would undoubtedly expose the throne of Piedmont to serious peril. On the other hand, he was by no means blind to the danger he might incur from the displeasure of the other Powers of Europe, if by invading the Austrian provinces in Italy he were to be the first to violate the settlement made by the Treaty of Vienna. In the end the instinct of immediate safety from the revolutionary storm, combined with the ambitious hope that he might annex the rich province of Lombardy to his own dominions, and become the sovereign of a kingdom of North Italy, if he should give effectual aid to the Lombards in achieving their deliverance from the detested Austrian yoke, turned the scale in favour of intervention; and on the 23rd of March he issued a proclamation to the 'peoples of Lombardy and Venice,' offering the help which 'brother expects from brother and friend from friend,' and announcing his resolution to advance with his army into

the Milanese territory, bearing 'the arms of Savoy above the Italian tricolor flag, for the purpose of more fully showing by external signs the sentiment of Italian unity.'

Towards the end of April Charles Albert put his army in motion, and crossed the Mincio at the head of 90,000 men; but of these only 5000 were Lombard volunteers, although the freedom of their country was the prize that was at stake in the contest. With a mixture of supineness utterly without excuse, and a rash confidence in the result, they left the King of Sardinia almost unaided to fight their battle, and to fail when their prompt and vigorous assistance might have secured him victory. The inefficient support of the Milanese, who fancied that the expulsion of the Austrians was already accomplished, was not the only cause of Charles Albert's failure to vindicate the independence of Italy. The perversity of the Republican party contributed largely to this result. Mazzini, their zealous but violent and injudicious leader, at this crisis was at Milan, where the dissensions of the Republicans and the Moderate Provisional Government were extreme. There was sent to him from the camp an 'old friend and loyal patriot,' proposing that the Republicans should heartily support the King and the fusion of Piedmont with Lombardy, and that they should in return have influence in framing the constitution of North Italy. Mazzini's reply was that the Republicans had three ideas—first, the independence of Italy; next, its unity; third, the Republic. The Republic they were willing to postpone; but they required that Charles Albert should explicitly declare for unity, and break avowedly with all the governments of Italy. If he would do this, they would 'use every effort to raise in his aid all the revolutionary elements of Italy.' In other words, they insisted, as the price of their assistance, that the king should make a declaration of hostility to all the existing governments, whether vacillating, neutral, or friendly; a step which would, of course

have at once provoked their hostility, and in particular would have transferred the Neapolitan army of 80,000 men, which was on the Italian side, to the Austrian ranks. General Pepe, himself a Republican, has animadverted not more severely than justly on the conduct of these perverse and intolerant friends of liberty. 'The only one,' he says, 'of the princes of real Italian dynasty, and able to dispose of an army of 100,000 valiant men, warmly embraced the national cause. This circumstance would have been sufficient to insure the success of Italy, if the valorous prince who had the generosity to hasten to the aid of the intrepid Lombards had not been perpetually thwarted by a proud and poor aristocracy, by his Jesuit clergy, and by *no small number of patriots*, some of whom, through ignorance, others through self-interest, acted to the prejudice of Italy by giving themselves up to the most senseless anachronisms, since they were more impatient to obtain liberal institutions than to drive away the foreigner, whose presence signified slavery. Had it not been for these misfortunes, this Prince would have redeemed Italy.' There can be no doubt that, in spite of errors and evil fortune, and the defection of false and half-hearted friends, the independence of Italy must have been achieved had those who really desired it but had the common and obvious prudence, at a time when imprudence was a crime, to postpone other questions for the moment, and strive with one will for the one object of making her so. It has been explicitly stated, indeed, by a leading member of the Revolutionary party, that they wished rather to hinder than to promote the efforts of Charles Albert to drive out the Austrians, as they cherished the confident belief that on the failure of his enterprise the French would interpose and assist the Italians in establishing a Republic.

In the critical position of the Austrian empire at this time everything depended upon Marshal Radetzky, a veteran soldier, the idol of his army, who, though eighty-

three years of age, was still alert and vigorous, and determined to do his duty, whoever might fail in theirs. He was master only of the ground held by his forces, but he was resolved sternly and tenaciously to maintain what he believed to be the rights of his sovereign over Lombardy. He had concentrated his forces in front of Verona, and there he stood firm, and waited for reinforcements from the Tyrol, but much more anxious for the junction of the corps advancing to support him through the provinces of Friuli. The Italian army was meanwhile engaged in besieging Peschiera, one of the strongholds of the celebrated Quadrilateral, and the key of an extensive district. At the end of May Radetzky attempted to relieve the fortress by a fierce attack on the Sardinian lines. There was sharp fighting on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May; but on the last of these days Radetzky suffered a severe defeat, and Peschiera immediately surrendered. General Pepe was of opinion that the success was dearly bought, for the capture of the fortress cost more time than it was worth.

While Charles Albert was pressing the siege of Peschiera, General Nugent was leading his corps down from the passes of Friuli through the Venetian provinces. It was the duty of the Papal troops under General Durando to prevent the junction of Nugent and Radetzky; but he was not hearty in the cause, obstinately refused to risk an engagement, and retired before the Austrian forces. In consequence before the end of June the main body of Nugent's corps, consisting of 15,000 men, had joined Radetzky at Verona, leaving the reserve before Vicenza, in which General Durando had shut himself up with his troops, 15,000 in number. There had previously been some hard fighting between the octogenarian Austrian Marshal and the Sardinian forces, in which the latter on the whole had the advantage. But while Charles Albert was engaged in strengthening his position at Rivoli, which he had just carried, Radetzky

suddenly withdrew from Verona with the greater part of his forces, fell upon Durando at Vicenza, and after bombarding the town for eighteen hours, compelled the Papal General to capitulate on the terms of retiring from Lombardy, and of taking no part against the Austrians for three months. The old Marshal then hurried back with his troops to Verona, which he entered almost at the moment when the King of Sardinia was about to occupy it, believing it to have been abandoned. The result of this signal success was to place Treviso, Padua, and all the other Venetian provinces, with the sole exception of Venice and the Lagoon, again under the Austrian rule, and to reopen Radetzky's communications with Vienna, through the passes of the Tyrol.

At this critical period the Pope inflicted a severe blow upon the Italian cause by uttering, in the Consistory of Cardinals, the famous 'Allocution,' in which he took, for the first time, a decided stand against liberal opinions and the war with Austria. The King of Naples at the same time ordered the troops which he had sent to the assistance of the patriots to return home. If his army had not been withdrawn it would have been united with the corps of Durando, forming together a force of well-nigh 40,000 men, which would in all probability have prevented Radetzky's attack upon Vicenza, and would have had an important influence on the state of affairs in the Venetian provinces.

In the meantime the attention, both of France and Great Britain, had been attracted to the contest between the Austrians and the Italians. The French armies were mustered on the frontier, with the avowed intention of passing the Alps—a step by no means desired by the Piedmontese, who dreaded with good reason that its object was not so much to assist them in expelling the Austrians as to 'rectify the frontiers' of France, as Lamartine expressed it, at the expense of Piedmont. England, though sympathizing with the Italians, had through

her Minister at Turin expressed formally to the King of Sardinia her disapprobation of his attack on Austria. Occupying thus a kind of neutral position, her mediation was solicited by the Austrian Government about the end of May, 1848. They declared their readiness to give up the whole of Lombardy, first to be governed by an Archduke belonging to the house of Hapsburg; and when this proposal met with no favour, they were willing to allow Lombardy to become independent, free to choose its own governor, or even to unite with Piedmont. But Lord Palmerston unfortunately was under the impression, that as the Italians believed they could expel the Austrians completely from Italy, they would not be satisfied with Lombardy alone. Accordingly, 'the evacuation of Italy, combined with pecuniary arrangements for transferring a proportion of the public debt of Austria to the separated provinces, were the only terms which, in the view of the British Cabinet, could be proposed with that chance of success essential to justify interference.' Austria, however, insisted on retaining for herself the line of the Adige, and the Venetian provinces under a separate government, which it was promised should be one of the most liberal kind. The negotiations for a compromise therefore came to nothing. But similar terms were again offered by Austria about the middle of June, 1848, as the basis of a negotiation, to the Provisional Government at Milan; but this offer was at once rejected by them. 'The Sybil's books of fair promise were all burned; the tide had *not* been taken at the flood, and fortune was already out of reach.' Charles Albert, however, on the 7th of July, addressed a confidential letter to Mr. Abercromby, stating that he personally was willing to treat on the basis of the retention by Austria of the line of the Adige; but after the course adopted by the Milanese he did not venture to make such a proposal publicly or directly to the Austrians.

The line of the Piedmontese army at the beginning of July extended for about thirty

miles, from Mantua on the right to Rivoli on the left, and, as if unable to advance and unwilling to retire, for some time remained in front of Radetzky, amid unheeded warnings from its friends. It was engaged in pressing the blockade of Mantua when suddenly, on the 22nd, 'in the midst of a dreadful thunder storm and a deluge of rain, in the darkest night,' Radetzky broke up from Verona. The weather aided the surprise. He assaulted with his main force the strong central position of the Sardinian lines at Somma Compagna. The action lasted the whole day, and the result was still doubtful when the Austrians were reinforced by a body of 20,000 men, drawn chiefly from the garrisons of the Venetian territory. Charles Albert's right flank was turned, and the assailants were completely victorious. At the same time the Sardinian lines at Rivoli were forced by General Aspré, and the troops were compelled to retreat across the Mincio to Vallegio. One fierce action followed another, and the contest raged for several days in the country that lies between the Adige and the Mincio. Though surprised and overmatched, and very inefficiently supported by their Italian auxiliaries, the Piedmontese yet made desperate efforts to regain the ground which they had lost, but without effect. On the morning of the 27th they prepared to recross the Mincio, but found a strong body of the Austrians drawn up at Valta, on the other side of the river, to intercept their retreat. A battle ensued, the result of which was on the whole favourable to the Sardinians, who were enabled to pass Valta and to continue their retrograde march. Every post on the Mincio except Peschiera was now abandoned by the King, and he retired on Cremona. But the victorious Austrian General gave him no pause. He followed the beaten, disorganized, starving Piedmontese from the Mincio to the Oglio, and from the Oglio to the Adda. On the 3rd of August Charles Albert entered Milan with his fugitive troops. The populace were in a state of

mingled fury and terror at a catastrophe which they had done nothing to avert. The Republican party, who had contributed so much to bring about the failure of the effort to vindicate the independence of Italy, passionately clamoured for resistance and the erection of barricades in the streets of the city. But the Piedmontese troops, exhausted more by hunger than defeat, felt indignant at the conduct of the Lombards, who had not only left them almost single-handed to fight their battle, but had even failed to send them supplies of provisions; and now when they had reached the city they found the magazines empty and no adequate supply of victuals, or even of ammunition, forthcoming. The King, however, was still willing to make a stand at Milan, if the citizens had shown any corresponding disposition to defend the city. But a few hours after he had intimated to the chiefs of the Committee of Public Safety that, if his army alone were left to bear the brunt of the contest Milan would soon be carried, these noisy patriots, without his knowledge, despatched negotiations to Radetzky's camp to treat for a separate capitulation. The veteran general, however, honourably refused to accept the offer unless ratified by the King, who was thus made aware of a negotiation which, if it had been concluded without his knowledge, would have exposed his army to utter annihilation and Charles Albert himself to captivity. Although, as he cuttingly told them, he could not defend them in spite of themselves, the populace, excited to fury by the demagogues at the prospect of being delivered to the Austrians, not merely menaced and insulted the King, but fired shots at him; and he only escaped assassination by the devotion of his body-guard, who cut a way for him through the streets of Milan to his indignant and famishing army. On the first hint of a capitulation, Mazzini, the evil genius of the struggle for Italian independence, fled from Milan and joined the legion of Garibaldi, which never accepted the armistice. A few months

later he made his way to Rome, where he took the lead in the defence of that city against the French.

At this juncture England and France offered a joint mediation between the Emperor of Austria and his revolted subjects, and an armistice was concluded by which it was agreed that the fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Ango, and Osappo, which were still held by the Piedmontese, should be given up, along with the material of war belonging to Austria, but that the garrisons should take with them their own arms, ammunition, and stores; that Charles Albert's troops should evacuate the States of Modena, Parma, and the city of Placentia, and should also withdraw from the city of Venice and the Venetian territories and forts; and that the two armies should remain within the boundaries of their respective States.

The Government of the Two Sicilies was the most despotic in Europe, and the perverse obstinacy of the King in refusing to grant any of the much-needed reforms demanded by the people had already brought matters to an extremity. On the 12th of January, 1848, an insurrection took place in Palermo. The royal troops made scarcely a show of resistance. The authority of the Government ceased altogether to be recognized by the citizens, and in a short space the whole island broke into revolt. The insurgents demanded the re-establishment of the constitution of 1812, which had been given to the Sicilians by Lord William Bentinck, and the immediate convocation of the Sicilian Parliament at Palermo.

The King had despatched 6000 men from Naples to re-inforce the local garrison, but they failed to arrest the popular movement. The Viceroy sent immediate notice to his sovereign how matters stood, and the King lost no time in despatching to the island four decrees of a liberal character—the last of them appointing his brother, the Count d'Aquila, Lieutenant-General of Sicily, with a special administrative council. But these

concessions came too late. The Sicilians persisted in their demand for the former constitution and a Parliament at Palermo. By this time the popular feeling in Naples ran strongly in favour of the insurgents, and the King found it necessary to dismiss his Ministry, who were known to be in favour of violent measures, and to appoint a new Ministry, composed of men who entertained liberal opinions. They, however, declared that they could not retain office unless a constitution were granted; and as the aspect of affairs became every hour more serious, a decree was signed by the King on the 28th of January by which he promised to concede a constitution to his subjects. An amnesty for all political offences was granted on the 1st of February, and the King, whether by accident or policy, suddenly and at once conceded more than any other Italian or indeed Continental potentate, had hitherto granted. The Neapolitans were in 'a tumult of delight' with the liberal constitution which their sovereign had now proclaimed. As an additional proof of his accession to the national cause he sent a numerous and well-appointed army to take part in the war of liberation. In all 41,000 men were to be employed in the campaign, of whom 17,000 actually marched under the command of General Pepe, who had for many years been in exile for his liberal opinions, but who had now been permitted to return to Italy.

The Deputies who had been returned to the Neapolitan Chambers met on the 14th of May, and a violent dispute immediately broke out between them and the King. The nominal ground of their quarrel was the terms of the oath to be taken by them. The King wished it to be framed so as to bind them to be faithful to the constitution already granted; but they insisted upon swearing fidelity to the king and the constitution 'without prejudice to the changes which the Chamber might think fit to introduce into it.' As neither party would give way, disturbances immediately arose. The accidental discharge of the musket of

a National Guard led to a sanguinary conflict in the streets of Naples, which ended in the defeat of the insurgents. Martial law was proclaimed, the National Guard was suppressed, and the Chamber of Deputies dissolved. It was a great crime, and an act of inexcusable folly on the part of the Republicans, to have forced on this miserable conflict; and it need excite no surprise that the King, after defeating them, at once followed the course for which they had furnished him with a plausible excuse.

The Sicilians were still discontented. The new constitution failed to satisfy their expectations. They insisted that none but Sicilian soldiers should be employed in the island; and when this demand was refused, they determined to continue the struggle for the Constitution of 1812. A sanguinary conflict ensued both at Messina and Palermo. At the latter the garrison capitulated on honourable terms; but at Messina the royal troops retained possession of the citadel and Fort Salvador, and on the 2nd of May an armistice was agreed to, which lasted till the middle of August—a fatal step on the part of the Messinese, who might have won the citadel and their permanent liberty if they had resolutely continued the contest. The Sicilian Chamber proclaimed on the 13th of April that Ferdinand had forfeited the crown, and they proceeded to offer it to the Duke of Genoa, second son of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, who, however, prudently declined the perilous gift. Ferdinand drew up a formal protest against this proceeding, declaring it ‘illegal, null, and of no effect,’ and followed it up, after the armistice expired, by despatching, on the 29th of August, an expedition to reduce his revolted subjects to obedience. A body of 14,000 soldiers were conveyed in two frigates and twenty steamers to Messina, where they joined the troops in the garrison. On the 2nd of September a simultaneous attack was made upon the city by the Neapolitan fleet in the harbour, the garrison, and a strong body of the forces which had landed on the shore. The citizens fought with

desperate courage, but their supply of ammunition was soon exhausted; and after a bombardment which lasted four days and nights, and was continued for a whole day after resistance had ceased and the city was in flames from one end to the other, they were compelled to surrender. The people deserted the town in a body, and the greater part of it was reduced to ruins. The contest was marked on both sides by circumstances of peculiar atrocity.

The revolutionary Government at Palermo, however, was in no way intimidated by this disaster, and the most vigorous preparations were made by them for resistance to the Neapolitan troops. The National Guard was mobilized, and seven military camps were formed in different parts of the island. In the beginning of March, 1849, the King of Naples issued a proclamation to the Sicilians, in which he offered them a ‘Statute’ based on the Constitution of 1812 with some modifications, on condition that they would lay down their arms. The British and French Ministers at Naples exerted all their influence to induce the Sicilians to accept the offer, but in vain. At the end of March an expedition was sent under General Filangieri to reduce them to obedience. Catania was taken by him, after a bombardment which laid a great part of the city in ruins. Shortly after Syracuse surrendered without resistance; and on the 22nd of April a deputation from Palermo gave up the keys of the city to General Filangieri, and offered unqualified submission to the King’s authority.

In the Papal States the control of the reforming movement had by this time passed out of the hands of the Pontiff. On the 14th of March, 1848, he had granted a new constitution to his subjects, bestowing on them ‘the benefits of a representative system not merely consultative but deliberative.’ But the populace refused to wait for the proceedings of a popularly-chosen assembly, and preferred to carry their measures by riots and murders. Pius IX. was naturally unwilling to engage in hos-

tilities against Austria, always a devoted friend to the Papal See. But a body of Roman volunteers had already joined the forces then in the field under the King of Sardinia. The Pope had authorized their march, and had blest their banners. He had sent his own troops to the frontiers, which he was quite well aware they would cross. He had even allowed orders to be sent to General Durando, their commander, to operate with Charles Albert. But their action in crossing the frontier was subsequently disavowed by the Pope, who affirmed that it had been done contrary to his orders. The populace, enraged at this disavowal, crowded the streets, and with loud cries and menaces called for a declaration of war. An encyclical letter, containing a statement of the Pope's reasons, was pronounced re-actionary, and was attributed to the influence of the Cardinals; and they were impeached by the Democratic Club, and confined and guarded in their own apartments. The Pope at length yielded to the popular clamour, and on the 1st of May issued a declaration of war against Austria.

A new Ministry of a liberal character was now appointed. Count Rossi, the Minister of Justice, who was intimately acquainted with the different parties in the Papal States, and was moderate and cautious as well as resolute, inspired great hopes in the well-disposed portion of the community; and for a time these hopes were not disappointed. He restored tranquillity to the streets, imposed decency on the Clubs, repressed the license of the press, and appealed to the honour and fidelity of the troops to support the Government in the preservation of the public peace. His determination to preserve order and to repress alike the violence of the anarchists and the intrigues of the priests, made him obnoxious both to the placemen of the old system and the democratic agitators of the new, and his death was decreed by the Clubs. He was assassinated by one of their emissaries on the 15th of November, as he was about to enter the Chamber of Deputies, and no

attempt was made by the mob who crowded around him to seize the murderer. Indeed the populace in the course of the afternoon paced the streets with colours flying and singing hymns in honour of the assassin, who was carried in the midst of the procession on the shoulders of his partisans.

On the following day an immense multitude proceeded to the Quirinal with a petition to the Pope requesting the appointment of a democratic ministry. The Swiss Body-guard closed the doors and refused to admit them, but the Civic Guard, the Gendarmerie, the Line, and the Roman Legion joined the mob and commenced to fire, as these had done at the windows of the palace. Cardinal Palma, the secretary of the Pontiff, was shot through the head by a bullet which was believed to have been destined for his Holiness himself, and another prelate was killed in the Papal chamber. Deserted by his troops, Pio Nono was obliged to submit to his besiegers, and to give his consent to the appointment of a Ministry composed of Liberals of a somewhat extreme character, with Mamiani at their head. On the 24th of November the Quirinal was again assailed; the mob broke into the Pope's bed-chamber after he had retired to rest, and extorted his consent to the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. The life of the Pontiff was now evidently in danger, and in the course of the evening he disguised himself in the costume, first of the servant, and next of the chaplain, of the Bavarian Minister, who accompanied him; and passports having been previously obtained he drove rapidly away from Rome and arrived the following day at Gaeta, a town in the Neapolitan territory.

The flight of the Pope caused great astonishment and consternation at Rome. It was the signal for the departure of those cardinals and nobles, who had lingered on in the city in the hope that their presence might help to restrain the excesses of the Revolutionary party. Until the Constituent Assembly could be elected the Government was carried on in the name of the Legis-

lative Chambers, and was conducted by the new Ministers, all 'very far advanced in liberality,' as Lord Minto expressed it, and all 'men of literature'—poets, pamphleteers, and journalists.

While the Italians were thus struggling to secure the expulsion of the Austrians from the Peninsula, the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburg dynasty were in the throes of a most perilous revolution. It had long been the opinion of Prince Metternich, who had for many years administered with almost absolute authority the affairs of the scattered and unwieldy Austrian empire, that the tranquillity which Europe enjoyed was no more than a truce, and that although the Continental powers were in outward appearance solid and stable, they were nearly all undermined by the spirit of anarchy and socialism. 'After me the deluge!' was a common remark of the veteran statesman; but the inundation took place sooner than he had expected. The revolutionary movement which originated at Paris passed over Europe as 'a hurricane strikes a fleet of fishing boats,' and Germany received the first and most violent commotion. The demands for constitutional reforms, which were instantly made by the well-affected and moderate members of the community, were enforced by armed and tumultuous crowds, stirred up by the agents of the Secret Societies by whom the Germanic States were honeycombed, whose object was to provoke violence and bloodshed. On the 29th of February Baden extorted from its Ministry freedom of the press, trial by jury, and the right of bearing arms. In Stuttgart, on the 2nd of March, the same demands were made and granted. The example thus set was followed by Nassau, Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, Hanover, Brunswick, Saxony, Hesse Cassel, and Weimar. In Bavaria the popular discontent with the existing constitution was aggravated by disgust at the conduct of the old King in living openly with a mistress bearing the name of Lola Montes, but who was in reality the discarded wife of an English

officer. He had created her a countess by the title of Gräfin de Lansfeldt, and was believed to be completely under her influence. Although by his enlightened patronage of the Fine Arts and in other ways he had done much for the welfare of his people, and was long highly esteemed by them, his conduct had now completely forfeited their confidence and esteem. Tumults broke out in Munich, his capital; and though he yielded to all the demands of the people, tranquillity was not restored until he abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew.

In Germany, as in Italy, the ruling powers bowed like grass to the wind, and the shock drove with augmented violence against the Austrian empire, where there was nothing to resist it. The fabric which Metternich had so laboriously reared, and buttressed with such care and pains, fell to the ground in a moment like a house of cards. The outworks of the structure tumbled down at the first touch; and the contest with the revolutionary force began once for all 'in the streets of the capital, in the seat of government, in the very chambers of the palace.'

On the 6th of March an address was presented by the Trades Union of Vienna to the Archduke Francis Charles and Count Kolowrat, which was the first indication the authorities received of the dissatisfied feeling existing among nearly all classes in the city. A petition was next addressed to the Estates of Lower Austria from the citizens, demanding the establishment of a representative system of government. On the 12th of March a more decided warning that a storm was impending was given by the students of Vienna, who represented to the Emperor that in the present critical state of the Continent it was absolutely necessary for the safety of the empire and the establishment of confidence between prince and people, that they should obtain freedom of the press and of public speech, improvement of popular instruction with liberty of teaching, equality of religious sects in civil rights, and oral procedure with pub-

licity in the law courts. These demands were in themselves all just and expedient, and if they had been conceded when the empire was in the enjoyment of external peace, would, even in the midst of this revolutionary hurricane, have made it as secure as was Belgium and Holland.

Next day (March 13th) the Rector Magnificus of the University, as the head of the Academic Senate, presented a petition that arms should forthwith be delivered to the students out of the Imperial arsenal. With almost incredible folly this request was granted by the Archduke Louis, the real ruler of the empire, and thus 2000 young men who had been most active in the insurrection were furnished with the means of overturning the Government. No sooner had this concession been obtained than a cry arose for liberty of the press. In the state of the city, and the strange apathy displayed by the Ministry, resistance was impossible. There was disaffection in the palace itself; and when Prince Metternich retired to another room to write out a decree in favour of the liberty of the press, a cry was raised by the turbulent crowd for his removal from office. He saw clearly that the Court was quite prepared to purchase security for itself by getting rid of an obnoxious servant, of whom the royal family stood somewhat in awe. 'If Emperors disappear, it is never till they have come to despair of themselves,' were Metternich's significant words on resigning into the hands of the Archduke Louis, as representing the Emperor, the office he had so long monopolized as leader of the Imperial councils.

The Court certainly displayed great shortsightedness, cowardice, and ingratitude in the critical circumstances of the empire, for which it paid a severe and merited penalty. But on the other hand, it must be admitted that the Government, of which Prince Metternich was the head and soul, showed a great want of vigour and promptitude in dealing with the revolutionary movement. They seemed,

in short, to be utterly paralyzed by the sudden and unexpected outbreak which had prostrated the ruling powers on the whole Continent. Prince Metternich's life was not safe in a city crowded with Red Republicans, Socialists, and members of secret societies and democratic clubs. In the evening a band of miscreants, who were roving about the city, attacked and sacked his private residence in the suburbs; but the aged ex-Minister effected his escape to Bohemia and thence to England, in disguise, with a price set upon his head.

The Austrian revolution might now be regarded as consummated; and the result had clearly shown that concessions made, not to the claims of justice, but to popular clamour, only serve to give rise to fresh demands. The conduct of the revolutionary party had imperiled even the salutary reforms which the sovereign and his advisers were willing to grant; but still the weak and facile Emperor could not be prevailed on to resist their demands. For some time the country remained without a Government; but at last a Cabinet was reconstructed out of the materials of the edifice which had been overthrown, and was so framed as to compromise nothing, yet to help to save appearances. The substance of power was retained, though some changes had been made in the mechanism of administration. Metternich was succeeded, in the department of foreign affairs, by his friend and former associate Count Ficquelmont; and the other Ministers, the presidents of the old bureaucracy, remained in office. Subsequently, however, growing discontent and continual outbreaks on the part of the populace compelled the Court to make new ministerial arrangements, but Pillersdorf, Doblhoff, Schwarzer, and others who replaced the ministers of the Metternich school, though they enjoyed some degree of popularity among the citizens, had neither the confidence of the Court nor direct communication with the Emperor. The Camarilla were merely waiting a favourable moment to neutralize the con-

stitution and restore absolutism. 'Old things had passed away, yet nothing had become new; and Metternich's policy was pursued by his disciples with formularies as barren and with a hatred to independent nationalities as active as his own.'

The more popular Ministers were not possessed of much ability, and were quite unfit to control and direct the revolutionary movement. The Emperor proclaimed a new constitution establishing a Constituent Assembly of two chambers, and granting freedom of religion, of speech, of the press, petition, and public meeting; but every new concession seemed only to call forth new demands, enforced by fresh outbreaks. At length, on the 17th of May, the Emperor quitted the capital, accompanied by the Empress and other members of the imperial family, and repaired to Innsbruck, in the Tyrol. The long existing national antipathies between the German and the Slavonic races now broke out into open hostilities in Bohemia. Hungary was on the eve of revolt. The Diet of Transylvania decreed the union of that province with the kingdom of Hungary. Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, summoned a Diet to meet at Agram for the triple kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia; and in short it appeared as if the cumbrous and disjointed Austrian empire was about to be resolved into its elements.

The Bohemians caught the revolutionary spirit which was sweeping over the whole Austrian empire. In Prague a committee was elected, at a meeting of the lower grade of the citizens, to take charge of the movement in favour of popular representation and a responsible Bohemian Ministry. These demands were at once acceded to by Baron Pillersdorf, the Austrian Prime Minister. A National Guard was formed with the Bohemian cockade. Labour and wages were promised to the working classes. Committees were appointed to prepare extensive reforms for the approaching Diet, and were subsequently formed into one body—a sort of

National Committee, which was recognized by the Governor. A congress was summoned of representatives of all the Slavonic provinces of the empire, to meet at Prague on the 31st of May, to 'take counsel for the interests of their race, and especially to counteract the absorbing influence of the Germanic body about to meet in Frankfort.' In order to promote these objects and to resist any attempt to identify the Slavonians with the German empire, a Club which assumed the name of the 'Swornost' was formed of members of the National Guard; and another Club called the 'Slavonska-Lipa' was formed for the same object. At the opening of the congress the old hymn of St. Wenceslas was sung round the relics of the Bohemian martyrs, and the utmost excitement prevailed in the picturesque old capital of Bohemia. In these circumstances Prince Windischgrätz, who commanded the military forces at Prague, deemed it necessary to take military precautions against an insurrection; and in consequence a large meeting of the people, on the 7th of June, resolved to petition the Emperor for his removal. On the 10th a vast assemblage, in a building of the University called the Carolinum, because founded by the Emperor Charles IV., agreed to demand the withdrawal of the troops from certain strategical points which they occupied, and to require a battery of six guns, 2000 muskets, and 80,000 rounds of ball cartridge for the use of the citizens. Both requests were refused. On the 12th a procession of the Swornost proceeded with revolutionary songs and tumult to the headquarters of the staff, and overpowered the sentinel. A shot was fired from a house opposite the mansion of Prince Windischgrätz, which unfortunately struck his wife, and killed her on the spot. This was the signal for the commencement of a battle, which lasted two days, and ended in the submission of the town, the dissolution of the National Committee, and the postponement of the projected Diet of Bohemia.

On the 22nd of July the Constituent Assembly or Diet of Austria was opened at

Vienna by the Arch-duke John, and on the 12th of August the Emperor returned to Vienna, where he received an enthusiastic welcome from the citizens and the Diet. But this state of concord was not of long duration. The invasion of Hungary by the Croats, who were secretly encouraged by the Court, and the declaration of martial law in that country, brought matters to a crisis. On the 6th of October the National Guard and the students rose in arms to prevent the departure of the troops which were ordered to march against the Hungarians, and a portion of the soldiers themselves made common cause with the insurgents. Fighting took place on the streets; the gates of the town were seized; the cathedral of St. Stephen's was stormed, the War Office captured, and Count Latour, the Minister of War, was murdered in the most brutal manner, and his body suspended for a whole day upon a gibbet. The arsenal was bombarded, and after a stubborn resistance the garrison was obliged to surrender on the morning of the 9th. The Diet showed that it warmly sympathized with the insurgents, and on the evening of the 5th of October it sent a deputation to the Emperor to demand the formation of a new and popular Cabinet, the removal of Jellachich from the Governorship of Hungary, the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians, and an amnesty for those who had been engaged in the riots.

It was evident that with the city in the hands of a bloodthirsty mob, the person of the feeble Emperor was no longer safe there; and on the 7th before daybreak, escorted by twenty companies of infantry, six squadrons of cuirassiers, and eight guns, the Court retired with precipitation from Schönbrunn to Olmutz. On the 20th an Imperial proclamation was issued transferring the seat of the Austrian Diet from Vienna to Kremnitz, and directing the deputies to meet there on the 15th of November.

A body of troops 20,000 strong, under

the command of Count Von Auersperg, was stationed in the vicinity of the Belvidere palace outside the walls of Vienna, and they were speedily joined by the Croatian forces commanded by their Ban. Prince Windischgrätz arrived from Bohemia at the head of another body, and assumed the chief command of the army by which Vienna was now beleaguered. Terms were offered by the Prince, which the Diet declared to be illegal and unconstitutional, and refused to accept. On the 28th of October the bombardment of the city began, and was carried on without cessation throughout the day, laying a considerable portion of the buildings in ruins. On the evening of the 29th the insurgents solicited and obtained an armistice; but tempted by the arrival of a Hungarian army which had marched to their relief, they renewed their resistance in the hope that the Magyar forces would turn the scale in their favour. These auxiliaries, however, met with a signal defeat, and the insurgents were compelled on the 31st to surrender on far worse terms than had been previously offered. Blum, a journalist of Leipsic, one of the members of the German Parliament at Frankfort, and Messenhauser, commandant of the National Guards, who had taken an active part in the defence of the city, were put to death by orders of Prince Windischgrätz. The National Assembly at Frankfort un-animously adopted a solemn protest against the arrest and execution of Blum as a glaring violation of the Imperial law, and called for the punishment of those parties who had been guilty of the crime. A new and powerful Ministry was formed at Vienna, of which Prince Felix Schwarzenberg was nominated Foreign Minister and Premier, with Count Stadion, Baron Kraus, and Dr. Bach as his principal colleagues and coadjutors in his efforts to restore order and to unite the distracted sections of the empire into one integral state. On the 2nd of December the Emperor, who was almost imbecile, was made to resign the Imperial crown in favour of his nephew

Francis John, a youth of eighteen years of age, whose father renounced his claim to make way for the youth whom the Camarilla thought it expedient to place on the throne.

The revolutionary wave soon reached Berlin, and in February, 1847, Frederick William, King of Prussia, published a series of ordinances granting a constitution to his kingdom, and correcting and regulating the proceedings of the United Diet. But the measure was unsatisfactory to all parties. It merely erected an assembly for consultation only, but possessing no power either of initiative or control, and dependent even for being convoked on the mere will of the sovereign. The old Junker party disapproved of any change, the supporters of genuine parliamentary reform found that they were mocked by the offer of a mere shadow of what they desired, and the enemies of monarchy referred to the new scheme as a proof that no real concession of popular rights was to be expected from the King. While the Prussian people were in this state of feeling, tidings poured in of what had been done and was doing in other parts of Germany, as well as in France, to obtain constitutional government, and stimulated them to demand similar concessions from their facile and vacillating monarch. A great reform meeting was held in Berlin on the 13th of March, 1848, at which a tumult arose, and a collision took place between the military and the populace. During the ensuing week the city was the scene of much excitement and disorder, and it was obvious that the people were resolved to be no longer put off with vague and ambiguous promises which might never be fulfilled. The king was not slow in reading the signs of the times, and he resolved to place himself at the head of the movement, which he was well aware he was unable to withstand. He, therefore, issued a proclamation on the 18th of March, in which he granted the liberty of the press, abolished the censorship and all the laws connected with it, and declared his adherence to the move-

ment for the 'transformation of Germany from a Confederation of States into one Federal State, with one flag, one army, one fleet, one customs-law, and one central authority.'

Unfortunately on that same day a collision took place between the citizens and the military, which ended in bloodshed. Delighted at the concessions they had obtained, the people assembled in a dense crowd in the square before the palace to express their gratitude to the King, who came out on the balcony to receive them. A squadron of dragoons took up a position close beside the people under the windows of the palace; and the officer in command losing his temper at the jeers uttered by the mob, ordered the soldiers to advance. They moved forward with unsheathed swords to clear the square; but at this moment two shots were fired by the infantry. No one was hurt, but a cry of "treachery" was immediately raised by the crowd, who flew to arms, and erected barricades in all the principal streets. A sanguinary conflict ensued, which was carried on during the night. Sixteen of the soldiers and 216 of the people were killed in this unfortunate struggle, besides a large number who were dangerously wounded. By nine in the morning the insurgents were surrounded by the military, and must soon have surrendered, when an aide-de-camp brought an order in the King's name (it is alleged by mistake) that the troops should cease firing and withdraw.

During the night the kind-hearted but irresolute monarch, shocked at the slaughter of his subjects, dictated an appeal to his 'beloved Berliners,' entreating them to return to peace, to remove their barricades, lay down their arms, and to send to him 'men filled with the generous ancient spirit of Berlin, speaking words which are seemly to your King.' If this were done, he pledged his word that 'the streets and squares should be instantly cleared of the troops.' This appeal was not unnaturally regarded as a proof that the populace had been

victorious, and that the revolution had triumphed. Next day the Ministry resigned, and were replaced by men of known liberal opinions, with Count Arnim as President. An amnesty for political offences was then proclaimed, the doors of the State prisons were thrown open, the Poles who had been incarcerated there were set at liberty, and Mieroslawski, the most distinguished of their number, was drawn in triumph to the palace, where the King appeared upon the balcony in answer to the cheers of the crowd. A Burgher Guard was organized, to be equipped and armed at the expense of the city, and this was speedily followed by an order for the military to quit Berlin. Count Schwerin, the new Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, proclaimed it to be his Sovereign's intention to 'take the lead of Constitutional Germany. He will have liberty and a constitution; he will originate and form a German Parliament; and he will head the progress of the nation.' Next day the King himself appeared in the streets on horseback, 'wearing round his arm the ancient and respected colours of the German nation,' viz., black, red, and yellow. He issued proclamations and made speeches in his characteristic effusive style, in which, while professing to claim 'nothing but German liberty and unity,' he plainly indicated that he was in his own estimation the fittest person under the new order of things to be the future 'leader of the German people, the new King of the free regenerated German nation.' This vain-glorious and imprudent procedure, while it could not fail to give deep offence to the Emperor of Austria and the other German rulers, failed to gain the confidence of the moderate German Liberals, who were well aware that Frederick William was a man of words rather than of deeds, and that he could not be relied on to follow a steady and consistent course of policy. 'The poor King of Prussia has made a sad mess,' wrote Baron Stockmar. 'Never has he made a move or a concession but it was too late; nay, when it would have been better had

he done nothing. Metternich and the Russian Emperor were the bane both of him and of Germany. Had he listened to Prince Albert's letter of 1846, how simple, how easy would it have been for him to have taken another course in the Cracow affair, and how safe, how glorious, how great would his position have been at this moment—master of a power sufficient to uphold all Germany! In Germany no one will hear of him now. "Rather the Emperor of Austria or the King of Bavaria."'

After the events of the 18th of March five different administrations followed each other in rapid succession, each more pliable to democratic clamour than its predecessor. The United Diet of Prussia and her provinces was opened on the 2nd of April for the purpose of determining the new electoral law under which a National Assembly was to be convoked. As soon as this task was accomplished it was dissolved for ever, and a National Assembly was elected by universal suffrage. It was opened on the 22nd of May by the King in person, and immediately commenced the consideration of the draught of the new constitution which had been prepared by the Ministry. But its deliberations were repeatedly interrupted by the intrusion of an armed mob, whenever its decisions did not meet with the approbation of the populace. 'Trade was at a stand-still, the chief manufactories were closed, and distress added to the numbers of desperate men, with whom revolution was a trade, who thronged the streets and were intent on subverting all existing institutions. Riot and rapine made life in the capital a burden, and the Assembly, emboldened by the feebleness of the Executive, had, by the 31st of October, got the length of resolving "that neither privileges, titles, nor rank were to exist in the State, and that nobility was abolished." After such a declaration a denial of the supremacy of the Crown was obviously not far off. The red flag was hoisted before the door of the Assembly, and the mob, who had many sympathizers

within the Chamber, had even broken into the Hall of Assembly equipped with ropes, nails, and nooses, threatening the Conservative members with death, and even handling roughly some of their own party whom they suspected of having grown lukewarm in the popular cause.' The Burgher Guard with some difficulty expelled the mob from the Chamber, but several lives were lost in the affray.

Matters had evidently come to an extremity. The system of granting concession after concession had failed even to conciliate the populace, and had brought the royal authority into contempt, and the country to the brink of ruin. The Ministry of General Von Pfuel, the fourth since March, finding itself unable to meet the difficulties of the crisis, insisted on resigning; and the King, now driven to adopt a different policy, called to his counsels Count Von Brandenburg, whose principles were avowedly hostile to the opinions of the Liberal party. The action of the new Minister was prompt and decided. On the 9th of November, the very day on which his appointment to the office of President was announced, Count Brandenburg appeared in the Assembly. When he rose to address the House he was stopped by the President, on the ground that he was not a member. Upon this he sat down, and handed in a royal decree. It was read amid violent exclamations and protests. After alluding to the display of Republican symbols, and to demonstrations of force to overawe the Assembly, it stated that the transfer of the sittings from Berlin to Brandenburg, where they would be free from intimidation, had become a matter of necessity, and declared 'the sittings of the Constituent Assembly to be prorogued' to the 27th of the month.

The deputies were thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the reading of this decree. Cries of 'Never! never! We protest! We will not consent! We will perish here sooner!' resounded through the hall. In the midst of the tumult Count Branden-

burg rose, and having in the name of the King summoned the Assembly to suspend its sittings forthwith, and adjourn to the time and place named in the royal decree, he left the Chamber, followed by his colleagues and fifty-nine of the members.

The members who remained passed a series of resolutions defying the decree, and declared that they would sit in permanence. The President and thirty of their number remained in the Chamber all night. On the following morning the rest of the body returned to the place of meeting, but found the building surrounded by a strong body of troops under the command of General Von Wrangel, who informed them that those who were in the House might leave it, but that no one should go in. 'How long do you mean to keep your troops here?' the General was asked. 'A week if necessary; my men are used to bivouacking.' Clearly nothing was to be made of this plain-spoken and resolute soldier. The President directed the members to retire under protest, and meet elsewhere next day. They then left the Chamber attended by the Burgher Guard, which had warmly espoused their cause. Early next morning (the 11th) they met to the number of 225 in the hall of the Schützen Gild, protected by a strong body of the Burgher Guard, and cheered by the mob. Addresses of sympathy were presented to them from the Town Council and other public bodies. In the course of the day a proclamation was issued dissolving the Burgher Guard, and calling on them to give up their arms. They intimated their intention to disobey this order, and it was repeated on the following day in more peremptory terms; but as they still disregarded it, General Wrangel, who was now at the head of 30,000 soldiers, declared the city in a state of siege.

Next day (the 13th) the refractory members of the Assembly, still bent on carrying out their own views, met again in the Schützen Hall, but they were summoned by one of General Wrangel's officers to disperse, as being 'an illegal assembly.' The

Vice-President, who was in the chair, refused to move, and the Deputies shouted, 'Never! never! until forced by arms.' Two or three officers now entered the hall, followed by a body of soldiers, and repeated the summons. It was answered as before with vociferous cries. The soldiers then advanced, and lifting the chair in which the Vice-President was sitting, carried him and it into the street. The members followed, protesting all the way against this outrage. On the 15th they met again—this time in the hall of the Town Council, but they were once more dislodged by the soldiers. They re-assembled the same evening at a café. But while they were engaged in discussing a resolution that the Ministry is not authorized to levy taxes until the National Assembly could safely resume its sittings in Berlin, the military once more appeared on the scene and commanded them to dismiss. They obeyed the order, but not until they had by acclamation adopted the resolution against the payment of taxes.

The resolution was as futile as it was unwise. It was promptly denounced by the Diet at Frankfort as having 'deeply shaken the foundations of civil society, and brought Prussia and with it Germany to the verge of civil war.' In Prussia itself the resolution was condemned by the Liberal party, and was entirely disregarded: the taxes were paid and collected as though it had never been passed. Although the Burgher Guard refused to deliver up their arms, they submitted to be disarmed. A considerable number of the leaders of the recent disturbances were arrested, confidence was restored, and Berlin began to recover from the paralysis of industry which the political agitation of a few months had brought upon it. Frederick William 'seemed at least to have learned that his attempts to cultivate a mob popularity by grandiloquent and delusive phrases about freedom and equality, only endangered the stability of his throne' and the safety and prosperity of his kingdom.

Nothing remained but to get rid of the Assembly which had now, by its extreme and violent proceedings, and its utter want of business habits, forfeited the confidence of the public. When it resumed its sittings at Brandenburg on the 27th of November, the refractory members refused to attend for some days, so that a House could not be constituted. They at last entered the Chamber, in order to make a trial of strength; but being defeated on a vote, they at once retired, and the Assembly, in consequence of the paucity of its members, adjourned till the 7th of December. In the meantime, however, on the 5th of that month, to their indignation and dismay, they were dissolved by royal proclamation. On the same day the draft of a new constitution which had been prepared by the Ministry was promulgated. As it was in all its essential provisions identical with that of Belgium, it gave satisfaction to the great body of the Liberal party in Prussia. The Rump of the Assembly sunk into contempt; tranquillity was restored to the capital; and notwithstanding the fickleness and feebleness of the sovereign, his authority was re-established in the country.

The Grand Duchy of Posen, which formed part of the territory allotted to Prussia in the infamous partition of Poland, was the scene at this time of peculiarly shocking atrocities. A large German and Jewish population had grown up there since it was included in the Prussian dominions, although the great bulk of the natives were still Poles who cherished a bitter hatred of the Germans, by whom they were systematically insulted and ill-treated. After the revolution of the 18th March had occurred at Berlin, a deputation of the Poles waited upon the King, and obtained from him the promise that several much-needed reforms should be carried into effect, and in particular that the Duchy of Posen should be divided into two parts—the one Polish and the other German—and that each should obtain a separate local administration. This arrangement, however, was

postponed, and the Poles throughout Silesia rose in arms and inflicted the most shocking cruelties on their German neighbours, who were not slow to retaliate by perpetrating similar atrocities. The contest was carried on with a ferocity before which humanity shudders. Mieroslawski, who had shortly before been released from prison and amnestied by the Prussian King, headed the insurgents, whose numbers rapidly increased until they swelled into a formidable army. A powerful body of

troops was sent against them from Berlin, and after a severe and sanguinary struggle, in which the rebels suffered several defeats, they were compelled to surrender at discretion. After this formidable rebellion was suppressed, General Von Pfuël, who commanded the Prussian troops engaged in this service, made a division of the district, so as to separate the Polish from the German portion, and keep the rival nationalities as far as possible asunder.

CHAPTER VII.

Effect on Germany of the French Revolution—Desire of the German people for Unity—The 'Vor Parliament'—The National Assembly—The Archduke John of Austria chosen Vicar—Unwise conduct of the Assembly—Attack on Denmark—Armistice of Malmoe—Opposition to it in the Assembly—Riots in Frankfort—Murder of Prince Lichnowski and Major Auerswald—Proposed constitution for the German Empire—The King of Prussia elected Emperor of Germany—He declines the office—His reasons—Dissolution of the Assembly—Insurrections in the Germanic States—Condition of France—The Ateliers—Elections to the National Assembly—The Red Republicans—Louis Napoleon—Insurrection in Paris—Sanguinary street fights in Paris—Cavaignac appointed Dictator—Suppression of the Insurrection—Louis Napoleon chosen President—Italian Unity—Renewal of the war between Sardinia and Austria—Defeat of the Sardinians at Mortara and Novara—Abdication of Charles Albert—Amnesties between Sardinia and Austria—Venice—Its noble defence by Manin and General Pepe—Appeals of the Italians to other countries for help—Position of the Pope at Gaeta—His measures—A Republic established in Rome—The Pope's appeal to the Roman Catholic Powers—The French intervention—Its pretences—Its failure—State of feeling in Rome—The French Expedition—Siege of Rome—Garibaldi's Legion—Its exploits—Rome taken by the French—Garibaldi's escape to Venice—Restoration of the Papal Government.

THE revolutionary whirlwind that swept over Europe in 1848 was strongly felt in that large assemblage of States which bore the general designation of Germany, for nowhere were men's minds more bent on securing the advantages of popular institutions and responsible government. The promises of free constitutions which the sovereigns of these states had made to their subjects, to induce them to take up arms against the oppressive domination of Napoleon, had been shamelessly violated; and though in some states the arbitrary authority of the sovereign was slightly concealed under the veil of constitutional forms, the people had in reality no share in the government, and no control over the acts of the ruler and his advisers. But although the continental despots seemed perfectly secure on their thrones, their authority had in reality been undermined by an under-current of democratic agitation which was secretly leavening the community with its speculations; and the great body of the German nation were only waiting for an opportunity to translate their cherished theories into action. On a people in such a situation, the French revolution operated with the instantaneousness and force of an electric shock. 'Thrones, Dominations, Princeloms, Powers' were scattered by it like leaves before a storm in autumn. In the first wild outbreak of the German people,

society was upheaved to its lowest foundations. Class was arrayed against class—the populace against the nobles, the burghers against the army; and a war of opinion as well as of the sword commenced, which threatened the overthrow of all authority, and the total ruin of the best interests of the community.

There was one marked and important difference between Germany and France, which exercised a salutary and to some extent a conservative influence in the former country. There was an intense desire among the whole German people for national unity. The different States of Germany were, in one form or other, the scene of revolutionary agitation; but all cherished the idea that a great central authority ought to be established, which should bring the whole German empire under one system of administration. Accordingly, at the popular assemblages in all the States throughout Germany—Baden, Nassau, Hesse Cassel, Hanover, Bavaria, Saxony, and others—a strong opinion was expressed in favour of the formation of a great German Confederation, in which all the States throughout the country should be represented. A movement to that effect was initiated on the 5th of March by fifty-one influential persons, including the most distinguished members of the Opposition of the different chambers of Prussia, Bavaria,

and other States, who held a meeting at Heidelberg, and appointed a committee to draw up the plan of a new German Parliament.

A preliminary meeting, or *Vor-Parlament*, as it was termed, was convoked for the 30th of March at Frankfort. It consisted of 400 members, who declared that there was an imperious necessity for the appointment 'of a representative assembly chosen by all the German States in proportion to their numbers, as much for the purpose of averting all danger in external or internal affairs as for developing the energy and prosperity of the country;' and they immediately set themselves to determine the basis upon which the representation of the various German States should be founded, and the mode in which the representatives should be elected. They first of all directed the Chamber of Deputies in the Duchy of Schleswig, which for 200 years had been incorporated with Denmark, to send deputies to the approaching National Assembly, which, of course, led to hostilities with Denmark. They next resolved that the old obstructive and absolutist Diet should be superseded by a central authority as the head of an imperial Diet, to be composed of an Upper and Lower Chamber. The leaders of the extreme party made a strenuous effort to carry a vote in favour of a great German republic, but they were defeated by large majorities. They then, under the command of two democratic leaders—Hecker and Struve—tried to excite insurrections in the south and west of Germany in support of their views. Riots, in consequence, took place in Stuttgart, Bamberg, Cassel, and Mannheim; but the insurgents, ill disciplined and badly led, were speedily and easily defeated. 'The miserable, cowardly behaviour of the Free-Corps,' says Wolfgang Menzel, 'who were only good for making rows, for shouting, swilling, and pillaging, but who would not fight, made the Republic from the outset at once impossible and ridiculous.' The old federal Diet had contributed not a little

to conciliate the popular party by their prompt acquiescence in the proposal to convene a National Assembly, and by determining that the several States should be represented at their deliberations, each by a separate deputy. The Diet, at its best, as Stockmar said, had been since 1815 'a wretched machine, despicable and despised,' which the governments had one and all used as 'the instrument of a policy false and dishonourable in itself, and ruinous at once to princes and people.' Its very constitution made 'national activity and energetic consistent measures impossible.' That such a body should now have unanimously decreed the election of the National Assembly of Germany, is a remarkable proof of the change which the general excitement and apprehensions had brought about in the minds of all classes in the country.

On the 18th of May the first German National Assembly met at Frankfort. It was felt at the outset that some central executive power should be created to administer such affairs as affected the nation generally. Some weeks were spent in discussing the nature and limits of the authority which it was necessary to lodge in the executive. At length the Assembly decreed, on the 28th of June, that this power should be confided to a vicar of the Empire, and the Archduke John, uncle of the then reigning Emperor of Austria, was appointed to the office by a large majority. Prussia was deeply offended at this step, and the other sovereigns held aloof. But the Diet voted an address to the Archduke, stating that even before the choice of the Assembly was made, they had been instructed by their respective governments to declare in favour of the election of his Imperial Highness.

On the 12th of July the Archduke was solemnly installed at Frankfort as Vicar or *Reichsverweser* of the Empire. The Diet sent a deputation to invite him to appear among them 'in order that they might place in his hands the functional discharge of the constitutional rights and

duties which had belonged to the Diet, and which were now in the name of the German Governments to be transferred to the Provisional Central Power.' The Vicar of the Empire accepted the invitation, and the dissolution of the Diet was immediately thereafter pronounced with all due solemnity.

About the beginning of August the first Ministry of the Regent of the Germanic Empire was appointed, with Prince Leiningen, the half-brother of Queen Victoria, at the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs. But the great majority of the Assembly soon showed that they entirely mistook their position. They had no material sources at their command—no army, and no means of raising one. They had consequently no power to enforce their decrees; but they thought fit to act as if they could compel both sovereigns and people to obey their mandates. The real character of the Assembly is tersely and graphically described by Menzel. 'In Frankfort sat a feeble old man among 500 talkers as powerless as himself, who unfortunately did all they could to destroy as quickly and as completely as possible their moral power, the only one they had.'

The Assembly was very soon taught to feel its own impotence. The *Vor Parliament* had issued a decree, as we have seen, incorporating Schleswig with the German Confederation, and a Prussian army was sent to enforce that decree. The Danes fought gallantly against the invaders of their territory, but were obliged to retire before a superior force from the mainland to the neighbouring islands of Alsen and Fünen. A division of the Prussians then advanced into Jutland, a province purely Danish. This unwarrantable proceeding caused Sweden to interpose and to land a considerable force on the island of Fünen, while a Russian fleet was ordered to cruise along the Danish coast, and if necessary to assist the Danes. These prompt measures caused the Prussian forces to withdraw from Jutland; and through the mediation of Great

Britain, Sweden, and Russia, an armistice was concluded at Malmoe on the 26th of August, which was to last for seven months.

The question of the armistice was brought before the Frankfort Assembly on the 5th of September. Its terms were denounced as a compromise of German honour, and an abuse of power on the part of Prussia; and it was resolved, by a majority of 238 to 22, that it should not be ratified. This vote was followed by the resignation of the Ministry; but Dahlmann, the leader of the hostile majority, who was intrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet, could find no one to join him in the attempt to carry out his aggressive policy. Meanwhile the violent conduct of the revolutionary party in the Duchies themselves had contributed not a little to alienate their friends in the German Parliament; and on the 16th of September, after a long and stormy debate, they reversed their former resolution by 257 votes to 236. So soon as it became known that the Assembly had resolved to support the armistice the extreme revolutionary party held monster meetings, at which the majority of the Assembly who had ratified the 'infamous armistice of Malmoe' were declared to have been 'guilty of high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honour of the German people.' Inflammatory speeches were addressed to the mob by these reckless and unprincipled demagogues, whose real object was to overturn the Government. In this emergency the Vicar persuaded Von Schmerling, the former Minister of the Interior, to resume office; and seeing clearly that both the safety of the Assembly and the public peace were in imminent danger, he hastily summoned detachments of Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops from the neighbouring fortress of Mayence to protect the city. On the 18th a large and excited mob advanced to the Paulus Church, where the Assembly held its meetings, for the purpose of storming it, but found it protected by the soldiers. The rioters then began to throw stones at the troops, and to erect barricades in the streets;

but after a sharp encounter, which lasted till midnight, they were defeated at all points with the loss of only eight of the military. Two of the most eminent members of the Assembly, however, Prince Lichnowski and Major Auerswald, while attempting to reason with the insurgents, were murdered with circumstances of brutal ferocity.

These shocking atrocities, and the danger they had so narrowly escaped, had a sobering effect even on the Radical members of the Assembly; and they set themselves in earnest to discuss the articles of the proposed German Confederation. According to the draft of the Constitution, which was prepared by a committee, and substantially adopted by the Assembly, the countries then comprising the Germanic Confederation, including even their non-Germanic territories, together with Schleswig and the provinces of Eastern and Western Prussia, were to be fused into one 'grand, free, fraternal empire,' the existing sovereignties being limited and subordinated to this end. The office of Emperor was to be hereditary, and Frankfort was to be its capital. A civil list was to be voted by the German Parliament for the support of the Imperial dignity. The executive in all the affairs of the empire was to be vested in the Emperor. He was to appoint all officers of the State, of the army and navy, and of the staff of the National Guard. He was to be intrusted with the charge of all negotiations between Germany and foreign states, with authority to conclude treaties, with the disposal of the army, and with power to declare war and make peace. The Imperial Parliament was to consist of two Houses—the Upper composed of the thirty-three reigning sovereigns or their deputies, by a deputy from each of the four Free Towns, and by the addition of as many Imperial councillors with certain qualifications as would raise the whole Chamber to the number of 200 members. The Lower House was to consist of representatives elected by the people in fixed proportions, but by methods to be arranged

by the respective States. The Constitution thus proposed for the new Germanic Empire was certainly of a most imposing character. 'All the hereditary estates of Austria, all the hoarded acquisitions of Prussia, all the accumulations of territorial capital, all the fragments of impoverished patrimonies comprised within the provinces bearing the German name, were to be fused anew into a political creation of the most imposing grandeur, whose constituent States were to be guaranteed by the supreme Imperial power all those privileges which had hitherto been so vainly promised by their respective sovereigns—representative assemblies, responsible Ministries, rights of self-taxation, freedom of the press, independent judicial tribunals, and trial by jury.' But based as it was upon universal suffrage, and placing the control of both the Upper and Lower Chamber in the hands of the people, it was really what it was termed, a republic in disguise, and was consequently not likely to be regarded with favour by the crowned heads of Germany.

The next and most important step was the choice of a head to the new Executive. At one time the feeling was strong and prevalent that the King of Prussia could not be relied on, and that his professed sympathies with constitutional reform would in all probability evaporate in sentimental speeches and proclamations. But it had of late become evident that Austria need not be expected to take any part in promoting German unity. Her Prime Minister, Prince Schwartzemberg, had announced his intention to consolidate the empire as it stood with reference to purely Austrian interests, and she had thus voluntarily withdrawn herself from the German Confederacy. It was therefore argued with great force that Germany should act upon the same principle, and consolidate her purely German States with an exclusive reference to the welfare of the German Empire. That empire should therefore consist of purely German elements, and her Imperial interests be intrusted to the hands of a purely

German sovereign. The Prime Minister, Von Gagern, recommended the Assembly, in keeping with these views, to treat Austria as a member of the Germanic Confederation, but to regard her as not included in the new Federal Constitution. It was evident, therefore, that it was to Prussia they must look for the central power which should take the place of that provisionally occupied by the Regent. Twenty-eight of the smaller States had expressed themselves willing to concur in this proposal; but the reigning sovereigns of Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hanover, protested against any measure which should place them under the authority of the Prussian monarch.

Notwithstanding the opposition of these Powers the requisite majority was gained over by a compact which Von Gagern made with the democratic deputies, pledging himself to consent to no material alteration of the Constitution. On the 28th of March, 1849, the King of Prussia was elected by the Assembly Emperor of Germany by 290 votes in a House of 538 members. When the news reached Berlin it was received by the two Chambers, as they said, 'with feelings of exultation,' and they immediately voted addresses earnestly entreating the King to accept the Imperial crown. On the 3rd of April the deputation appointed by the Frankfort Assembly to tender the crown of Germany to the King waited upon him for that purpose, but the offer was declined. He could not, he said, accept the high office they proposed to confer upon him, 'without the voluntary assent of the Crowned Princes and Free States of our Fatherland'—a statement which could not fail to give great offence to a body who were not inclined to leave their hard-won rights at the mercy of princes swayed exclusively by a regard to their own privileges, and not to the welfare of their subjects. There can be no doubt that the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria had by this time come to an understanding that the old obstructive Diet should be restored, and

that Germany and Austria should retain their former connection; and Frederick William was quite well aware that the 'Crowned Princes' to whom he referred would certainly refuse their consent to his assumption of the Imperial crown.

In answer to an appeal made to them, Austria, Hanover, Bavaria, and Würtemberg explicitly refused their assent to the acceptance of the Imperial crown by the King of Prussia, and the Parliament at Frankfort declined to make the alterations which he insisted on in the Germanic Constitution. He therefore intimated to the Assembly, in distinct and unequivocal terms, that he could not accept the crown, which without the consent of these powers was 'an unreal dignity,' and the Constitution itself only 'a means gradually and under legal pretences to set aside authority and to introduce the Republic.'

The breach between the Assembly and Prussia rapidly widened. On the adoption of the resolution, on the 2nd of March, to offer the Imperial crown to Frederick William, the Austrian deputies were ordered to leave the Assembly; and on the 14th of May a royal ordinance was issued enjoining the Prussian deputies to abstain from taking any further part in its proceedings. The Assembly retaliated by passing violent resolutions against the Prussian Government. Thinking itself no longer safe in Frankfort, which was surrounded by the military forces of Prussia, it resolved, on the 30th of May, to remove to Stuttgart. The great body of the more moderate and judicious members of the Assembly had already retired, and a portion remained at Frankfort along with the Regent and the Ministry. At this juncture the plenipotentiaries of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony issued a draft of an Imperial Federal Constitution which they had prepared for the formation of a great German empire. Austria, however, declared in decided terms her disapproval of the scheme, and Bavaria declined to join the combination. It was denounced also by the Rump of

the Assembly at Stuttgart, who on the 6th of June passed a series of violent resolutions deposing the Regent, appointing five extreme Republicans to carry on the Government, decreeing a general arming of the people, and the levying of a heavy subsidy in men and arms on the State of Würtemberg. On this the Würtemberg Government took possession of their place of meeting with a file of soldiers, and dispersed the members, who never met again.

The great body of the German people were deeply disappointed at the failure of the attempt to form a Confederation of all the States throughout the empire, consequent on the refusal of the King of Prussia to accept the Imperial crown; and as had been predicted, it was immediately followed by fresh insurrections in the smaller States. The refusal of the King of Saxony to acknowledge the Frankfort Constitution led to a rising in Dresden, which compelled the King to take refuge in the fortress of Königstein. A Provisional Government was formed, with a Polish refugee at its head. Several desperate conflicts took place in the streets, and it was not until a detachment of troops arrived from Berlin to the assistance of the Saxon forces that the city was retaken and the revolt finally crushed. Similar risings took place at the same time in Cologne, Elberfeld, Crefeld, Neuss, Hagen, Düsseldorf, and Iserlohn, and were not suppressed without a great deal of bloodshed. The insurrections in the Palatinate and the Duchy of Baden were much more serious, for there the troops made common cause with the insurgents. And as the Regent had not sufficient forces at his command to suppress these revolutionary excesses, the Bavarian Government, notwithstanding their jealousy of Prussia, were obliged to invoke the aid of Frederick William to restore order in the Palatinate. A strong body of Prussian troops, under General Herschfield and the Prince of Prussia, was accordingly sent to reinforce the Federal army commanded by General

Peucker. The insurgents, who were led by Mieroslawski, a Pole who had been prominent in the risings in Posen and Sicily, made a stout resistance, and on more than one occasion nearly worsted the Prussian and Federal forces; but in the end they were defeated, and their leader with a portion of his followers took refuge in Switzerland. Those who remained threw themselves into the fortress of Rastadt, where they were starved into a surrender.

While the revolution in Germany had thus run its course, and 'the wheel had come full circle,' France was in the throes of a bloody civil war. At the very outset the Provisional Government had to direct their attention to a most difficult problem—the support of the unemployed multitudes of Paris. They issued a proclamation declaring that it was time to put an end to the long and iniquitous sufferings of the workmen of Paris, and they appointed a permanent Commission to take charge of the organization of labour. National workshops, called *Ateliers*, were opened by the Government, where two francs a day were paid to the workmen; and as it was impossible to give employment to the crowds who applied for admission to the *Ateliers*, one franc a day was given to those for whom work could not be immediately provided. As might have been foreseen, this arrangement had a most injurious effect. The great body of the operatives preferred the smaller pay and idleness to higher wages and work, and the *Ateliers* were in consequence almost deserted. The greatest hostility was displayed against the English workmen employed on the railroads and in the different manufacturing establishments. Their masters were therefore everywhere obliged to dismiss them, and in many places they had to flee for their lives—an instructive example of the 'fraternity' proclaimed as one of the three watchwords of the Republic.

The Communists or Socialists were a more formidable source of danger than

even the idle workmen of Paris. In their eyes the possession of property was a crime, and their object was to overthrow all existing institutions, and to establish the dominion of an unbridled democracy. Their leaders, Blanqui, Cabet, and Raspail, at the instigation of Ledru-Rollin, the Minister of the Interior, who was intriguing against the more moderate of his colleagues, assembled the mob on the 17th of March, to the number of 150,000, and besieged and menaced the Government, whose Ministers very narrowly escaped destruction at their hands. A second demonstration of a similar kind, on the 16th of April, intended to overthrow and remodel the Government into the old type of a Committee of Public Safety, was defeated without bloodshed through the masterly dispositions of General Changarnier, whom in this extremity M. Marrast had called to the aid of the Government.

It had already become evident to all who had anything to lose that the institutions of the country, and all property, private as well as public, were in imminent danger from the designs of the Red Republicans, and a powerful reactionary feeling began to pervade all the respectable classes of the community. When the election of Representatives to sit in the National Assembly took place, by universal suffrage, on the 23rd and 24th of April, the leaders of the Communists were at the bottom of the poll. In the capital itself they met with a signal defeat. Lamartine, who stood at the head of the list, and was elected for eight other places, received nearly double the number of votes given for Ledru-Rollin; and Dupont, Carnot, Arago, Cavaignac, and other candidates of the same class, obtained a large measure of support, to the great indignation of the populace, who broke out into serious riots when they found that their favourite candidates had not been returned.

The National Assembly commenced its sittings on the 4th of May. After proclaiming the Republic with great formality and pomp, arrangements were made for conduct-

ing the business of the Chamber in an orderly manner, and an Executive Committee was chosen by ballot. A Ministry was appointed on the 11th, and a great Feast of Fraternity was in preparation, at which all the citizens of Paris were invited to attend, when on the 15th of May an immense mob, headed by Barbès, Raspail, and Blanqui, suddenly invaded the Chamber, burst open the doors, filled the interior of the building, and, amid indescribable uproar and confusion, declared the Assembly dissolved. They then hurried off to the Hotel de Ville and proclaimed a Provisional Government, consisting, with one or two exceptions, of Red Republicans. But Lamartine, accompanied by a strong body of National Guards, forced his way into the building, arrested Barbès, Blanqui, Albert (who had been a member of the Provisional Government), Sebrier, and Raspail, the leaders of the mob, and sent them prisoners to the Castle of Vincennes.

The Assembly, thus victorious over the populace, proceeded with its reconstructive labours, and appointed a committee to draw up the plan of a Constitution. A decree of perpetual banishment against Louis Philippe and his family was adopted by a majority of 695 to 63. At this stage an ominous interruption of their proceedings occurred in connection with Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the late Emperor Napoleon. He had been taken prisoner at Boulogne in a ridiculous attempt to overthrow Louis Philippe's throne with a handful of followers and a tame eagle, and was confined in the fortress of Ham for six years. On the 25th of May, 1846, he made his escape from the castle in the disguise of a workman, and succeeded in reaching England, where he was residing when the French Revolution broke out and the Orleans dynasty ceased to reign. He came over to Paris when the Republic was proclaimed, but, acting upon the advice of the Provisional Government, he quietly retired from France. He had been elected a member of the National Assembly by no less than four constituencies, and a vehement

and angry debate took place on the question whether he should be allowed to take his seat. His admission was carried, but the opposition was so violent that he sent a letter to the Assembly tendering the resignation of his seat. A significant indication however of coming events was given by the facts that some regiments were said to have shouted 'Vive Napoléon Louis!' in reply to the exclamation of the National Guard, 'Vive la République!'—that the same cry had been heard in the streets, and that within four days three journals had been established for the purpose of advocating the candidature of Louis Napoleon as President. In some cases also there was reason to believe that the name of Napoleon had been used as a pretext for disturbances.

Meanwhile the masses of workmen whom the Government had been feeding for months were ready to break out into open revolt. They had calculated on the fulfilment of the promises made to them in the early days of the Revolution, and they were now quite well aware that the privileges they had enjoyed were about to be withdrawn. It was indeed impossible to carry on longer a system which would very soon have devoured the whole revenue of the State. The Ateliers, as Victor Hugo said, had squandered uselessly the resources of the country, had degraded the working classes, deprived them of all taste for labour, and demoralized them to such a degree that they no longer blushed to beg in the streets. M. Leon Faucher said that very soon not a single manufacture would be in operation in Paris, and the one-half of the city was relieved by the other half.

The Government, therefore, found it absolutely necessary to reduce the number of workmen who were receiving public relief in the Ateliers, and on the 22nd of June they issued an order that 3000 of those who came from the provinces should return to their respective homes. They were supplied with money and tickets to enable them to procure provisions and lodgings on their journey. They left the city in sullen dis-

content, but a considerable number of them immediately returned and joined their comrades in the different faubourgs, where a plan of insurrection had already been fully organized. On the following day the whole north and east of Paris was covered with barricades, some of them of enormous strength. The houses on each side were pierced with loopholes, and passages were cut through the party-walls, so that when one was taken the insurgents might retire to the next house, and there continue the fight. 'Do not deceive yourselves,' said Lamartine to the other members of the Government; 'we do not advance to a strife with an *emeute*, but to a pitched battle with a confederacy of great factions. If the Republic, and with it society, is to be saved it must have arms in its hands during the first years of its existence, and its force should be disposed not only here but over the whole surface of the empire, as for great wars, which embrace not only the quarters of Paris, but the provinces.' Society was saved, but not until the streets of Paris and other towns were deluged with blood, and atrocities perpetrated which make the heart sicken.

The conflict began on the morning of the 23rd, and raged during the whole day with the utmost fury. Fears were entertained respecting the fidelity of the Garde Mobile, which was composed of men of the same class with the insurgents; but they behaved admirably, and fought with the most determined bravery and zeal, side by side with the troops of the line and the National Guard. A considerable number of the barricades were carried, after a severe struggle and at a great loss of life; but on the following morning it was discovered that many of them had been re-erected during the night. The insurgents had arranged their plans with great care and no small skill, and had regular officers appointed beforehand, who assumed the chief command in three organized districts—the north, south, and the centre, where was the post of their commander-in-chief.

Matters had now assumed a very serious aspect, and in the course of the morning the Executive Committee resigned their functions, and General Cavaignac, the Minister of War, was appointed Dictator. The forces under his command were reinforced by large numbers of the provincial National Guards, who now poured into Paris, and the contest was renewed with redoubled fury. The insurgents had entrenched themselves in the most densely populated parts of the city, and had constructed formidable barricades of paving stones of a hundredweight each. The houses commanding these obstructions were loopholed and manned with practised marksmen. Mattresses were placed against the windows, behind which they could take secure and deliberate aim; and women were actively employed in casting bullets and supplying arms, as well as in tending the wounded insurgents.

The struggle continued throughout the whole of the 24th and the 25th. The insurgents fought with desperate courage, but were driven back step by step. As soon as one barricade was carried they fell back upon another, fortified in the same manner, while a galling fire was opened from the houses on both sides of the street upon the troops as they advanced to attack the next stronghold. In this way every inch of ground was contested; but the dispositions of General Cavaignac were of the most masterly kind, and the cannon, mortars, and howitzers brought into play demolished the fastnesses reared by the populace, and opened a way for the troops and the National Guards to bayonet or capture the defenders. On the 25th the Archbishop of Paris nobly attempted to act as mediator between the combatants. Clad in his sacerdotal robes, and attended by his two Grand Vicars, he proceeded towards the Faubourg St. Antoine, so notorious in the history of Parisian disturbances. His progress was arrested by a strong barricade, which had been erected at the foot of the column of the Bastille, where firing was actively going on, but he

bravely ascended the barricade and addressed the insurgents on the other side. The firing ceased meanwhile, and the prelate's address was apparently producing some effect, when suddenly a drum-roll was heard, a shot was fired, and the contest was at once renewed. The venerable Archbishop was mortally wounded by a ball which struck him in the loins, and was carried by the insurgents into an adjoining house, where he calmly breathed his last.

About noon on the 25th the Faubourg St. Antoine, the stronghold of the insurrection and the last which held out, capitulated, and General Cavaignac was enabled to announce to the National Assembly the complete suppression of the revolt. But the victory was dearly purchased. Among the large numbers who fell on the side of the Government in this miserable conflict were many distinguished generals, along with thousands of the troops and the National Guards. No accurate estimate could be formed of the losses incurred by the insurgents, but they must have amounted to many thousands; 15,000 were taken prisoners, a considerable number of whom were shot, while 3000 of those who were spared died of jail fever, brought on by overcrowding of the prisons. Well might Stockmar say, 'What misery have not Louis Blanc, Albert, Flocon, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, &c., &c., brought upon their country!' France paid a heavy penalty in this 'Parisian massacre' for the revolution which the apathy of the middle classes had allowed the Republicans and Communists to inflict upon them, and a heavier still was in store for them before the cup of retribution and suffering which divine Providence presented to their lips was drained.

On the suppression of the revolt General Cavaignac resigned the extraordinary powers which had been intrusted to him, but he was immediately and almost unanimously appointed by the Assembly President of the Council. A committee, nominated to inquire into the insurrections

which took place in the months of May and June, brought to light important facts, which clearly showed the complicity of Caussidière, Prefect of the Police, in the schemes of the Communist clubs—the main authors of the Parisian revolt—and implicated also Ledru-Rollin, the Minister of the Interior, in their plots. Inflammatory documents had been issued by Government agents; influential members of the clubs, invested with unlimited powers, had been sent to the provinces with money taken from the funds of the Ministry of the Interior to foment a new revolutionary movement; manufactories of powder and arms upon a large scale had been carried on in Paris; and a military organization formed, preparatory to the insurrection, with the full knowledge of Caussidière and the connivance of the Minister of the Interior. In consequence of these revelations authority was given by the Assembly to the Procureur-Général to prosecute Louis Blanc and Caussidière, but they both succeeded in making their escape, and found refuge in England.

The national workshops were now suppressed—indeed, in the existing state of the public finances it was impossible to carry them on longer. The expenses of the year of revolution amounted to the enormous sum of 1,802,000,000 francs, while the revenue was only 1,383,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 419,000,000. No less than 270,000,000 francs were absorbed by the extra expenses of the Provisional Government and the National Assembly. After months of debate the Assembly, on the 4th of November, adopted a Constitution embodying universal suffrage and vote by ballot, freedom of the press and the abolition of capital punishment for political offences, the toleration of all religious systems and the payment by the state of their ministers. There was to be only one Chamber. The Republic was to be presided over by a President, who was to be a French citizen, and was to be elected, not by the Assembly, but by the nation at large.

The candidates for the office of President

were Louis Napoleon, who had meanwhile been returned as deputy by no fewer than four departments, Generals Cavaignac and Changarnier, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Raspail. The election took place on the 10th of December, and resulted in an immense preponderance of votes for Louis Napoleon, who received 5,334,226, while General Cavaignac, who stood next on the list, notwithstanding the eminent services which he had rendered to the Republic and the country, failed against the single claim advanced by his competitor in 'the great name,' and obtained only 1,448,107 votes. Ledru-Rollin followed with 370,119; the Socialist Raspail had 36,226; Lamartine, 17,910; and General Changarnier, only 4700. It was thus made evident that France had already had more than enough of a revolutionary policy, and was determined to intrust the government of the country to men who had some respect for law and order, and might be expected to give stability to the new institutions. On the 20th of December the Prince was proclaimed President, and took the oath of fidelity to the constitution. On the evening of the same day the list of a new ministry was published, consisting of moderate Liberals, with Odillon Barrot as President of the Council.

The reaction which in the course of a few months had taken place in France, the cradle of the revolutionary outbreak that had spread over Europe, was still more strongly felt in other parts of the Continent. The cause of Italian unity was for the present lost. By the terms of the armistice concluded between Austria and the Italian army of independence the King of Sardinia became bound to withdraw his troops within his own boundaries, and of course vacating Parma, Modena, and Venice. The foot of the hated 'Tedeschi' was on Italy once more. Tuscany was preserved from invasion by the mediation of the British minister. But the Austrians restored the expelled and defeated Duke of Modena, and sent a detachment of troops to Parma to undertake the temporary govern-

ment in the name of the Duke, thus once more proclaiming and confirming the connection between foreign domination and petty native tyrannies. An attempt was made at this juncture to mediate between Austria and Italy, with the view of effecting a final arrangement which might be beneficial to both. But Austria, successful in the field, was no longer willing to concede the terms which she had offered in the depth of her distress, and it speedily became evident that she was determined to maintain her Italian provinces by force of arms.

The Sardinian monarch was now placed in a very difficult and critical position, for both external and internal pressure was coercing him into a renewal of the war. The English Government, warned by Mr. Abercromby, the British Minister at Turin, months before the armistice was broken, that this result was highly probable, earnestly pressed upon the Sardinian Government not to take the imprudent step of recommencing hostilities, but without effect. Frequent disputes arose on the terms of the armistice, and various irritating questions sprung up to keep alive the angry feeling between the two recently belligerent powers. The Italian demagogues were clamorous for a renewal of the attempt to expel the foreigner from the peninsula. Bologna, Leghorn, Rome, and especially Genoa, resounded with appeals to popular passions and denunciations of a pacific policy. The severity of the military rule which Radetzky imposed upon Milan, the heavy contributions, the seizure of arms under the penalty of death for their concealment, and all the rigours of martial law, which made the yoke more oppressive than ever on the necks of the Lombards, contributed greatly to strengthen the war party in Piedmont, and added weight to their urgent demands that the contest should be renewed. To impartial spectators it seemed inexcusable to renew a war undertaken to procure for the Italians an independence which they had shown themselves unable to maintain, and institutions of which they had proved them-

selves unworthy. But, as Mr. Abercromby wrote on 8th March, four days before the denunciation of the armistice, 'The deplorable infatuation which prevailed upon the questions of the realization of the kingdom of Upper Italy, of fighting the Austrians and driving them from Italy, has completely warped judgment and good sense.' The position of the Sardinian Government was one of almost inextricable embarrassment, and of great danger whichever course was adopted. Retreat was very difficult and perilous to the King's own throne; but it was the safer course of the two, for the army did not share the infatuation of the Sardinian Chamber, and would have suppressed any attempt to overthrow the Government at home. If Charles Albert had waited and watched events, the Austrian defeats in Hungary would have afforded him some chance of success in the new campaign. As matters stood the case was hopeless from the first.

On the 12th of March, 1849, the formal announcement of the cessation of the armistice was made to Marshal Radetzky, and was met by a proclamation couched in a tone of scornful defiance and anticipated victory. Leaving only a garrison of 4000 men to preserve tranquillity among the disarmed and cowed population of Milan, the veteran general marched with all his forces to the frontier. The Sardinian army was under the command of General Chrzanowsky, a Polish officer, and Charles Albert accompanied it merely as a general officer at the head of the brigade of Savoy. The hostile armies crossed the Ticino, the river that separates Lombardy from Piedmont, nearly at the same time of the same day (20th of March). General Ramorino had been ordered to prevent the passage of the Austrian army, but he offered no resistance to their march; and by an act at the time inexplicable, and for which he was afterwards tried by a court-martial and shot, he withdrew the division under his command from its position and retired behind the Po. The Austrian General was thus en-

abled to attack and defeat at Mortara other two divisions of the Piedmontese army, which were taken by surprise, and had barely time to occupy Mortara before they were attacked. Their dispositions were imperfect; some of the troops and a great part of the artillery had not arrived when the battle commenced. The Piedmontese army, reduced in numbers and dispirited by such severe and sudden losses, now concentrated itself, on the 23rd, in a strong position around Novara, and there waited the attack of the enemy. Radetzky marched at once to give it battle, and on the 24th an engagement took place which decided the fate of the campaign. Great courage and skill were displayed on both sides, and the contest was protracted and keen. The Piedmontese artillery maintained the high reputation which it had won, and the King throughout the day exposed his life with a bravery which bordered on rashness. The division of the Austrian army under General D'Aspre, which, coming up first, attacked the Piedmontese early in the day, met with a resistance that as Radetzky admits 'made the result of the battle doubtful for some hours.' But the Austrian general brought up his reserves against the wearied Piedmontese, and kept them at bay until the arrival of his fourth corps from Vercelli, cutting off the natural line of retreat, converted failure into a total rout. The principal positions of the Piedmontese were stormed by the Austrians at the point of the bayonet, and at nightfall the field was in complete possession of the conquerors.

Charles Albert had thus lost the great stake for which he had played; and feeling that he could not make peace with the Austrians, nor they with him, he resolved at once to abdicate the throne, and to give to his son the task which he could not himself accomplish. He lost no time in carrying this resolution into effect, and quitting his capital, 'surrounded and followed by respectful regrets' he hurried rapidly to Nice, and thence to France, where he soon

after died, deeply regretted by his people as 'the first constitutional king of Piedmont, and the champion and martyr of Italian freedom.'

An armistice preparatory to a peace was arranged at once between the young King and Radetzky, on terms as favourable to Piedmont as could have been expected. The rapidity with which the war had been brought to a close prevented a projected rising in Lombardy; but the citizens of Brescia, which was to have been the centre and headquarters of the insurrection, unfortunately flew to arms, drove out the Austrian garrison, and under resolute and skilful leaders, resisted for a considerable time the forces employed against the town with a desperate courage which elicited the admiration even of their enemies. The Austrian general who commanded the besiegers—the infamous Haynau—bombarded the city until the greater part of it was laid in ruins, and then carried the barricades at the point of the bayonet. The cruelties which he inflicted on the citizens when resistance was at an end were fit precursors of his career in Hungary.

The Genoese, who cherished a hereditary jealousy towards Piedmont, were induced by some worthless agitators to protest, by an insurrection, against the peace with Austria, and were very unwisely recognized as allies by the Republican Government at Rome; but the revolt was speedily suppressed by General Marmora.

Austria had now acquired possession of all her Italian territories with the exception of Venice. A Provisional Government had been formed in that city in March, 1848, which hastened to express its sympathy with the efforts of the Lombards to throw off the Austrian yoke. The Piazza of St. Mark heard the Republic proclaimed once more by the voice of Manin. The example was speedily followed by the other towns of the Venetian provinces. Venice passed under the authority of the commissioners representing the monarchy which Charles Albert had assumed when the Italian revolution was at its height; but four days

after this had taken place, news arrived of the armistice which the King of Sardinia had concluded with the Austrian marshal. Utter anarchy now threatened Venice, but Manin at once came to the front and informed the crowd which filled the Place of St. Mark with passionate and menacing clamours, that the rule of the Commissioners was at an end, and that an Assembly should be summoned within forty-eight hours. 'In the interval,' he added, 'I govern.' His self-constituted dictatorship was ratified by universal consent, and he certainly did all that any man could have done to preserve the freedom and independence of the famous city of the Lagoons. The armistice had the effect of partially suspending the attacks of the Austrians, who contented themselves with placing the city in a state of close blockade. But when the armistice was broken, and Charles Albert driven from the field, Venice had nothing to look for but the full brunt of their displeasure at its result. 'You have heard the tidings,' said the President Manin to the representatives of the people; 'what do you now wish to do?' The Government, it was replied, should take the initiation. 'Are ye disposed to resist?' 'We are.' 'Will you, then, give me unlimited powers to conduct the resistance without question?' 'We will.' Pressing round their noble-minded and indomitable leader, and grasping his hand, they passed in two clauses a decree as significant as it was brief—'Venice will resist the Austrians at whatever cost. For this purpose the President Manin is invested with unlimited powers.' It has been well said 'its ancient spirit was not dead in the city of Dandolo.'

When the King of Naples resolved to recall his army from the war against the Austrian domination in Italy (22nd May, 1848), he sent orders to its commander, General Pepe, either to lead back the troops from Bologna to Naples or to resign the command for that purpose to General Statella. The General obeyed the order so far as to resign his command, but with

the troops that adhered to him—between 2000 and 3000 in number—he made his way to Venice, where the Provisional Government appointed him at once Commander-in-chief. In that capacity he conducted the defence of the city—a defence which the advantages of the position and the steady endurance of the inhabitants for fifteen months enabled him to protract until August, 1849. His efforts to preserve order and discipline, as well as to encourage enterprise, are deserving of the highest commendation, while at the same time he inculcated subordination and patience on the citizens and soldiers alike as essential to a patriotic defence of their rights. In the month of June, 1849, a vigorous bombardment commenced, which, however, did little mischief, as the balls fell short of the inhabited part of the city. At length Fort Malghera, the most important point in the Venetian defences, fell into the hands of the Austrians after a defence which is thus characterized in the *Augsburg Gazette*:—'To honour praise should be given. The garrison of Malghera behaved most valiantly, and here every one acknowledges that no troops could have resisted longer.' The endurance of the inhabitants paralleled the courage of the soldiers.

Appeals were made by the Venetian President to every quarter whence help could be expected. It was impossible for Great Britain to interfere, and Lord Palmerston, no doubt with great pain, could only recommend the Venetians to accommodate matters with Austria. The intervention of France at Rome had destroyed the aid the Venetians might have expected from Central Italy. Kossuth, to whom they appealed, was in the midst of the life and death struggle with Austria for Hungarian independence, which the interference of Russia destroyed. Assailed at once by the arms of a powerful army and by disease, famine, and failure of ammunition, Venice at last capitulated on honourable terms on the 28th of August, 1849. The chief leaders, President Manin, General

Pepe, and others, escaped on board a French steamer. The 'Austro-Lombardo-Venetian' kingdom was thus completely reconstructed. The struggle for Italian freedom and unity had ended, for the present, in the restoration of the hated rule of Austria in Lombardy, and her supremacy in Italy. It would have been well for Austria herself, if it had ended otherwise. In later and better times, and under abler leaders, the struggle was renewed, with a more successful and satisfactory result than had been hoped for by the most sanguine friends of Italian freedom.

While the Austrian Emperor and the Italian sovereigns whom he supported on their thrones had thus succeeded in re-establishing their authority, the Pope was still an exile and his capital in the hands of the Republicans. Once in safety at Gaeta, the Pontiff denounced the Ministry whom, in compliance with the demands of the people, he had appointed before his flight, and instituted a temporary Commission who alone were authorized to regulate public matters during his absence from Rome. He could scarcely expect that this attempt to govern by proxy would be successful, and the members whom he had named, in fact, refused to act. Every effort was made on the part of the Ministry and others to induce the Pope to return to the Vatican, but without effect. He absolutely declined all communication with those whom he persisted in regarding as his revolted subjects. He continued to protest against every act of the Ministry as 'null and of no effect, and illegal,' and he commenced the New Year with the threat of an excommunication which caused great excitement and indignation among the Roman population. On the 8th of February, 1849, the Constituent Assembly adopted a decree formally abolishing the temporal sovereignty of the Pope and establishing a Republic in Rome, at the same time declaring that the Roman Pontiff shall enjoy all the guarantees necessary for the exercise of his spiritual power. Mamiani voted against this decree,

and he retired from the Assembly on its being carried. The Pope of course issued a protest against the institution of a Republic to the representatives of the different Roman Catholic States, assembled at Gaeta for the purpose of negotiating his restoration to his dominions. And finding that his spiritual weapons had failed to bring his subjects to give absolute submission to his decrees, he made formal application, under date of February 18th, to these powers to aid him against 'an ungrateful people whom he had loaded with his benefits,' and who, his secretary Cardinal Antonelli declared, had been guilty of 'the blackest villainy' and the 'most abominable impiety.'

The Roman Catholic powers were ready and indeed eager to comply with this demand, and both Spain and Austria had previously issued a manifesto in favour of the Holy Father; and on the 18th of February a body of Austrian troops, under General Haynau, crossed the Po and entered Ferrara, on which he levied heavy exactions. A month later the Cabinet of Vienna proposed that the Governments of Austria, France, and Naples should make known to the Provisional Government of Rome their determination to take immediate steps for the restoration of the Pope to 'the full rights of the sovereignty to which he is entitled.' The Romans, however, were no way intimidated by this threat. They had on the 12th of February invited Mazzini, the celebrated democratic leader, to Rome. The title of citizen was conferred upon him, and he was proclaimed a member of the Constituent Assembly. For the purpose of insuring vigour and unity of action it was resolved that the whole executive power should be intrusted to a Triumvirate, consisting of Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi, who made vigorous preparations for the defence of the city against the expected attack of the Austrians. At this stage the French Government interposed in a manner for which they received no credit from any party. They resolved to send an expedition

to Civita Vecchia, with what object it is even now difficult to explain or understand. M. Odillon Barrot, the President of the Council, made a vague statement respecting the 'necessity to maintain the legitimate influence of France in Italy, and to obtain for the Roman population a good government founded on liberal institutions;' but the public saw in the expedition only the attempt of a Republic, established by a revolution, to suppress another Republic instituted in a similar manner and on far more justifiable grounds. Louis Napoleon and his Ministry undoubtedly expected to effect their object without violence; and they were mortified and angry that the Romans did not show the favourable or timid dispositions upon which they had counted, and that they were obliged in the face of Europe to overcome by force the resistance which they had hoped to overawe by a mere display of their power. In direct contradiction therefore to every profession made by the Assembly and Government in behalf of freedom and national independence, they despatched a French army to Rome to restore a government of priests.

The Triumvirs, however, were not at all disposed to submit to the unwarrantable interference of the French, or to the combined attacks of the Austrians and Neapolitans; and they prepared to offer a determined resistance to any and all. They levied troops, they raised money, they formed defences, and prepared the city to meet hostile assaults from whatever side they might come. Much has been said, and justly, against their political principles and not a few of their actions; but as citizens of Rome they maintained the right of the people to repudiate a bad government and to resist its restoration by foreign power. No doubt the defenders of Rome were not all Roman citizens; but they were mostly Italians, and their cause was still the cause of Italy. It was not very consistent in those who saw nothing wrong in the Pope relying for support on a French army, and the King of Naples surrounding himself by

highly paid Swiss regiments, to regard it as an inexpiable sin in the Triumvirs availing themselves of the assistance of Garibaldi and his band. This celebrated 'Free Lance Captain,' whose exploits read more like a romance than sober history, had hastened to Rome at this crisis as the last centre and stronghold of liberty in the Italian peninsula. He had under his command a motley host, composed of about 2000 men from various lands—Poles and Germans, but mostly Italians—including not only fierce and reckless adventurers, but many young men of noble and rich families, who were willing to hazard and sacrifice their lives for the cause of Italy. The conduct of the defence was committed to him, though he had no scientific knowledge of military art; and the fortifications raised on the side of the garrison were all constructed by French or Polish officers. But he was adored by his followers, and he had the art of gaining the confidence and obedience of the miscellaneous host who had repaired to Rome to defend the city and the Republic against the armies of the Catholic powers now marching to assail them. The strict discipline maintained by this adventurous leader gave, as was universally admitted, no cause for complaint respecting the conduct of his irregular forces towards the inhabitants.

The French troops destined for the expedition to Rome, consisting of about 6000 men under the command of General Oudinot, disembarked on the 25th of April at Civita Vecchia, which they immediately occupied. The French general seemed not to know whether he was likely to encounter the Austrians or Italians, and was apparently trusting to the chapter of accidents to decide. He sent forward to Rome friendly but indefinite messages, accompanied, however, with a definite request which the Government could not but regard as hostile. His mission, he said, was to protect the rights of the Roman people, to enable them in real freedom to choose a Government for themselves, and to secure them

from the attacks of reactionary enemies. For these purposes he demanded admission into the city. He was told in reply that the people needed no protection, that they had already made a free choice of a Government, and that the forces of a foreign power could enter Rome only as allies or as enemies.

Protesting that his intentions were of the most friendly nature Oudinot pursued his march, evidently under a complete delusion as to the nature of the reception that awaited him. On the 29th he arrived at the gates of Rome, where to his astonishment and grievous annoyance he found, instead of a welcome, well-levelled cannon, loop-holed houses, and formidable barricades, surmounted, it was said, as if in bitter irony, with the French declaration of the respect due to independent nationalities. His advanced guard was so gallantly attacked by the volunteers and Garibaldi's legion, that after a sharp conflict of some hours he was compelled to retreat with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, besides a considerable number of prisoners. 'To us citizens of Rome,' said the chief of the barricade commission, 'this is no surprise, but it will astonish Paris.' It did indeed. The vanity of the French was wounded to the quick, and Paris resounded with clamours of indignation. The Constituent Assembly declared by a vote that Oudinot had gone beyond the instructions with which they had authorized the expedition. The Government, however, though they now saw the false position in which they had placed themselves, were afraid to recede. They could not deny that the Romans had as much right as Frenchmen to bring about a revolution, and to choose a Republican Government; but the affront to the French arms must be wiped off, and therefore their troops must force their way into Rome if admission should still be refused. But in their awkward dilemma, between national pride and a violation of principle, they despatched M. Lesseps, as the plenipotentiary of France, to attempt an amicable solution of the difficulty.

While Oudinot was waiting for reinforcements M. Lesseps was straining every nerve to induce the Republican Government to allow the troops to enter without force; and so far did he carry his concessions that he gave his assent to a convention agreeing to acknowledge the Roman Republic and place it to a degree under French protection. The French troops were to be at liberty to choose any salubrious place in which to encamp, but Rome should be 'sacred.' Oudinot, however, refused to ratify this convention, and declared that it was contrary to his instructions, which ordered him to obtain military occupation of Rome. The French Government supported the general; the convention was disowned, and the attack on the city resumed on the 3rd of June.

While these negotiations were pending, the Neapolitan army, consisting of 15,000 men, with twenty pieces of cannon, was advancing on Rome. A detachment, with the King at their head had advanced as near the city as Albano, when they were attacked and defeated by Garibaldi. The Neapolitan king, proclaiming that he had gained a victory, ordered a *Te Deum* to be performed at Naples to celebrate his success, and fell back on the main body of his army at Velletri. Garibaldi followed him to that place, and with an inferior force of irregular troops inflicted upon the Neapolitan forces a second defeat, so complete as to make it impossible, even for the King, to offer a second thanksgiving for a fictitious victory. The Neapolitan army fled across the frontier in such confusion and terror that if Garibaldi, who followed the fugitives to the banks of the Volturnus, had not been recalled to meet the expected renewal of the French attack, there is great probability that he would have made his way to Naples.

The French general was charged by the Romans with a breach of faith in recommencing the attack before the truce was at an end. They made a determined resistance, but they must have known from the first

that it was hopeless. The environs of the city suffered severely in the desperate struggle. The Villa Borghese, the place of common recreation for the Roman people, with its beautiful grounds, was laid in ruins, and so was the Villa Pamphili-Doria, even more beautiful in position and more elaborately decorated, which was taken and retaken several times, and at last destroyed by fire. The soft brick walls which guarded the hill called Mount Janiculum—a large space of ground covered with vineyards and gardens—were shattered by the heavy battering cannon of the besiegers, and the breaches were pronounced practicable. On the 23rd the assailants succeeded in establishing themselves on two points in the wall of Aurelian where it follows the slope of Mount Janiculum down towards the Tiber. On the 29th they stormed, after a fierce and sanguinary struggle, the batteries close to the San Pancrazio gate, on the very crest of the hill—the highest ground in Rome. In these desperate contests great loss of life was suffered by both sides. In one bastion 400 of the defenders, including some of their best officers, lay slain on the spot, and 120 were taken prisoners. The French loss at this spot was 60 killed and 120 wounded. As the city now lay open and completely exposed to the shells of the enemy, further resistance would have only led to its total destruction. The Republican Government therefore rightly intimated to the French General that it ceased from a defence which had become useless. On the 3rd of July, after a siege of sixty-nine days, General Oudinot entered Rome, without a capitulation, but unresisted. As a writer bitterly hostile to the Romans admits, the French ‘could scarcely be said to have taken possession of the city as conquerors. The honour of their arms has been tarnished, and the besieged derived more credit from their defeat than the besiegers from their success.’

As they entered on one side Garibaldi, with whom they declined to make terms, withdrew on the other. That famous

guerilla leader, for whom a brilliant destiny was in store, made his adventurous way through and across Central Italy. Foiling his French pursuers he threaded the Apennines from Tivoli to Terni, and from Terni to Arezzo, levying rations and contributions in spite of the Austrian pursuing columns, who repeatedly assailed, but failed to crush his small band of followers. After hardships and dangers almost incredible he reached Venice—worn out with toil and almost alone—in time to accept a command in the final struggle for Italian freedom and independence.

General Oudinot, on taking possession of the city, issued a proclamation dissolving the Assembly and abolishing the Government, and declaring all the powers of the State to be vested in the military authorities. The Pope did not return at once to Rome, but sent three Cardinal-Commissioners who issued his decrees dissolving all provincial municipalities, restoring the tribunals abolished by the Provisional Government, dismissing all public servants appointed by the Republican Government, and reinstating the old officials. His Holiness some time after issued a proclamation declaring his intention to establish institutions calculated to insure to his subjects ‘suitable liberties,’ and promising to grant an amnesty ‘with certain restrictions.’ When the amnesty was published it did not increase the popularity of the Pope and his advisers, as the ‘restrictions’ consisted in excepting from its benefits the members of the Provisional Government, of the Constituent Assembly who took part in its deliberations, the Triumvirate, the members of the Republican Government, the heads of the military corps, and all persons who, having been already amnestied, had taken part in the ‘late political disorders.’ Nine months elapsed before the Pope quitted his place of refuge and returned to his capital. There was little manifestation of feeling against him personally, and still less in his favour, as he made his way to the Vatican through streets lined with

foreign troops. The institutions he had promised had no effect in conciliating his subjects or in solving the difficult problem of the future government of the Papal territories. It was confidently asserted at the time by intelligent Englishmen of all parties, who were eye-witnesses of the state of matters, 'that the willing acquiescence of the inhabitants of the Roman States in a government of priests was over.' 'French protection,' it was added, 'Austrian

dominion, anything that can render itself respected through sheer force, if not otherwise, may be permanent while the force lasts; but a *régime* of cardinals is not to be borne. Rome now obeys not the priest but the soldier. Let the soldier withdraw and what would become of the priest?' Twenty years later, when merited retribution had overtaken the French ruler and his subjects, this pertinent question was answered in the way so confidently anticipated.

...the movement that had taken place in Central Europe during the year 1848. The Hungarian revolution was the most important and had excited the deepest interest in Great Britain. After the battle of János (Jan. 1849) had extinguished the royal line of Joseph, the Hungarian elector Ferdinand I. of Austria as their sovereign; but when his coronation with the crown of St Stephen he took a solemn oath to govern and remain unimpeded the independence of the Hungarian people. This revolutionary oath was renewed in 1847 when the elective crown was granted on the house of Hapsburg. It was fully recognised by the Transylvanian Diet in 1848, when the right of succession to the Austrian domain was established to the house of Charles VI. It was repeated in 1849, with fresh guarantees upon the part of Austria, and by the treaty of Vienna 1848, which the treaty entered into between the Hungarian people and Austria. It was declared that 'Hungary was a country free and independent in her entire system of legislation and government; that she was not subject to any other people or any other state; but that she should have her own separate existence and her own constitution and should be governed by her own laws

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CHAPTER VIII.

The Hungarian Revolution—Constitution of the Kingdom—Constant attempts of the Austrian Rulers to destroy it—Policy of Francis I.—Its ingratitude—Kossuth's career—Imprisonment—Election to the Diet and great influence—Concessions made to the Hungarians by the Emperor Ferdinand—Insincerity of the Austrian Court party—Count Batthyáni's Ministry—Intrigues of the Camarilla with Jellachich—The Croats invade Hungary—Their defeat—Murder of Count Lamberg—Conduct of the Austrian Government—Outbreak in Vienna—Measures of defence adopted by the Diet against an Austrian invasion—Physical Conformation of Hungary—Its means of defence—Arthur Görgei—His Military talents and exploits—Austrian invading army—Prince Windischgrätz—The Hungarian Forces and Generals—Their skilful strategy—Two Parties among the Patriots—Abdication of Ferdinand and elevation of Francis Joseph to the throne—Görgei's Declaration at Waitzen—His famous Retreat to the Upper Theiss—Dembinski made Commander-in-Chief—His removal—Is replaced by Görgei—Hungarian Victories—The Austrians driven out of Hungary—New Constitution promulgated by the Austrian Government—The Hungarian Diet declare that the House of Hapsburg has forfeited the Crown—Dissatisfaction of Görgei and the officers of the Army—General Welden appointed to the command of the Austrian forces—His incapacity—Is succeeded by Baron Haynau—Russian intervention—The Hungarians outnumbered—Movements of Dembinski and Görgei—Defeat of the Hungarians at Temesvár—General Bem—Görgei appointed Dictator—His surrender to the Russians—The Fortress of Comorn surrendered by Klapka—Atrocities perpetrated by Haynau—Eleven Generals and Count Batthyáni put to death—Kossuth and others take refuge in Turkey—Austria and Russia demand their Extradition—The Sultan's refusal—He is supported by Great Britain and France—The demand withdrawn.

Of all the movements that had taken place in Continental Europe during the year 1848, the Hungarian revolution was the most important, and had excited the deepest interest in Great Britain. After the battle of Mohacs (A.D. 1526) had extinguished the royal line of Jagellon, the Hungarians elected Ferdinand I. of Austria as their sovereign; but before his coronation with the crown of St. Stephen he took a solemn oath to preserve and transmit unimpaired the immunities of the Hungarian people. This coronation oath was renewed in 1687, when the elective crown was entailed on the house of Hapsburg. It was fully recognized by the Pragmatic Sanction in 1723, when the right of succession to the Austrian domains was extended to the heirs female of Charles VI. It was imposed in 1790, with fresh guarantees, upon the Emperor Leopold; and by the tenth article of the enlarged compact entered into between the Hungarian people and Leopold, it was declared that 'Hungary was a country free and independent in her entire system of legislation and government; that she was not subject to any other people or any other State; but that she should have her own separate existence and her own constitution, and should be governed by kings crowned

according to her national laws and customs.' The twenty-five articles of the 'Diploma of Inauguration' in 1790, after generally affirming the independence of the crown, the laws, and the privileges of Hungary, proceed to decree, among other enactments, triennial convocation of the Diet, exclusion of 'foreigners'—that is, of Austrians—from the government, and the residence of the emperor-king during a portion of every year in his Hungarian dominions. They declare that the king can neither make laws nor impose taxes without the consent of the Diet, and that royal proclamations, unless countersigned by one at least of the heads of the Hungarian government, are null and void. The Hungarian institutions, as old as the connection of Hungary and Austria, have been solemnly recognized and renewed at every election or succession to the throne.

The House of Hapsburg, however, with their usual disregard of their most solemn oaths and promises, have time after time attempted to convert the constitutional kingdom of Hungary into an Austrian dependency. Although the Hungarians have repeatedly saved the monarchy from destruction, especially in the time of the Empress Maria Theresa, and have shed

their blood like water in defence of their sovereign at most critical times, yet the Austrian emperors have systematically misgoverned the country, and have never ceased in their efforts to destroy its national rights and privileges. Five times in the course of a single century—from 1606 to 1701—were the Hungarian people compelled to rise in defence of their constitution and of their liberty of conscience, when threatened by the Austrian sovereigns. At the same time they not only submitted to repeated and exorbitant demands for men and money, but when the empire was in difficulty and distress they even abstained from exacting, in return for their generous support, a redress of their grievances. Francis I. repeatedly attempted to change the relations between Austria and Hungary, and yet when the victories of Napoleon were shattering the unity of Austria and threatening the dissolution of the empire, the appeals of their ungrateful sovereign for help were answered by the Hungarians with enthusiastic devotion to their country's cause. During the twenty years of nearly incessant war which followed the first French Revolution, Hungary was the foremost bulwark of the Austrian empire, and furnished her best troops, her commissariat, and her magazines.

Hungary was rewarded for these services and sacrifices with the characteristic ingratitude of the Austrian Government. On the restoration of peace in 1813, Francis I., under the guidance of Metternich, and unmindful of his coronation oath and solemn compacts, made systematic endeavours to abridge or cancel the undeniable immunities of the Hungarian monarchy. The great object of the Austrian Prime Minister was to degrade the kingdom into a subject province, and to place it upon the same footing with the hereditary States of the empire. For this purpose a Court party was sedulously fostered in the country and the Chambers, and a number of the magistrates were gained over by the flattering

attentions of the Court. Hungarian regiments were put under the command of Austrian officers, the censorship of the press was rigorously enforced, the currency was depreciated, and heavy and vexatious imposts and absurd fiscal regulations were imposed on the trade of the country, in order, it was said, that Hungary might be smothered in her own fat. For twelve years no meeting of the Diet was held, and nearly every article of the constitution of 1790 was either openly violated or craftily evaded. In 1822 and 1823 the Viennese Cabinet attempted, in the most arbitrary manner, to levy taxes and raise troops in Hungary, in express violation of the nineteenth article of the 'Diploma' of Leopold II., and of many preceding charters; but the imposing attitude taken up by the Diet in 1825 compelled the Emperor not only to withdraw and apologize for the illegal attempt, but to pledge himself by three additional articles to observe the fundamental laws of his Hungarian kingdom, to convoke the Diet at least once in three years, and not to levy subsidies without its concurrence. The Austrian Government, however, did not relinquish their attempts to set aside the Hungarian Constitution, and to obstruct all attempts to improve the condition of the people; but they were obliged to carry out their policy in a more covert and insidious manner.

At this period the celebrated Louis Kossuth came to the front, and assumed the position of leader of the movement in Hungary for carrying out and improving its constitutional requirements. This popular leader, whose career has been so largely interwoven with the efforts to promote free institutions on the Continent, was born on the 27th of April, 1806, at Monok, in the district of Zemplin. His father was of noble birth, but not in affluent circumstances, and he acted as Procurator-Fiscal to Baron Vecsey, who took charge of the education of young Louis and sent him to college. He was a diligent student; but a knowledge of the history of Hungary roused his

indignation against Austria, and with his characteristic impetuosity he denounced the tyranny of the Government in such vigorous terms that the public service was closed against him, and he resolved to follow the profession of his father. In the year 1832 a public career opened to him, and he became delegate for the Countess Szápary in the Diet of Presburg. He now resolved to make use of the press for the purpose of giving expression to his opinions, and commenced a lithographed journal in which he gave an account of the proceedings of the Diet. This journal was soon prohibited by the authorities; but other means were found to circulate information on public affairs, and Kossuth established a system of correspondence which grew into national importance. Again the authorities interfered; and Kossuth, affirming that there was no legal censorship of the press in Hungary, sought the protection of the municipal council of Pesth. He was in consequence arrested and conveyed to the fortress of Buda. His trial was suspended for more than a year, during which he was kept in solitary confinement and prohibited from holding any communication with his relatives or friends. In 1839 Kossuth was condemned by a court-martial to four years' imprisonment. He was, however, allowed the choice of books, provided that they had no political tendency; and he selected the works of Shakspeare, for the purpose of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the English language. In 1840 the elections to the Diet were favourable to the popular party, and a powerful opposition claimed justice for the political prisoners. The Government were compelled to yield, a general amnesty was granted, and Kossuth was set at liberty. He now undertook the management of a journal called the *Pesth Hirlap*, which started on January 2nd, 1841, with sixty subscribers. Two months later it had reached a circulation of 6000. Kossuth's articles showed that he was first of all Hungarian, and then Liberal. So far from

cherishing democratic views he announced to the nobles that the national party were quite prepared to act with them, and under their orders, if the nobles were willing; but that progress must be made, whether the nobles were willing or not. After conducting the journal for three years and a half, Kossuth was deprived of the editorship by the proprietor, through an intrigue of the Chancellor, and devoted himself to the establishment of national societies for the encouragement of home industry. Count Casimir Batthyáni was the president of the first of these societies, which in the autumn of 1846 consisted of about 154 members, representing various parts of Hungary. Through the influence of these societies trade and commerce received a powerful impulse. New establishments were opened in every district of the country, and home manufactures everywhere replaced foreign productions. In order to suppress the spirit which had originated these operations, the Government resolved to supersede the Lord Lieutenants of the counties—usually influential noblemen—by a class of officials called administrators, who were appointed to preside at the county meetings, to watch their proceedings, and to employ bribery and corruption, as well as intimidation, to prevent the adoption of any measure hostile to the designs of the Court. This measure excited great alarm among the friends of constitutional government, and was keenly discussed both in the county assemblies and in the press.

In the year 1847, when the new elections were to take place, the National party resolved to return Kossuth for Pesth; and so strong was the hold his principles had obtained on the citizens that he was elected by nearly 3000 votes against 1300. At the period when Kossuth took his seat in the Diet, Europe was in a state of great disquietude; and in the course of a few months the French Revolution, as we have seen, sent a wave of turmoil and tumult over nearly the whole Continent. Hungary at first was tranquil;

but the National party were not disposed to lose the opportunity of obtaining the constitutional reforms which they had long solicited, but without effect, from the Austrian Government. In March, 1848, Kossuth moved that the Diet should demand from the Emperor the emancipation of the serfs, with compensation to the nobles for the loss of their services, equality of duties and privileges among all classes, a free and unbiassed representation of the people, and a separate Hungarian Ministry, responsible to the Diet alone, with the Palatine as Viceroy. These proposals were carried by acclamation. A deputation, headed by Count Batthyáni, and consisting of eighty deputies, proceeded to Vienna for the purpose of submitting their requests to His Imperial Majesty. They were welcomed with enthusiasm by the citizens of the capital, their petition was after some delay acceded to by the Emperor, and Count Batthyáni was appointed the first President of the Ministry, which consisted of Prince Esterhazy, Count Szechenyi, Baron Eötvös, Francis Deak, Kossuth, and other men of high character and position in the country, who were all steady supporters of the connection between Austria and Hungary. But the Austrian Camarilla, with the hereditary and apparently ineradicable faithlessness and dishonesty which from the earliest period have characterized the House of Hapsburg,* had no intention of keeping their pledges, and only waited for the first convenient opportunity of violating them. It appears from a letter from the Palatine, the Archduke Stephen, to the Emperor, dated the 24th March, 1848, that the royal word was not intended by the imperial advisers to be a real security for the fulfilment of these promises. The Viennese Cabinet secretly reserved the liberty of retracting its concessions on the first opportunity, and accordingly the Archduke proposes in that letter three methods of abrogating the Hungarian immunities—a peasants' war to be excited against the

nobles, a commission to be armed with martial law, or a temporary compromise with Count Batthyáni, the head of the Hungarian Ministry. These proposals were quite in keeping with the character and policy of the Austrian Court; but they were not then prepared to adopt the more violent alternative, and they were already preparing a fraudulent scheme of their own devising, by which they hoped in the end to nullify the concessions which the Emperor had made to Hungary and to the other provinces of the Empire.

The new Diet, under the guidance of the new Ministry, lost no time in effecting a number of much-needed reforms. They passed laws abolishing all feudal privileges, establishing general and equitable taxation for all classes, the extension of the franchise to the common people, the equality of all religious bodies, the reunion of Transylvania with the mother country, liberty of the press, and trial by jury. A law had been passed too precipitately by the Diet in 1843, requiring that the Magyar language should be used in the central courts of administration, in the public schools, and in the Diet. The Croatian deputies, however, were exempted from using the Hungarian tongue in the Diet for the next six years; but notwithstanding this concession the enactment gave rise to a feeling of deep animosity among the Croats, and helped to excite them to take up arms against the Hungarian Government. The policy of the Camarilla, however, had not yet been made apparent, and on the 11th of April, 1848, the Emperor, in the character of King of Hungary, repaired to Presburg and closed the Diet, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the people.

The policy of the Austrian Cabinet at this period was to gain time, and to patch up such a Ministry as should really compromise nothing, and yet help to save appearances. The old absolute monarchy had indeed been just converted into a constitutional one. The veteran Metternich was in exile, and Count Sedlnitzky,

* See Shakspeare's 'King John,' Act iii.

the obnoxious Minister of Police, had been obliged to flee for his life. But no change had been made in the spirit of the Government, and the substance of power still remained in the hands of the Court party, who were merely waiting and watching their opportunity to neutralize the new constitution, and to restore absolutism. Meanwhile they set themselves to excite the jealousy of the other races in Hungary against the Magyars, and to stir them up to rise in arms against the Government at Pesth. This diabolical scheme originated with the Archduchess Sophia, the mother of the present emperor—a woman of unbounded ambition, who by her ability and determination had gained the reputation of being the *only man* of the Hapsburg family. The Greek priests and officers in the Austrian army were the chief instruments employed in carrying out her nefarious policy. In Transylvania the Wallachs were stimulated to take up arms by Colonel Urban, and, inflamed against their former feudal lords, they destroyed the Magyars and everything belonging to them with indiscriminate fury. In the military frontier and the Banat the Servians were instigated, or rather betrayed, into revolt by their Archbishop, Rajachich, aided by Stratimirovich, an Austrian officer; while Croatia was forced into rebellion by another military officer, the notorious Jellachich, who carried out his plans by packing a Diet, and excluding from it the legal members and county magistrates. He summoned a Congress or Diet to meet at Agram on the 5th of June, for Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. The Austrian Government declared that the meeting would be illegal, and the Ban was summoned by the Emperor to repair to Innspruck, where the Court was then residing, to give an account of his conduct. He refused to obey the command, and the Congress of the 'Croatish-Slavonic nation' was held in defiance of the Imperial prohibition. The deputies formally invested Jellachich by their own authority with the office of Ban, which he

had hitherto held under the grant of the Emperor. In consequence of these proceedings, Jellachich was proclaimed a rebel, and was by a royal decree stripped of all his offices and titles.

The Croatian leader had good reason, however, to believe that his contumacious conduct was regarded with approbation by the Court party, and in the course of a few weeks it was proclaimed that the Emperor was satisfied of his fidelity to the throne. A meeting was held at Vienna between the Ban and Count Batthyáni, with the view of making an amicable arrangement; but as Jellachich 'limited his demands,' as he said, 'to the fusion of the war, financial, and foreign departments of the Hungarian Government with the administration of the whole empire at Vienna,' no agreement could be made, and the Croatian chief declared his determination to appeal to the sword. Meanwhile an incident had occurred which greatly strengthened the hands of the Hungarian Ministry in the struggle which was impending. The Diet of Transylvania had come to a vote decreeing the union of that province with the kingdom of Hungary, and the surrender without reserve of their own independent rights. By this important step the Magyar inhabitants of Hungary received a reinforcement of 1,500,000 men.

The Hungarian Diet was convoked at Pesth on the 2nd of July, with the avowed object of making vigorous preparations to meet the invasion of the savage Croats whom Jellachich was bringing into the field. In his speech from the throne the Palatine, who opened the Diet as vice-regent, declared the determination of the King to protect the integrity of the Hungarian Constitution, though he was at that moment engaged in the plot for its destruction. The secret object of the Austrian Camarilla in convoking the Diet at this time, was the hope of obtaining from it fresh levies of troops for the war in Italy. This preposterous idea was not likely to be realized at the moment when Hungary

itself was about to be invaded by the Croats and Rascians, at the instigation of the Viennese Cabinet. The Hungarian treasury was empty; but the Diet decreed an issue of paper money to support the expenses of the war—an act, however, which was disallowed by the Imperial Government. At the same time considerable sums were voluntarily contributed by the people, who brought not only money, but jewelry, gold and silver ornaments, and other articles of value to replenish the national treasury; many poor women gave their wedding rings, the only precious metal in their possession. Early in the month of August the Croatian troops entered the Comitatus of Torontó, and laid siege to Grand-Beeskerek, one of the most important cities of Hungary. The country on the Lower Theiss and the Danube, a district which was called the granary of Hungary, was laid waste by these rude and ruthless marauders, and some of the regiments sent to oppose them, being composed of Slaves, refused to act against the invaders. In this emergency the Diet, on the 5th of September, sent a deputation of Hungarian magnates and deputies to wait upon the Emperor at Vienna to represent to him the position of affairs—the safety of the kingdom threatened by insurgents, whose leaders declared that they were in arms on His Majesty's behalf, and its integrity assailed by men under pretence of upholding the royal authority. They called upon the Emperor to put an end to these disorders, to discard the reactionary counsels of his advisers, to sanction the measures voted by the Diet, and to come to Pesth, where his presence was necessary to save the country.

The poor Emperor, however, was not permitted to respond to this address in a straightforward and satisfactory manner. An evasive and hollow reply was put into his mouth, which caused deep disappointment to the deputation, and was received by the citizens of Pesth and the Diet with strong expressions of resentment. It was

resolved on September 17th to make an appeal to the National Assembly at Vienna for aid against the Croatian invasion, which had now almost reached their doors. Jellachich, who had been greatly encouraged by the Archduchess Sophia, and had received supplies of artillery and ammunition from Latour, the Minister of War, had crossed the Drave, the boundary between Hungary and Croatia, and marching rapidly across Southern Hungary had reached Stuhlweissenburg, within a short distance of the capital. On crossing the frontier he had issued, on the 11th of September, a proclamation declaring that his taking up arms was 'inspired only by pure love of his country and fidelity to our King.' His object, he said, was to 'deliver the country from the yoke of an incapable, odious, and rebel Government'—a Government, however, which had been appointed by the Emperor himself, and was acting under his authority. The Hungarian Ministry responded to this proclamation on the 14th of September by a levy *en masse*, and everything indicated the approach of a mortal struggle between the Croats and the Hungarians. An interview between the Palatine and the Ban was to have taken place on a steamer on the Lake Balaton; but when the vessel bore down Jellachich refused to go on board, on the plea that the Imperial colours were not displayed. He evidently fancied that the Hungarian capital would surrender to him probably without resistance.

At this critical moment the news reached Pesth that the National Assembly at Vienna had, mainly through the influence of the Bohemian members, by a majority of 186 to 108, refused to receive the Hungarian deputation. The affront was keenly felt by the Diet, and helped not a little to strengthen the existing feeling against Austria. Strong suspicions had all along been entertained that the Ban had invaded Hungary with the connivance and approval of the Austrian Camarilla; but letters were now intercepted, and published in Vienna, which placed this

beyond a doubt, and showed that the Imperial Government had secretly supplied him with large sums of money. An attempt had even been made to compel all the commanders of the Hungarian garrisons to submit to Jellachich, but without success; and the commander of Comorn had received orders from Latour to surrender to the Ban, which, however, he refused to obey. The discovery of this treacherous conduct excited the deepest indignation among the Hungarians of all classes. The Archduke Stephen, the Palatine, who had throughout secretly promoted the intrigues of the Austrian Court, now fled to Vienna, expressing his deep regret for the fate which he saw impending over Hungary and the Monarchy; Count Batthyáni resigned his office; and the Diet in this extremity intrusted Kossuth with full powers to provide for the defence of the country.

On the day after the Palatine returned to Vienna Count Lamberg, a nobleman of large possessions in Hungary and Carinthia, was appointed by the Emperor generalissimo of all the forces in Hungary, with power to act as the Viceroy of that kingdom. On the 27th of September the Diet declared that Lamberg's commission was illegal, as it had not been countersigned by any Minister, and intimated that his mission would expose him to serious danger. Two days later Count Lamberg arrived at Buda. He had imprudently travelled without any military escort, and refused contemptuously to avail himself of the protection offered him on his arrival. The streets were thronged with excited crowds, and breathless messengers rushed in with the news that an action was at that moment going on at Stuhlweissenburg, about six hours' ride from the capital, and that the Ban had met with a defeat. Lamberg, in the midst of this uproar, was proceeding to place himself under the protection of the Diet, which was sitting in Pesth, and had reached the middle of the bridge across the Danube, which separates the two cities, when his carriage was stopped by an infuriated mob, who murdered him.

When the news of this shocking catastrophe reached Vienna the Court and Cabinet at once threw off the mask, and by an Imperial decree, dated the 3rd of October, it was announced that all the troops in Hungary and the adjoining lands were placed under the command of Lieutenant Field-Marshal Baron Joseph Jellachich, with whom the Cabinet, as we have seen, had been in close communication throughout; that martial law was proclaimed in Hungary; and that the Ban 'is hereby appointed Commissary-Plenipotentiary of our Royal Majesty, with full and unlimited powers.' It was declared at the same time, by another proclamation, that the Hungarian Diet was dissolved, and that all the acts done by it without the sanction of the Emperor were void.

The publication of these edicts caused a great excitement in Vienna, which was already on the brink of a convulsion. The Richter battalion of grenadiers, which for many years had been quartered in Vienna, was ordered on the 5th of October to march to Hungary. The order was received on the evening of that day with strong indications of dissatisfaction, and a numerous deputation of students and National Guards marched down to applaud them. A peremptory order was issued that they should start at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th, but they were with difficulty induced to begin their march, and an immense crowd collected and blocked the suspension bridge across the Danube which led to the railway station. The tocsin now rang through the city; every minute the excitement increased, and the mob assumed a more threatening aspect. An attempt to capture a gun led to a collision between the populace and the Nassau regiment of the line, and the streets became the scene of a sanguinary conflict, in which all ranks and all classes—National Guards, citizens, and even soldiers—fighting on both sides—took part, and which terminated, as we have seen, in the temporary triumph of the insurgents.

The insurrection was ultimately most

injurious to the cause of constitutional freedom and order, as well as to the interests of the Viennese; but it had the effect of procuring a respite of some months for the Hungarians, and afforded them time to organize a vigorous defence of their rights and privileges. On the 8th of October Kossuth was appointed by the Diet President of the kingdom of Hungary, and at once adopted the most vigorous measures to repel the Austrian invasion, which he was well aware would take place as soon as the Viennese Cabinet could make the requisite preparations. An army of 200,000 men was levied and organized. Powder-mills, cannon foundries, manufactories of muskets, percussion-caps, and saltpetre sprang up with marvellous rapidity; and before the Austrian Camarilla had succeeded in suppressing the insurrections in their own dominions, Hungary was in a condition to hold her own against any force that the Imperial Government was prepared to bring against her.

The physical conformation of Hungary, as well as the numbers, the character, and the training of its inhabitants, afford peculiar facilities for defensive warfare. The Carpathian Mountains, which form its northern bulwark, extend from Presburg and the Danube to Transylvania, a space of 400 English miles, broken by only three considerable passes, while the continuation of this lofty barrier is crossed by only four narrow defiles to the east and south—the approaches to Bukovina, Moldavia, and Wallachia. On the south the Carnian Alps and the rivers Saave and Danube afford a frontier almost equally impracticable to an invader; but the plains and hills on the west, towards the Styrian Mountains, are more adapted to the action of large bodies of troops, and therefore less capable of defence. Hungary is divided by the Danube, the Drave, and the Theiss into three portions of unequal extent, and the course of these great rivers very materially affected the military operations which were about to take place. The Danube enters the king-

dom at Presburg, and flows due east till it reaches Waitzen, where it makes a sudden and sharp bend to the south, and continues this course as far as the confines of Sclavonia, where it is joined by the Drave and resumes its easterly direction, and flows on till it reaches the Black Sea. The other great river of Hungary is the Theiss, which rises in the north-east, and for the greater part of its course flows nearly due south, until it joins the Danube, between Peterwardein and Belgrade. The country is bounded on the north by Moravia and Galicia, on the south by Croatia and Sclavonia and the Banat, on the east by Transylvania and Bukovina, and on the west by Lower Austria and Styria. It is thus entirely surrounded by other provinces of the Austrian empire.

But notwithstanding this disadvantage, the character of the country, its fortresses, its great rivers (which sometimes hurry in rapid torrents and sometimes stagnate in lakes and morasses), and the nature of the roads, which in many districts are little better than driftways and tracks, bad in all seasons, and nearly impassable in autumn and winter, afford great facilities for defence against an invading army unacquainted with the country and encumbered with baggage and artillery. The Austrians no doubt had a great advantage at the commencement of the contest in the possession of a numerous, well-disciplined, and efficient army. But on the other hand, it was no easy task to attempt the subjugation of a population of at least 14,000,000, eminently warlike in disposition, who had almost all received some military training, and were determined to strain every nerve to maintain the constitution of the kingdom and their personal rights and liberties against the centralization and despotic rule of the Austrian Government.

The commencement of the contest in the field brought to the front Arthur Görgei, who had hitherto lived in obscurity, but whose name is indelibly associated with the Hungarian war, and whose ex-

exploits show him to have possessed military talents of a very high order. He was born in 1818 at Topportz, an estate of his family, in the county of Zips, in the north of Hungary. His ancestors had for centuries distinguished themselves in the Imperial armies. He was educated at Eperies, and afterwards at the Military College of Tuln, whence he entered the Hungarian Noble Guard at Vienna. He was promoted within four years to a lieutenancy in the Palatine Hussars; but on his marriage he quitted the service, and withdrew into the country to devote himself to the study of chemistry, in which he is said to have attained remarkable proficiency. He was in this retired situation when the quarrel began between the Austrian Camarilla and the Hungarian Government. He at once joined the National Militia, and at the commencement of the war held the post of a major in the 5th battalion of Honvéds, and was employed in drilling them into a regular force. When the corps of Roth and Jellachich was menacing the Hungarian capital, Görgei was sent with his small contingent to the isle of Czepe, below Pesth, with orders to hinder, if possible, the junction of these commanders; but especially to prevent their crossing the Danube. His skilful assistance brought the operations of Moriz Perczel's corps against the rear of the Croats, commanded by General Roth, to a speedy and successful termination, in spite of the blunders and resentment of Perczel himself. The whole of the Croatian corps, consisting of 10,000 men, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Meanwhile a battle had taken place on the 29th of September, at Pákozd, about 25 miles from Pesth, between the main body of the Croat forces, under Jellachich, and the Hungarians, in which the invaders were defeated. The Croatian leader fled towards the Austrian frontier during a three days' armistice which was granted him, and united his forces to those of Prince Windischgrätz, who was preparing to besiege Vienna.

The war had now begun in earnest; and Görgei, whose ability and firmness in presiding on the court-martial which condemned Count Zichy to death as 'a traitor to the fatherland,' had attracted the attention of the Committee of Defence, was despatched to the main body of the army, then commanded by General Mógica, on the Leitha, which forms the extreme frontier of the kingdom of Vienna. It was proposed that the Hungarians should advance to the relief of the capital, which was then blockaded by Prince Windischgrätz and Jellachich; but Mógica was an incapable general, and besides was not hearty in the cause, and remained for a fortnight in a state of indecision and inactivity. He at last (October 30th) advanced to the aid of the insurgents, but committed a series of blunders which were fatal to the movement, and was ignominiously defeated at the battle of Schwechat. Fortunately the enemy did not follow up their success, otherwise the Hungarian army might have been completely destroyed. Matters were in a very critical state, for Windischgrätz would obviously soon be in a condition to follow up his victory, and no systematic defence had as yet been arranged. It was in these urgent and perilous circumstances that the command of the defeated army was offered to Görgei, and accepted by him.

As soon as the city of Vienna had been stormed and taken by Prince Windischgrätz and Jellachich, the Austrian Government resolved to invade Hungary and suppress the Government at Pesth. For this purpose they mustered at Vienna an army of 49,118 infantry, 7,236 cavalry, and 258 guns. Prince Windischgrätz, the commander-in-chief, took the field with about 37,000 foot, 6,200 horses, and 216 guns. A second body of troops, under General Nugent, was stationed on the frontiers of Styria. A detachment of 7,000 men, commanded by General Schlick, was to operate in Austrian Silesia and Galicia. Another force of about 5,000 Croatian troops was posted in the Banat, and there was

also a division in Transylvania, under General Pückner and Colonel Urban.

The principal army of the Hungarians was on the Upper Danube, under Görgei, and appears to have been composed of about 28,000 men and seventy or eighty guns. Bem, a Polish officer of great military skill and experience, who had just escaped from Vienna—it is said in a coffin—was sent to take the command of a body of troops stationed in Transylvania, where his brilliant successes fully vindicated the wisdom of his appointment. Guyon, an Irish soldier of fortune, was despatched against the Austrian general Simunich, who headed a detachment of troops which had already penetrated as far as Tyrnau in the north. A levy of 200,000 men had, as we have seen, been decreed by the Diet on the 11th of July, and the formation of Honvéd corps had been conducted with the utmost activity and speed; but meanwhile the defence of the country depended mainly on the regular forces in Hungary, which consisted of some of the finest troops in the Imperial service. At the commencement of the war 2402 pieces of ordnance fell into the hands of the Committee of National Defence, 872 of which were field-pieces fit for service; and, under the management of the 5th Regiment of Artillery, contributed not a little to the successes of the patriotic army.

In the month of December, 1848, the Austrian forces, estimated in all at 130,000 men, moving concentrically from nine different quarters, passed the frontiers of Hungary. Prince Windischgrätz left Schönbrunn confident of returning with victory and the title of the conqueror of Hungary. He sent before him a proclamation, bearing the king's signature, which was dispersed in great numbers by his agents, calling upon the people to submit at once to his authority, and threatening with immediate death any person taken with a weapon of any description in his possession. He seems to have expected that the patriots would make an uncondi-

tional surrender. Meanwhile, in accordance with a plan proposed by Görgei for concentrating the defence of the country behind the Theiss, the Government retired to Debreczin. The district in which Debreczin is situated, lying beyond the Theiss and to the north of the Maros, is for many reasons the strongest position in Hungary. These rivers are broad, sluggish, and deep. The Theiss flows between a vast expanse of marshy banks, insomuch that there are only six places between the mountains and the Danube where it can be crossed at all, and of these only two are in Upper Hungary. Debreczin was therefore beyond the reach of the invading armies; and during the remainder of the war was the headquarters of the Hungarian Government, while the General was left either to fight a battle at Ofen or to convey his army to the left bank of the Danube, where the strong fortress of Comorn afforded him a secure position. Windischgrätz set out from Vienna on the 23rd of December, and advanced without opposition to the vicinity of Raab, where the Hungarians, who had no intention of defending that place, contrived to detain him nearly a week—a delay of great importance to their operations; and then after a skirmish with the invaders they retreated unmolested, carrying off all their guns and military stores. On the 4th and 5th of January Görgei passed the Danube at Waitzen, and on the same day at Pesth the Austrians crossed the river upon the ice, which was sufficiently thick to support even their artillery, and took possession of the capital.

Indications had already been given of a serious difference of opinion among the Hungarian patriots respecting the object of the contest with Austria. Kossuth and a Republican party, including a considerable number of Poles and other foreigners, wished a complete separation from the Austrian empire, and the establishment in Hungary of a Democratic Republic. Görgei, on the other hand, and all the moderate Hungarian leaders were contend-

ing for the recognition of their ancient constitutional liberties. They had no desire to expel the Hapsburg family from the throne, or to make an attack on the existence of the united Austrian monarchy; and, in order to retain the regular troops for the Hungarian cause, Görgei issued at Waitzen an explicit declaration to that effect. 'The Hungarian armed rising,' he said, 'was purely monarchical-constitutional, and herein lay its strength, for it was to this circumstance alone that it owed the co-operation of the regular troops. In 1848 the agitations in favour of the arming succeeded only when they were attempted in the name of the King.' The ground taken up at first, and held throughout by Görgei and the other members of the moderate section of the Liberal party in Hungary, was that the court had behaved to them with duplicity and treachery, had attempted to destroy the fundamental rights of their ancient constitution, had instigated the Croatian resistance to the Hungarian Government, and had made the opposition of the Diet to these unjustifiable proceedings a pretext for absorbing the kingdom of Hungary into the empire of Austria by the destruction of all that was independent in its institutions.

The justice of these declarations could not be gainsaid, and the position of these moderate Liberals was greatly strengthened by the abdication, or rather deposition, of the poor Emperor, who had sufficient intellect to plead the oath he had sworn to maintain the Hungarian Constitution. 'But my oath! my oath!' exclaimed the weak but upright monarch, when urged to give his assent to a decree abolishing that Constitution. It became necessary, therefore, to remove him from the throne, and the Camarilla (the chief member of which was the Archduchess Sophia, his sister-in-law—the modern Agrippina) resolved to place the crown on the head, not of her husband, but of her son Francis Joseph, a youth not yet twenty years of age, as if 'a constitutional throne were a

mere matter of family arrangement.' This step was a flagrant violation of the Hungarian Constitution, which expressly declares that 'the King cannot be discharged from the duties of sovereignty without the consent of the nation;' and until Francis Joseph's coronation took place at Presburg, with the ancient crown of Stephen, he was neither *de jure* nor *de facto* King of Hungary. As if to strengthen the case against Austria, and to show how completely the councillors of the young Emperor disregarded the rights of the various provinces of the empire and the most solemn obligations to maintain them, they represented to him that Austrian unity required the abolition of the laws and immunities which his predecessors had sworn to maintain, and they issued, on the 7th of March, 1849, what was termed the *Charte Octroyée*, the composition of Count Stadion and the ex-advocate Bach, which cancelled all the peculiar laws and privileges of the various provinces, abolished the Hungarian Constitution, and placed the whole empire under one form of government, under which mere empty forms were accorded to the people, and all real power was reserved for the Cabinet at Vienna.

It would appear that a part of the regular troops in Hungary had at this time some misgivings as to the lawfulness of resistance to the royal authority, and for the purpose of satisfying their scruples, as well as of defining the position which he and the other leaders of the Constitutional party occupied, Görgei issued at Waitzen, in the month of January, a 'Declaration' to the effect that 'the Corps d'Armée of the Upper Danube remains faithful to its oath to fight resolutely against every external enemy for the maintenance of the constitution of the kingdom of Hungary sanctioned by King Ferdinand V., and to oppose with the same resolution all those who may attempt to overthrow the Constitutional Monarchy by untimely Republican intrigues in the interior of the country.' If the Viennese Cabinet had

even at this stage recognized the difference between the Constitutional and the Republican party in Hungary, and had guaranteed to the former the ancient laws and immunities of the kingdom, the war would in all probability have terminated in an amicable arrangement. But the Camarilla persisted in their short-sighted and arbitrary policy, and the general whom they had intrusted with the prosecution of the war was not qualified to conduct with effect either military affairs or civil negotiations. He discouraged by his obstinacy and sanguinary threats the moderate Liberals who might have been disposed to treat, and by his protracted delay of nearly two months, spent at Pesth in total inactivity, he gave the Hungarian Government time to complete their preparations, and in the spring to take the field in a high state of efficiency.

The division of the Hungarians which was commanded by Dembinski was allowed to retire across the Theiss with little molestation and no loss; but Görgei had a much more difficult task to perform in conveying the main body of the Magyar troops from Waitzen to the reserves at Debreczin. In order to accomplish this strategic movement it was necessary to traverse the mountainous tract between the valleys of the Gran, the Waag, and the Neutra, extending to the mining towns of Schemnitz and Kremnitz, and along the spurs of the Carpathian Mountains. He was closely followed by a superior force under Marshal Schlick, which was strengthened at Kremnitz by a junction with a detachment under General Götz. In the rigorous climate of Hungary the mountain valleys through which Görgei had to make his way were either encumbered with snow or rendered still more impassable by sudden thaws, and the roads were mere mountain tracks in no degree adapted to the transport of artillery. But in spite of all these impediments Görgei manœuvred through these defiles with consummate dexterity and success. His forces suffered a reverse at Hodnics, and they were so hard pressed by the enemy that in

order to make their way from Kremnitz to Neusohl it was found necessary to follow a steep mountain track over the highest ridge of the chain, which is only passable in winter by taking the slight sledges of the country to pieces. In one part this track is carried through a cleft in the rock, forming a kind of tunnel. Yet even through this passage, part of which had fallen in, Görgei contrived, with immense labour, to convey his artillery and his troops, followed by a division of the Hungarian army under General Aulich. He thus succeeded, by one of the most masterly retreats in modern warfare, in concentrating his army again at Neusohl, and thence continued his march towards the Upper Theiss. On the 5th of February General Guyon compelled Schlick's column of 10,000 men to evacuate its position at Branyiszko, and retreat upon Eperies—a most important success. It was followed by the army of the Upper Danube, which pursued the defeated enemy, and compelled him to evacuate Kaschau without striking a blow. Görgei was thus once more placed in communication with the Upper Theiss, and with the reinforcements which awaited him there.

At this critical point in the war (14th February), when the Hungarian general had with such remarkable skill and energy extricated the army from the difficulties in which it was placed, the Committee of Defence, no doubt through Kossuth's influence, most unwisely and ungratefully superseded Görgei, and nominated the Polish General Dembinski to the chief command of the army. This was, in every aspect of the case, a most injudicious step, for not only was the new general greatly inferior in military talent to his Hungarian predecessor, but the appointment was regarded as irritating and insulting by the Magyar officers and soldiers. Görgei himself believed that Dembinski was placed over his head in order to punish him for the monarchical spirit of his Waitzen proclamation. It speedily appeared that Dembinski's Republican opinions made his nomination to

the chief command distasteful to the army; but Görgei resolved to set the soldiers an example of submission to the superior authority of the new general-in-chief, and published an order of the day to that effect. On the 26th of February, however, Dembinski allowed himself to be surprised by the Austrians, and was worsted at Kapolna on the 2nd and 3rd of March, after an engagement which lasted two days, and was one of the most important of the whole war. He fell back across the Theiss, but the order to recross that river was so ill-received by the troops under Klapka and Görgei that the authority of the commander-in-chief was at an end. Szemere, the Government Commissioner with the army, was compelled to suspend him, and the command was given for a short time to Vetter, an able and experienced general. On his falling ill it was again restored to Görgei. He subsequently informed Kossuth that the chief cause of the demonstration which his corps d'armée, without his participation or knowledge, proposed to make against Dembinski at Kaschau was their anxiety lest, in losing Görgei, they should lose a commander who respected their military oath. There can be no doubt that this wide difference of opinion and feeling between Kossuth and Görgei contributed to the failure of the Hungarian struggle, though after the intervention of Russia its failure was inevitable.

At this period, however, the prospects of the Hungarians had greatly improved. Their main force, amounting to 42,000 men with 140 guns, occupied a strong position on the Theiss. The Polish General Bem had, by a succession of brilliant achievements, succeeded in driving the Austrians out of Transylvania, although they were assisted by a corps of 10,000 Russians, and an important victory had been gained by Damjanics at Szolnok. The left flank and rear of the army were therefore secure. Vetter, who was a skilful tactician, proposed a regular plan of operations for clearing the road to the capital, and a rapid series of clever, well-fought, and successful actions

carried it into effect. On the 2nd of April Marshal Schlick's division was encountered and defeated by Görgei at Hatván, and this success was followed on the 6th by a still more brilliant victory won by the gallantry of Görgei, Damjanics, and Aulich at Isaszeg, within five miles of the capital. Instead of covering the road to Waitzen on the Danube with the bulk of his forces, as he should have done at all hazards, the incapable Austrian General retreated on Pesth. Damjanics promptly took advantage of this gross blunder, and hastening to Waitzen with the 3rd corps d'armée stormed the position and defeated the division of General Götz, who was taken prisoner, and died shortly after of his wounds. Windischgrätz imagined that Görgei's first aim was to re-enter the capital; but the Hungarian General had a much more important object in view—viz., to relieve Comorn, which the Austrians had besieged for some time, and to make this impregnable fortress the basis of his own future operations. Following a circuitous route through the mountains, he without resistance crossed the Gran, on the 1st of April, with his right wing between Kalna and Szecsi, about twenty-four miles above its junction with the Danube. On the 20th Damjanics and Klapka defeated a strong column of the Austrians at Kémend, and forced them to retire to the right bank of the Danube by the bridge of boats under the town of Gran. A bloody battle was fought at Nagy-Sarló, in which Damjanics was again victorious over the 4th Austrian corps d'armée under General Wohlgemuth, and on the 22nd Comorn was relieved. This brilliant series of achievements cleared the left bank of the Danube completely of the enemy.

The main army of the Austrians, under Prince Windischgrätz, now again evacuated Pesth, and took the high road to Vienna. Opposite Comorn it effected a junction with the forces which had very unwisely continued to invest the outworks of that fortress on the right bank of the Danube, though the besiegers had been compelled

to evacuate the left bank, on which both the town and the citadel stand. A *tete-de-pont* had been constructed on the right bank, which had been strengthened by some field-works, and the whole connected with the fortress by a flying bridge. On the night of the 25th April a strong column of the Hungarian infantry crossed the Danube by this bridge and attacked the Austrian intrenchments; and such was the ardour of the troops that in a few hours the greater part of the army had passed the river and joined in the assault. Klapka commanded the left wing, Damjanics the centre, and Görgei the right. The action was very severe, but it ended in the total defeat of the Austrians. 'We had taken,' says Görgei, 'the fortified camp, together with the enemy's trenches, the equipment of a besieging battery, and considerable stores of pioneers' tools and projectiles, nay, even the tents of the hostile camp, and had completely delivered the fortress; while the enemy, far from disputing with us the possession of all this, contented himself with the hurried protection of his retreat from the field of battle by Raab to Wieselburg. With the complete deliverance of Comorn the execution of the plan of operations projected in Gödöllö—after the battle of Isaszeg—by our chief of the general staff, had satisfactorily succeeded—thanks to the unshaken firmness of General Damjanics during the battle of Nagy-Sarló, as well as to the admirable perseverance and rare masterly skill with which General Aulich knew how so long to fetter the Austrian principal army concentrated before Pesth, and to deceive it as to our real strategic intentions until the subsequent perception of them appeared to be only the more calculated to lead our bewildered adversary to the disgraceful defeat at Nagy-Sarló.' With this combat the first campaign ended in the total discomfiture of the invading army.

Shortly before this (22nd April) Prince Windischgrätz was recalled, though in every way a fit representative of the Viennese

Cabinet. A writer who cherished a bitter feeling of hostility against the Hungarian Government says of him, most justly, 'As a negotiator he had been stern and unbending—as a soldier, feeble and imprudent; and in both capacities he left the Hungarian insurrection far more formidable than he found it six months before, when after the battle of Schewechat all resistance seemed to melt before him.'

Other events, however, much more important had in the meantime occurred on both sides. On the 4th of March the Austrian Cabinet had promulgated the new Constitution for the whole empire, abolishing all the ancient provincial rights and liberties of the kingdom and the relations which had existed under the Pragmatic Sanction of 1720 between Hungary and the house of Hapsburg. This arbitrary and utterly unjustifiable step closed the door against all attempts to negotiate peace on the basis of the Hungarian Constitution. On the 7th of April, when Görgei was at Gödöllö, Kossuth had proposed to him to answer the Imperial Constitution by the separation of Hungary from Austria. He had persuaded himself that 'England, France, Italy, Turkey, even all Germany itself, not excepting Austria's own hereditary States, were waiting only till Hungary should proclaim itself as independent to impart to it their material aid, and that the Poles would speedily follow the example of Hungary, who would find a powerful ally also in the Porte.' Görgei remonstrated strongly against this proposal, and insisted on the injury it would do to their cause in the estimation of the European Powers. 'It would force the old soldiers,' he said, 'to violate their oath, and thus morally shake them.' They were now fighting for their legitimate king, Ferdinand V., and the Constitution, against Francis Joseph, whom they regarded as a usurper; but 'the separation of Hungary from Austria would no longer be a just cause, and the struggle for this would be a struggle not *for* but *against* the law.' Görgei's remonstrances, however,

were unheeded; for on the 14th of April the Diet, through Kossuth's influence, was induced to declare that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine had forfeited its right to the throne of Hungary. The future form of government for Hungary was to be an open question, and for the present it was to be governed by a President, assisted by a Cabinet of Ministers. This ill-advised step, though certainly provoked, produced none of the advantages which Kossuth had so confidently predicted; and it further caused hurtful dissensions among the Hungarians themselves, while it lost them the sympathy of the friends of monarchy throughout Europe.

General Welden, who had succeeded to the command of the Austrian armies, was not a more capable soldier than his predecessor. He proved quite unable to resist the 'villainous miscreants, the scum of all people,' as in his proclamation to his troops he termed his opponents; and he found it necessary to withdraw the whole of the forces to Presburg, on the confines of the Hungarian territory, in order to protect the approach to Vienna. The danger to the capital was indeed thought by Prince Schwartzberg at this time to be so great that on his urgent request a column of 13,000 Russian infantry, with forty-eight guns, was despatched by the Prince of Warsaw by railroad for its protection. But Görgei was convinced, from the dissatisfaction which the deposition of the Imperial family had produced among the troops, that it would be impossible to induce them to invade the Austrian territory. He therefore resolved to adopt a plan recommended by Klapka, and to lay siege to Buda, which stands opposite Pesth and completely commands the capital. The siege commenced on the 4th of May. The old Turkish fortress was gallantly defended by General Hentzi, and held out for seventeen days. It was stormed on the night of the 20th, after a desperate resistance, in which Hentzi was mortally wounded.

Hungary was now completely cleared of

its invaders; and as between them and the Austrian Camarilla, who had sought to destroy the constitution of the kingdom and to deprive the Hungarians of their ancient rights and privileges, they had won the victory and had shown that they were able to maintain their position against all the assaults of the imperial forces. The Vienna Cabinet virtually acknowledged that they were worsted in the conflict by appealing to Russia for help to suppress the insurrection. The Czar readily responded to the appeal, for a free Hungary would have been a dangerous spectacle to Poland and the other oppressed provinces of his vast and unwieldy empire. It is probable that Kossuth, whose sanguine temperament made him underrate the difficulties with which the Hungarians had to contend, may still have believed that it was possible for them to offer a successful resistance to the combined Austrian and Russian invasion; but the generals had begun to despair of their cause. Klapka repeatedly expressed his opinion that nothing could save Hungary but a foreign intervention opposed to the adverse intervention of Russia; and Görgei declared that he counted the existence of his country by weeks, and that the only question to be determined was how to destroy the greatest number of their enemies and to finish the contest with the greatest honour.

Welden had by this time resigned his command; and the chief direction of the Austrian forces was transferred, on the 30th of May, to Baron Haynau, who was recalled from the siege of Venice for that purpose. The new commander had already earned an unenviable notoriety by the cruelties which he had committed at the storming of Brescia, and he seems to have entered upon his Hungarian campaign with the determination to show no mercy to any of the patriots who fell into his hands. One of his first acts was to put to death two prisoners of war whom Windischgrätz and Welden had kept five months in confinement, and he conducted his proceedings

throughout with a savage brutality that was a disgrace to humanity.

The Austrian army under Haynau, which commenced its operations on the 9th of June, consisted of 66,670 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 324 guns. The total amount of the Russian forces employed in Hungary amounted to 162,951 men, with 528 guns. The main army, commanded by Prince Paskiewitch, took the field on the 17th of June.

The Hungarians, completely outnumbered, feeling unable to cope with these enormous armies in the western district of the country, resolved to make a general concentration of their troops on the Lower Theiss and the Maros, about Szegedin, and there to make a final stand. One division of the army under Dembinski made good its retreat to this place without much molestation; but Görgei, who was stationed at Comorn, had a very difficult task to perform in his attempt to conduct his forces to Southern Hungary. The direct road on the right bank of the Danube was in the hands of the enemy. No course remained, therefore, but to take the circuitous northern road by the mountainous regions he had passed six months before. It was both a difficult and a dangerous route, for the Russians, as he knew, were advancing in that direction; and, indeed, the outposts of their cavalry had taken possession of Waitzen before the Hungarians reached that town.

Leaving 20,000 of his troops with Klapka to hold the fortress of Comorn, Görgei, on the 8th of July, set out on his perilous march at the head of 27,000 men. The direct road from Comorn to Waitzen, along the left bank of the Danube, is little more than a dangerous towing path; but he succeeded in bringing his artillery through the defile to Waitzen, where he made an unsuccessful attempt to drive back the right wing of the Russian army, which blocked the straight eastern road through Gödöllö. Under cover of the night he passed between the main body of the enemy and their base of operations, and

after a march of eighteen days over a most difficult country, during which he traversed 400 miles, from Comorn to Szegeden, in presence of several hostile armies of superior force, he succeeded in reaching Arad, where communication was reopened with the Government and the forces at its disposal, but too late to effect a junction with the division under Dembinski, Vetter, and Guyon.

While these operations were going on in the north, Haynau had marched direct to the relief of Temesvár, which was still held by an Austrian garrison, and against the forces assembled at Szegedin. Dembinski unaccountably evacuated the lines he had constructed there without firing a shot. The Austrians crossed the Theiss at Alt-Szegedin, and defeated Dembinski in a series of engagements, the last of which took place in the vicinity of Temesvár on the 9th of August, the day on which Görgei arrived on the Maros, thirty miles from the battlefield. If the Polish general, in evacuating Szegedin, had retreated on Arad instead of on Temesvár the junction of the two armies might have been effected before the decisive action was fought; but in no case, owing to the overwhelming force of the enemy, could the final catastrophe have been long averted. The entrance of a body of 60,000 Russians into Transylvania had completely turned the tide of affairs in that province, and after a series of severe actions, in which he was completely over-matched by the united forces of the Austrians and their potent auxiliaries, Bem, on the 6th of August, made his escape into the Banat, and hastened thence, a distance of 200 miles, which he traversed in three days, to join Dembinski at Temesvár. He arrived in the midst of the action, and exerted himself with his characteristic gallantry to arrest the progress of the enemy, but in vain. The Hungarian loss in killed and wounded was not great, but their army was totally dispersed, and thousands of prisoners fell into the hands of the Austrians.

In the course of the night of the 10th of August, a despatch arrived at Arad from Guyon, stating that Dembinski's army no longer existed. On the afternoon of that day, some hours before the arrival of this intelligence, a private conference had taken place between Kossuth and Görgei in the fortress of Arad, at which the General explicitly declared that if the Austrians had been victorious at Tèmesvár he would lay down his arms. Görgei affirms that at this time Kossuth agreed with his resolution to follow this course. On the following day the Provisional Government formally transferred the supreme civil and military power to Görgei. They must have had a distinct knowledge of the course he intended to pursue, and though Kossuth vehemently resisted the proposal to surrender, the officers present at the council agreed that the struggle was now hopeless. The army, disheartened and reduced in numbers, with no basis of operations, was surrounded by overwhelming forces, and the continuance of the contest could only issue in their destruction without promoting in any way the welfare of the nation. The charge of treachery so loudly and persistently brought against Görgei was absolutely without foundation. He was shut up to the course which he adopted. He opened negotiations with the Russian Commander-in-chief, and on the 13th of August, with 30,000 troops and 138 pieces of artillery, he surrendered at Vilagos to the Russian General Rudiger.

The fortresses of Comorn and Peterwardein, however, still held out. The former, which was regarded as impregnable, lies on a low tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Waag and the Danube; and as these two broad rivers describe an acute angle at this spot, the place is unapproachable on its two principal sides by the ordinary methods of engineering. It is strengthened by formidable fieldworks on the opposite bank of the Danube, where the Austrians had been so signally defeated by Görgei in the month of April. The for-

tress was under the command of Klapka, a Hungarian general of great ability and experience, and was garrisoned by 20,000 men well provisioned and equipped. Görgei, on intimating his own surrender at Vilagos to Klapka, had ordered him to give up Comorn to the Austrians. This, however, the commander refused to do, except on condition that a complete amnesty should be granted to all the Hungarians; that the garrison should be allowed to retain their arms, and to retire to some neighbouring country; and that an independent Ministry should be granted to Hungary. Haynau insisted upon an unconditional surrender, and made preparations to lay siege to the fortress. In the end honourable terms of capitulation were offered to the commander and accepted by him, and the surrender of the fortress on the 1st of October brought this memorable struggle to a close.

The Viennese Cabinet used their victory most mercilessly, and in Haynau they found an instrument after their own heart. His flogging of women and other savage brutalities have stamped his memory with indelible infamy, and reflect deep disgrace upon his employers.* Görgei was protected by an

* Haynau's atrocities brought upon him great odium, even in Austrian society at Vienna, and the Government sought to get rid of the disgrace of employing him by dismissing him from his office—'a broken tool whom tyrants cast away.' In the autumn of 1850 he paid a visit to London, though warned by Metternich not to do so. He professed to think that his presence in England would turn public opinion in his favour. On the 5th of September he went to visit the brewery of Barclay & Perkins, accompanied by two friends. As soon as his presence was known a number of the draymen turned out, armed with brooms and other missiles, and assailed him with abusive epithets and shouts of 'Down with the Austrian butcher!' His hat was knocked over his eyes, he was pelted with mud, and his coat was torn. He and his friends at length made their escape from the brewery, but only to fall into the hands of the populace, who had meanwhile collected outside. He was surrounded, pelted, and dragged along the road by his long moustaches. With the mob at his heels he at last found refuge in the upper room of a public-house by the river-side, till the police came to his rescue, and took him away in a police galley to a place of safety. Haynau was recommended to prosecute the draymen; but he prudently declined to do so, knowing that the defence of the accused would necessarily be a minute recapitulation of all the barbarities committed by him in Italy

agreement with the Russian Field-marshal, and received a pardon from the Emperor; but the other officers, who believed that they too were safe, were delivered up to the tender mercies of Haynau. All below the rank of a general, if not consigned to prison, were compelled to serve as privates in the Austrian army. The generals were brought to trial before a court-martial, and were all condemned to death. General Kiss and other three officers were shot, but Count Leiningen, a cousin of Queen Victoria, Generals Aulich, Nagy Sándor, Lahner, Poltenberg, Knezich, Vecsey, Damjanics, and Colonel Kazency all died upon the gibbet. The executions lasted from seven in the morning till ten, and the officers who last suffered were compelled to witness the death of their comrades.

This merciless treatment of men who had fought in defence of the ancient constitution of their country excited a feeling of deep indignation throughout Europe, which was greatly increased by the execution of Count Louis Batthyáni, whom the Emperor had appointed Prime Minister of Hungary. He had always advocated moderate counsels, and he resigned his office on discovering the treachery of the Austrian Government, and their connivance with Jellachich. He was seized and detained by Prince Windischgrätz when he accompanied a deputation commissioned to carry a message from the Diet to that incompetent and relentless commander. He had ever since been kept in close confinement, and was now brought to trial before the Central Committee of Inquiry—an illegal and in-

and in Hungary. 'I must own,' wrote Lord Palmerston to Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, 'that I think Haynau's coming here, without rhyme or reason, so soon after his Italian and Hungarian exploits, was a wanton insult to the people of this country, whose opinion of him had been so loudly proclaimed at public meetings and in all the newspapers. But the draymen were wrong in the particular course they adopted. Instead of striking him, which, however, by Koller's account (the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires) they did not do much, they ought to have tossed him in a blanket, rolled him in the kennel, and then sent him home in a cab, paying his fare to the hotel.'

competent tribunal. His trial was conducted with an entire disregard of equity and even common decency. His demand for legal assistance was denied, and the witnesses whom he wished to adduce that they might give testimony in his behalf were refused by his judges. He was condemned to be hanged, but in order to escape this ignominious death he wounded himself so severely that the officials were obliged to cause him to be shot. His estates were forfeited to the crown, and his wife and children were left to poverty and exile. In no long time merited vengeance overtook the perpetrators of these cruel deeds; and the boy-emperor, who was the mere puppet of Schwartzberg, Stadion, and the other leaders of the Court party, discovered to his cost that the policy they had forced him to adopt was as ruinous as it was wicked.

On the downfall of the Hungarian cause Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and a large body of Hungarian and Polish exiles fled for refuge to Widdin, within the Turkish dominions. A formal demand was made by Austria and Russia that the fugitives should be delivered up. The Sultan and his Ministers, however, gave a firm refusal, on the ground that as Kossuth and his friends had not violated any Turkish law, or used their asylum for purposes hostile to either Austria or Russia, it would be dishonourable to the Porte and a violation of the most sacred laws of hospitality to surrender them. As no threats could shake the resolution of the Ottoman Government, the ambassadors of the two aggressive powers intimated the suspension of diplomatic relations between their own courts and that of the Sultan. This imperious behaviour excited deep indignation among the people of Great Britain and France; and when the Sultan, thus threatened by the two arbitrary Governments, appealed for protection to the British and French Governments it was at once given in the most effective manner. The former not only addressed a remonstrance to Russia,

but directed our Mediterranean fleet to move towards the Dardanelles to be ready if necessary to support Turkey. The Czar was very indignant at this movement, but neither he nor the Emperor of Austria were in a condition to quarrel with Great Britain and France, and their insolent and unrighteous demand was withdrawn. The Sultan undertook to keep the refugees under some restraint, and nearly two years elapsed before Kossuth and several of the more conspicuous of their number were allowed to emigrate to other countries.

The whole conduct of the Austrian Government in the contest with Hungary, their treacherous and illegal assault on the constitution of that kingdom, and the merciless severity with which they hunted down the Hungarians at the close of the struggle drew upon them the obloquy of all Europe, and greatly affected the stability of the empire. 'The Austrians,' Lord Palmerston wrote (9th of September, 1849) to Lord Ponsonby, our ambassador at Vienna, 'are really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilized men. Their atrocities in Galicia, in Italy, in

Hungary, in Transylvania, are only to be equalled by the proceedings of the negro race in Africa and Haiti. . . . The rulers of Austria (I call them not statesmen or stateswomen) have now brought their country to this remarkable condition, that the Emperor holds his various territories at the good-will and pleasure of three external Powers. He holds Italy just as long and no longer than France chooses to let him have it. The first quarrel between Austria and France will drive Austria out of Lombardy and Venice. He holds Hungary and Galicia just as long and no longer than Russia chooses to let him have them. The first quarrel with Russia will detach these countries from the Austrian crown. He holds his German provinces by a tenure dependent, in a great degree, upon feelings and opinions which it will be difficult for him and his Ministers either to combine with or stand out against.' These prophetic words were in no long time strikingly fulfilled in the ignominious expulsion of Austria from Italy, Venice, and Germany, and in the present unstable condition of the remaining provinces of the empire.

CHAPTER IX.

The Chartist Agitation in Great Britain—Its Leaders—Feargus O'Connor—The Moral and Physical Force Chartists—Arrest and Punishment of J. R. Stephens—Chartist Convention—Riots at Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, &c.—Arrest of Henry Vincent—Outbreak at Newport—Arrest and Trial of Frost and his accomplices—The 'Sacred Month'—Trial and Punishment of the Chartist Leaders—O'Connor's Land Scheme—His Election for Nottingham—Meeting on Kennington Common—The Monster Petition—Exposure of its Character—Illegal Clubs suppressed by the Government—Seizure of Arms—Arrest and Sentences pronounced on the Members—Collapse of the Chartist Organization—State of Affairs in Ireland—The Young Ireland Party—W. Smith O'Brien, Mitchel, and Meagher—Riot at Limerick—Measures taken by the Government—Conviction and Banishment of Mitchel—Rebellion of his Confederates—Its ridiculous Collapse—Punishment of the Leaders—Their ultimate career and fate.

ON the continent of Europe, Belgium and Holland remained unaffected by the revolutionary shock which overturned the thrones of so many despots; but the tranquillity of Great Britain was for a few months disturbed by the intrigues and tumults of the Chartists and the Irish Home Rulers. The Reform Bill of 1832, extensive and salutary as were the changes it produced in the representation of the country, failed to give satisfaction to the advocates of universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments. They were silenced for the time by the popular enthusiasm for the 'Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill;' but in the course of a year or two they commenced an agitation in favour of their political creed. In 1838 Mr. Duncombe, one of the members for Finsbury, brought the question of the adoption of the ballot, and the shortening the duration of Parliaments, before the House of Commons; but only twenty members voted for the amendment which he proposed to the address. Shortly before this a 'Working Men's Association' had been formed for the purpose of promoting Radical views; and a conference between six of the members of this society and six of Mr. Duncombe's supporters in Parliament, issued in the preparation of a document called the 'People's Charter,' containing the well-known 'six points'—universal or manhood suffrage; annual Parliaments; vote by ballot; abolition of the property qualification then

required for the English and Irish representatives in the House of Commons; the payment of members; and equal electoral districts. Some of the leaders of this association were mere mercenary traders in agitation; but others were undoubtedly both honest and able men, though extreme and violent in their opinions and speeches. The most prominent of the Chartist agitators was an Irishman named Feargus O'Connor, who was originally a Dublin barrister and a follower of O'Connell. Clever, needy, vain, unprincipled, and unscrupulous, he was eagerly welcomed by the Chartists, who belonged almost exclusively to the working classes, and the management of the agitation fell mainly into his hands. Newspapers to advocate the cause were started in London, Birmingham, and other large towns; paid orators were employed to itinerate the country, harangue public meetings, and organize branch societies in the towns and mining and manufacturing districts. The violent language employed by these demagogues naturally produced great excitement among the ignorant multitudes whom they addressed, denouncing the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, Lord John Russell, and Sir Robert Peel as 'knives by whom the people were kept down.' Some of them openly advocated the adoption of physical force in order to obtain what they regarded as their rights. Others strove to excite popular feeling against the new Poor Law, declared that it was a system

of wholesale murder, and that no one could blame the poor man who should 'stab the workhouse official that attempted to part him from his wife.' The manufacturers were the special object of the detestation of this class, who denounced them as devils that caused children to be tortured in factories for their own amusement, and hinted not obscurely that these bastiles deserved to be burned to the ground. These were the men who moved the adoption of the Charter at anti-corn law meetings, and who declared that the repeal of that law was sought by the manufacturers merely in order that wages might be reduced and their own gains increased. Men of this stamp were not excited to violent measures by any pressure of want or personal wrong. On the contrary, they were in the receipt of excellent wages; and if they had exercised prudence and practised economy might have saved money to provide against a time of distress, and might at the same time have enjoyed the franchise as £10 householders. But in a time of prosperity they squandered their earnings on foolish and mischievous indulgences; and then when they were overtaken by adversity, for which they had made no provision, and they were hungry and idle, they at once poured out their maledictions on those masters who by prudence and self-denial had risen from the ranks, and spoke and acted as if the comforts of the employers had been obtained by robbing their workmen.

There were no doubt some among the Chartist leaders who were judicious, intelligent, well-informed, and honest, and were anxious for the extension of the franchise and the possession of political power in order that they might assist in redressing social wrongs and promote the instruction and training of the working classes, so as to fit them for the discharge of their duties. But persons of this class—the moral-force Chartists, as they were called—were comparatively few in number, and they were speedily overborne by the extreme and violent members of the body, conspicuous

among whom were the Rev. J. R. Stephens, a Methodist minister of Ashton-under-Lyne; Richard Oastler of Leeds, an ignorant and furious demagogue of the Tory class; and O'Connor himself, who was quite well aware of the impossibility of success in any physical force movement, but found that he could maintain his authority with his party only by chiming in with their violent language and extreme measures.

The Chartist meetings were now more frequently held, and were attended by much larger numbers than at the commencement of the agitation. The language employed by the speakers had also become more violent and threatening. At one of the torchlight meetings Stephens, at the close of a long and furious harangue, intimated that the multitude present should take care to come to such meetings armed. At another he denounced a millowner of Aston-under-Lyne as 'a devil's magistrate,' and prophesied that his house would soon be too hot to hold him; and this gentleman's factory was set on fire one night soon after, while Stephens was holding forth to a torchlight assemblage.

The Government had hitherto shown the greatest forbearance towards these incendiaries and their wretched dupes, and had in consequence incurred a good deal of blame. But they now felt that lenity had been carried to its utmost limits, and had in fact led men of the Stephens and O'Connor class to imagine that the Ministers were afraid of them. Lord John Russell was convinced that the safety of society required the adoption of more rigorous measures. A royal proclamation was issued in December, 1838, enjoining all persons to desist from holding torchlight meetings. Stephens was arrested and brought to trial at Chester, on the 15th of August, 1839, and was condemned to be imprisoned for eighteen months.

The punishment of this firebrand had, however, no effect in moderating the violence of his associates, who continued to provide themselves with firearms and pikes,

to be in readiness for a rising when the time to take the field should arrive. A monster petition, said to have been signed by upwards of 1,200,000 persons, had been presented to the House of Commons on the 14th of July by Mr. Attwood, one of the members for Birmingham, who was permitted, contrary to rule, on presenting it, to advocate the plea of the petitioners for the 'recovery of those ancient privileges' which, they alleged, were 'the original and constitutional rights of the Commons of England.' But a motion, on the 12th of July, that a Committee should be appointed to consider the changes prayed for in the petition, was rejected by a majority of 189 in a House of 281.

A Convention of Chartist delegates had for some time been holding its sittings in London, for the purpose of promoting the adoption of the Charter and calling the House of Commons to account for its neglect of the working classes. The physical-force members completely outnumbered the more reasonable and moderate delegates, who withdrew from the assembly, finding it hopeless to resist the violent proceedings of the majority. After making themselves ridiculous by their absurd speeches and their violent proposals, the members of the Convention were induced by Mr. Attwood to adjourn to Birmingham, where their behaviour was so outrageous that the authorities of that town were obliged to suppress the meeting. A riot in consequence broke out on the 4th of July, and a collision took place between the police and the mob, which was not quelled until a troop of cavalry was called in. On the 7th the populace stopped the service at St. Philip's Church, and next day the police and the military had to disperse a meeting. On the 8th another riotous assemblage was held in the open air, but when a troop of dragoons came down upon the mob they at once took to flight. On the 15th, when the inhabitants were indulging the hope that these disturbances were over, they were suddenly renewed with redoubled violence.

The rioters began by smashing street lamps and windows; they then proceeded to tear up the iron palisades in front of the houses, which they forced open. The warehouses were next pillaged and bonfires made of the contents, and finally a number of the houses were burned. The appearance of the military at this moment prevented still more serious mischief. As it was, the damage done by the populace was so great that the Duke of Wellington stated in the House of Lords that in all his military experience 'he had never seen a town carried by assault subjected to such violence as Birmingham had been during an hour by its own inhabitants.'

After this disgraceful riot was quelled the delegates returned to London to resume their deliberations there. Meanwhile the example set by the Birmingham mob had been followed at Sheffield, Manchester, Stockport, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and other places. At Sheffield the mob, not content with breaking windows and street lamps and pelting the police and the soldiers, planned the murder of their most eminent and benevolent townsmen. At Manchester they extorted money or goods from the shopkeepers by threats and violence, and, in short, conducted themselves everywhere in a manner which alienated their best friends. They tried in every way to make themselves offensive to all respectable and right-thinking persons. Among other expedients for that purpose they attended the cathedrals and other places of worship in great numbers, and wearing a badge expressive of their opinions. Five hundred of them went one day in August in procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, London. On the next Sunday the Norwich Chartists crowded the cathedral of that city. At Manchester they took possession of the Old Church, but speedily quitted it in a body when the preacher, instead of the text they had prescribed for him, read out the words—very appropriate to their depredations in that town—'My house is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.'

They soon abandoned this mode of action, finding that it led to no disturbances and did not promote their cause.

One of the expedients that had been proposed in the Convention was an entire cessation from labour during a whole month, in the hope that the upper classes would in this way be compelled to concede the Charter. At that time, owing to the depressed state of trade, this preposterous project, if it could have been carried out, would have been a benefit rather than an injury to the capitalist, but to men who had never saved a shilling it would have simply brought starvation. After the rejection of the Chartist petition by the House of Commons, this mischievous proposal was urged with great vehemence by a person of the name of Lowery, one of the most violent of the physical-force party. 'It is useless,' he said, 'to expect anything more from the House of Commons. Belgium and America did not obtain their liberty till they took it, nor will the people of this country. I have been in Scotland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the people are of opinion that the best time for commencing the sacred month will be when the potatoes are in the ground.' Lowery's motion that 'the people should work no longer after the 12th of August, unless the power of voting for members of Parliament to protect their labour is guaranteed to them,' was adopted by the Convention, notwithstanding the opposition of Attwood, Fielden, and other comparatively moderate leaders. But a Committee of five was appointed to determine as to the time at which the 'sacred month' should commence, and on their advice it was decided to abandon it for the present. The dissolution of the Convention speedily followed.

The Government was now thoroughly alarmed at these foolish and mischievous schemes, and resorted to vigorous measures for the suppression of the revolutionary agitation. A number of the most violent of the Chartist leaders were apprehended, tried, and sentenced to periods of imprison-

ment which varied according to the degree of their guilt. Henry Vincent, the most eloquent and popular of their number, was imprisoned at Newport in Monmouthshire, and it was reported that he had been treated with great severity by the prison authorities.* The Chartists in that quarter, consisting mainly of rude and ignorant miners, determined to make an attempt to release him by force. Their leader was a linen-draper of the name of Frost, a magistrate of the borough of Newport, who had been called to account by the Home Secretary for his violent language at a public meeting in February of this year. By an undue and ill-advised stretch of lenity he had been allowed to remain in the magistracy; but so far from feeling grateful for the forbearance shown him, he now put himself at the head of a body of miners, whom he brought down from the hills in arms to attack the town on the evening of 3rd November, 1839. They were arranged in three divisions—one under the command of Frost, another led by Zephaniah Williams, a beerhouse keeper, and the third under the direction of a watchmaker of the name of William Jones. They were to meet at midnight at a public-house near Risca, and thence to make a combined march upon Newport. It appears that the liberation of Vincent was only a part of their plan. They intended to break down the bridge over the river Usk, in order to prevent the mail from going to Birmingham, and its failure to arrive there at the usual time was to have been the signal for a rising in that town also. Fortunately, a heavy rain delayed so long the divisions under Williams and Jones, that Frost, after waiting a considerable time at the place of rendezvous, started with his own division alone for Newport, which he did not reach until nine instead of two in the morning.

The rioters were men of great physical

* Vincent was an honest as well as an able man. After the bursting of the Chartist bubble he devoted himself to education, on which he held enlightened views, and conducted successfully a private academy in the vicinity of London.

strength, and were not deficient in courage. They were armed with guns, swords, pikes, and bludgeons, and if the three divisions had unitedly assailed the town, in all probability they would have overpowered the small force mustered for its defence. The magistrates, who had received notice of the approach of the rioters, assembled at the Westgate Hotel, in front of which they had stationed a party of police and special constables, while a company of the 45th Regiment were placed out of sight within the building. Frost and his followers made a vigorous attack upon the hotel, but after a sharp though brief encounter they were repulsed with the loss of ten killed and about fifty wounded. On their retreat from the town they met with the other divisions, which on learning the defeat of their associates at once dispersed and fled.

Frost, Williams, and Jones were arrested and brought to trial. They were found guilty of high treason and condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to transportation for life. A considerable number of those of their associates who were most deeply implicated in the Chartist plots and riots, were apprehended and imprisoned during periods which varied from one month to two years. These vigorous measures prevented outbreaks which had been concerted in different parts of the country, and had the effect of making the Chartist leaders more moderate in their language and more cautious in their proceedings. But the feelings of discontent in which the movement had originated still smouldered, and from time to time showed themselves in disturbances of a violent character both in England and Scotland.

As soon as the imprisoned Chartist leaders, O'Connor, O'Brien, M'Doual, and others, regained their liberty it was determined to reorganize the body, and in the end of July, 1840, a number of delegates assembled in Manchester resolved to form a confederation, to be called the National Chartist Association, and to renew the agi-

tation in favour of the Charter. O'Connor dictated a policy to his party which was as foolish as it was unprincipled, and led to serious divisions in their own ranks. His followers gave their support to Conservative candidates at the elections, in order to weaken and spite the Whig party, and they violently opposed the efforts of Cobden and Bright to abolish the Corn Laws. The project of a 'sacred month' was revived, and in August, 1842, Chartist mobs traversed the country, forced their way into mills and factories, destroyed the machinery, and compelled the operatives who were still at work to turn out and take part in their riotous proceedings. At Preston, Burslem, and Manchester several of the rioters lost their lives, and many were wounded in a collision with the soldiers. For fifty miles around Manchester there was nearly a total cessation of labour, and attempts were made to compel the operatives in Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Wales, and Ireland to join the turn-out. Meetings were held (August 22) at Paddington and Kennington Common to incite the working men of London to follow the example of the working men of the north. A proclamation against these proceedings was issued by the Government; and all the troops that could be spared from London were despatched to Manchester by railway. Stockport, Macclesfield, Bolton, and Dudley were kept in a state of great alarm by turbulent mobs. 'The evil spirit,' wrote Sir Robert Peel, 'has spread into the West Riding of Yorkshire; Huddersfield has been attacked by the mob, and other towns are threatened.' The movement originated in an agitation for a rise of wages; but the Chartists had laid hold of it and given it a political direction which rendered it dangerous. The Government acted promptly and firmly. They arrested no fewer than twenty of the most active leaders at the two London meetings, and their followers, cowed by this step, returned to their work; and in a very short time the strike, which threatened great

danger to the public peace, came to an end. One of the ringleaders was transported for life. Thomas Cooper, whose character afterwards underwent a great change, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and two of his associates each to one year. Several others were convicted and punished. O'Connor and fifty-eight of his followers were tried at the Lancashire assizes for 1843, and found guilty; but owing to an unpardonable oversight on the part of the legal advisers of the crown, the indictment omitted to mention the place in which the offences had been committed, and in consequence O'Connor and his friends sued for a writ of error, and they were never brought up for judgment.

In 1843 O'Connor launched his notorious land scheme for the purchase of estates to be cultivated by working men who had taken shares in the venture. The most respectable of the Chartist leaders denounced the scheme both on public and personal grounds, and declared that O'Connor was deeply in debt, and that he had appropriated to his own use a portion of the funds which had been raised for the support of the Chartist newspaper, the *Northern Star*. There is no reasonable doubt that these charges were well founded; but such was the confidence which a large body of the working classes placed in their worthless leader that they contributed the money which he required to inaugurate his scheme, and implicitly believed that it would realize the immense benefits which he assured them it would produce. At the general election of 1847 they succeeded in returning him for Nottingham by a majority of 1257 votes against 893 given to his opponent Sir John C. Hobhouse, a member of the new Whig Ministry. They raised money to purchase a second estate. The land fund at this time was said to amount to the large sum of £50,000, all of which was under O'Connor's control; and the deluded contributors obstinately refused to give any credit to the well-founded charges of embezzlement and mismanagement which

a section of their own party persistently brought against him. No more striking proof can be given of the tenacity with which the people cling to those who have gained their confidence, and made real or supposed sacrifices in their behalf. It is matter for regret that in this instance, as in many others, their confidence was bestowed on one so unworthy of it. 'The charge which may with justice be brought against the common people,' says Macaulay, 'is not that they are inconstant, but that they almost invariably choose their favourites so ill that their constancy is a vice and not a virtue.'

The revolution of February 24th, 1848, in France, as might have been expected, gave an enormous impulse to the Chartist agitation in England and Scotland, and the populace in London and other large towns seemed to fancy that a street riot would lead to the overthrow of the Government in Britain as it had done in France. On the 6th of March a mob meeting against the income-tax was convened in Trafalgar Square by a vain, silly fellow of the name of Cochrane, who had been an unsuccessful candidate for Westminster at the election in the previous year. The noisy assemblage was dispersed by the police; but for some days turbulent crowds collected in the streets, obstructing the thoroughfares, breaking windows, and causing great annoyance to shopkeepers and their customers. A much more serious riot broke out in Glasgow on the 5th of March. A mob of about 5000 persons assembled upon the Green, on the banks of the Clyde, tore up the iron railings on its northern boundary, and armed with these entered the city, and attacked and plundered about forty of the gunsmiths and jewellers' shops before the police could be concentrated and the military summoned to put a stop to their depredations. Next day not less than 10,000 men, many of them armed, assembled again on the Green, and proceeded to carry out the resolutions they had adopted, to turn out the workmen in the adjoining

factories, to cut the gas-pipes, to break open the jails, to sack the shops, and set fire to and plunder the city. But meanwhile the citizens had enrolled themselves in great numbers as special constables, the Pensioners mustered of their own accord, and a body of 2000 soldiers was collected in the city in the course of the night. As the mob were on their way to renew their work of destruction they came into collision with a small detachment of Pensioners, fourteen in number, whom they assailed and compelled to fire on them in self-defence. Infuriated at this resistance, the mob rushed upon the veterans, and would have overpowered them; but at this critical moment a troop of dragoons rode up to the rescue, followed by a strong body of cavalry. At the sight of this formidable reinforcement the mob fled in all directions, leaving two of their number dead on the street and three wounded. The spirit and energy shown by the citizens, as well as by the military, saved the whole of the west of Scotland from serious outrages, for the success of the insurrection in Glasgow was to have been the signal for similar risings and similar pillage in Paisley, Greenock, and the other manufacturing towns in the district, where no troops were stationed for the protection of the public. Outbreaks of the same character were attempted by the dregs of the population in Edinburgh, Newcastle, Manchester, and other places; but they were suppressed without difficulty.

Outrages perpetrated by a lawless mob bent on plunder were easily dealt with; but the renewed agitation of the Chartists was much more dangerous to the public security. The dismissal of the Ministry, the dissolution of the Parliament, and of course the enactment of the Charter, were the demands now put forth by their leaders. At their meetings in all parts of the country the most intemperate language and violent threats were employed by the speakers. The revolution in France was referred to on all occasions as a good example for the people of Great Britain, and

the Charter or a Republic was the alternative proposed. A new Convention assembled in London on the 6th of April for the purpose of making arrangements for a monster meeting on Kennington Common, on the 10th of that month, and for the presentation of a petition to the House of Commons, which had been preparing throughout the country for some weeks, and was expected to surpass all previous petitions in the number of signatures attached to it.

It was the object of the physical-force Chartists, who had now obtained undisputed command of the body, to intimidate the Government and the Legislature by such a display of their numbers as would demonstrate the impossibility of refusing their demands. They accordingly resolved to assemble in vast numbers on Kennington Common, and to march with their petition to the House of Commons in a procession which they gave out would comprise 500,000 persons. The concentration in the capital of such an immense multitude, largely composed of the lowest of the rabble, including all the dangerous classes in London, and their march through the crowded streets and past splendid shops, in which the most costly wares were displayed, would evidently have placed the safety of the citizens and the security of their property in imminent peril. It was therefore resolved to take prompt and active measures for their protection. The police force was greatly strengthened. The well-disposed citizens enrolled themselves to the number of not less than 170,000 as special constables, of whom it was noted that Louis Napoleon was one. The officials of the Post Office were supplied with arms in case of an attack on that establishment, and the Bank, the Admiralty, and the Tower were carefully prepared for resistance. The Government called in the Duke of Wellington to their counsels, and that illustrious soldier took charge of all the arrangements for guarding the public buildings and defending the metropolis generally, which were carried out in the most complete

manner. 'Your Grace will take us all in charge, and London, too, on the 10th,' said Chevalier Bunsen, an evening or two before, to the Duke of Wellington, at Lord Palmerston's. 'Yes,' was the reply of the cool and sagacious veteran; 'we have taken our measures; but not a soldier or piece of artillery shall you see unless in actual need. Should the force of law, the mounted or unmounted police, be overpowered or in danger, then the troops shall advance—then is their time! But it is not fair on either side to call on them to do the work of the police; the military must not be confounded with the police, nor merged in the police.'

The demonstration which had excited so much alarm proved a contemptible failure. The Chartists were allowed to hold their meeting on Kennington Common as they had proposed. But instead of the 500,000 that had been so confidently expected, only about 20,000 persons at the utmost appeared on the ground, of whom a considerable proportion came there as mere spectators. Colonel Mayne, the head of the police, told O'Connor that the procession would not be permitted, and if any disturbance took place he would be held responsible for the consequences. The Chartist leader and his associates were thoroughly frightened, and earnestly recommended their followers to be peaceable and orderly. No attempt was made to form a procession, but some of the more extreme members of the party expressed in very strong language their disappointment, and their contempt for their pusillanimous leaders. The baffled physical-force men had to find their way to their homes, in broken and disheartened groups, as they best might; and the more moderate and reasonable of the party, feeling keenly the lesson they had been taught of their own insignificance, abandoned the movement, and devoted themselves to peaceful and industrious pursuits.

The great commander whose masterly arrangements had contributed so much to this desirable consummation was most gratefully

commended for the result. 'The Duke must be happier to-day, I think,' Sir Robert Gardener wrote to the Prince Consort on the 10th, 'than ever he was after any of his victories.' Next day the Queen wrote to her uncle, King Leopold, 'Thank God! the Chartist meeting and procession have turned out a complete failure. The loyalty of the people at large has been very striking, and their indignation at their peace being interfered with by such wanton and worthless men immense.' 'We had our revolution yesterday,' wrote the Prince, 'and it ended in smoke. London turned out some hundreds of special constables; the troops were kept out of sight, to prevent the possibility of a collision, and the law has remained triumphant. What a glorious day was yesterday for England! How mightily will this tell all over the world!'

The great Chartist petition, which was to have produced such a deep impression on the House of Commons, proved even a more ridiculous failure than the demonstration on Kennington Common. Instead of being triumphantly borne in procession to Palace Yard, followed by 500,000 devoted adherents of the Charter, it was despatched thither, by back streets, in three common cabs, and presented in the usual way by O'Connor, who asserted that it had received 5,706,000 signatures. It was referred to the Committee on Public Petitions, and on the 13th Mr. Thorneley, the chairman, reported to the House that thirteen law stationers' clerks were employed to make a careful examination of the signatures, and that the number attached to the petition was only 1,975,469; that many of these were evidently fictitious, such as Victoria Rex, Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, &c., all repeated many times over; and in other instances they consisted of ridiculous designations, such as Cheeks the Marine, Pugnose, Flatnose, Woodenlegs, &c.; that eight per cent. were those of women; and that whole sheets of signatures were in the same handwriting. It had been asserted that the

document weighed five tons; its real weight was only five hundredweights and three quarters.

The overwhelming ridicule which these disclosures brought upon the authors of the petition was fatal to their agitation. They had been an object of alarm; they were now regarded with utter contempt. They fell out among themselves, and their vaunted National Convention was dissolved amid mutual recrimination and dissension. There were riots in various towns in Lancashire. At Manchester a considerable number of members of illegal clubs were arrested. At Ashton-under-Lyne a collision took place between the police and a body of Chartists armed with pikes and guns, and a policeman was brutally murdered by the mob. At Birmingham, Liverpool, and Bradford a quantity of pikes was discovered, and a number of arrests made. In London the police received information of a projected rising, and succeeded in capturing the ring-leaders in a tavern, where a large quantity of pistols, pikes, daggers, spear-heads, and swords, and tow balls to be employed in setting fire to the public buildings, were found. Similar arrests were made and quantities of arms seized in some private houses. The most secret deliberations and plans of the Chartist leaders were constantly betrayed to the Government by their most trusted associates; and in consequence of the information thus communicated the most conspicuous of their leaders were arrested, brought to trial, and punished. The most prominent of their number was Ernest Jones, who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

O'Connor made strenuous efforts to revive the Chartist organization and to renew the agitation, but without effect. His influence was gone; his land scheme, as had been clearly foreseen and confidently predicted, proved a discreditable failure, and he ended his days in a lunatic asylum.

In communicating to Baron Stockmar the welcome news that the Chartist attempt at a revolution had ended in smoke, Prince

Albert added the significant words, 'Ireland still looks dangerous.' The old Repeal party, under the leadership of O'Connell, had now been replaced by the Young Ireland party, mainly composed of hot-headed young men, some of them possessed of considerable powers of eloquence both in speaking and writing, but vain, conceited, and ambitious, and prepared to go all lengths in the prosecution of their revolutionary schemes. The excitement caused by the French Revolution turned their heads, and they seem to have deluded themselves into the belief that with the help of France they would succeed in throwing off the supremacy of Great Britain, and in establishing a republic in Ireland. They had recently received the adhesion to their ranks of Mr. William Smith O'Brien, a gentleman of ancient family, possessed of a large property, the representative in Parliament of the county of Limerick, but a weak, vain man, utterly unfit for the leadership of any important movement. His support, however, gave a decided impulse to the Young Ireland movement among the lower classes of the Irish people, who believed that he was descended from the celebrated Irish king, Brian Boru, and termed him the King of Munster.

The foolish and infatuated leaders of the party made no secret, either of their intentions, or of the means which they meant to employ in carrying them into effect. Their Dublin organ, the *United Irishman*, edited by Mr. John Mitchel, published time after time earnest exhortations to its readers to make all necessary preparations for a rising in arms against the Government, along with minute directions how to maim the feet of the cavalry horses, and to overwhelm the soldiers with missiles, molten lead boiling water, and vitriol. At a meeting of the Irish Confederation in Dublin Mitchel declared, in the most unequivocal terms, that it was his intention to commit treason, and he called upon the whole meeting to follow his example. The Confederation sent a deputation to France, with Smith O'Brien at their head, to wait upon Lamar-

tine at Paris, to claim what 'they boasted they were sure to obtain—the assistance of 50,000 troops for Ireland.' And though their hopes were greatly disconcerted by the calm declaration of the French statesman that France was at peace, and wished to remain so, 'with the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and not with a part of it only,' they did not relinquish their cherished project to attempt the establishment of an Irish republic.

The Government were reluctant to take active measures against the Irish fomenters of sedition so long as the preservation of order seemed to be secure, but forbearance had now reached its utmost limits. A Bill was introduced into Parliament for the more effectual repression of seditious and treasonable proceedings. Certain offences which had hitherto been punishable as treason were to be dealt with merely as felony, and for two years all persons who, by publishing or printing any writing or by open speaking, should excite to insurrection, were to be subjected to the penalties of felony. Sir Robert Peel, in supporting the Bill, said, with the cordial applause of the whole House, 'Of the first part of this Act I cordially approve. I think it is right that men who have not the dignity of traitors shall not cover themselves with the illusion that they are so. I wish to reduce them to the position of felons.' The Bill passed rapidly through both Houses, and immediately received the Royal assent. Before it became law, however, the Government had taken proceedings against the three ringleaders of the Irish physical-force party, O'Brien, Meagher, and Mitchel; and on the 15th of April true bills were found against them for seditious practices tending to the disturbance of the public peace. They were released on bail, and in order to show approbation of their conduct they were invited to a soiree by the Sarsfield Confederation Club at Limerick, on the 29th of April. The result was amusing to the public, but very mortifying to the Young Ireland leaders who were breathing

out 'threatenings and slaughter' against the British Government. Limerick was at that time a stronghold of the Old Irelanders or O'Connell party, who advocated the employment of moral force alone to attain the object they had in view; and their indignation had been roused against their rivals by an article in the *United Irishman*, which reflected severely upon the character of the Liberator. They therefore resolved to prevent the soiree from taking place. They accordingly made a violent attack upon the store in which it was held, broke the windows, smashed in the doors, and finally procured tar-barrels and set fire to the building. For this exhibition of physical force directed against themselves the Young Ireland advocates of pike manufacture and vitriol throwing were by no means prepared; and Messrs. Mitchel, O'Brien, and Meagher were so roughly handled by their moral-force rivals that it was only by the assistance of the 'Saxon police,' whose destruction they had planned and recommended, that they were enabled to escape with their lives from the scene of conflict, bearing, however, in their tattered and torn garments and blackened eyes, unmistakable tokens of the severity of the fray. Poor O'Brien was so disgusted with the ungrateful usage which he had received that he immediately resigned his seat for the county.

About a fortnight after this very Irish occurrence, O'Brien and Meagher were brought to trial under the recent Act for the repression of seditious writing and speaking; but in both instances a single juryman held out against the other eleven, although the clearest evidence was adduced in proof of the guilt of the accused, and the juries had in consequence to be dismissed. Mitchel, however, who was certainly the most criminal of the three, was less fortunate than his two associates. He had, as we have seen, preached up the casting of bullets, the erection of barricades, and the throwing of vitriol, and had boasted that he was determined to commit treason. These undeniable facts were so strong that

even an Irish jury could not resist them, and a unanimous verdict of guilty was returned. He was sentenced (27th May) to transportation for fourteen years, and the same evening was sent off by sea to Spike Island, in the Cove of Cork, to await the arrival of the convict ship which was to convey him to Bermuda.

Mitchel had courted an arrest and trial, in the belief that his conviction would be at once followed by an insurrection. So confident was he that his followers would rise in arms for his rescue, that he wrote from his cell that he could hear around the walls of his prison every night the tramp of hundreds of sympathizers, 'felons in heart and soul.' But the other leaders of the Young Ireland party were cowed by the energy of the Government. Many of the wretched crew were quite well aware of the hopelessness and folly of their plans, though they indulged in alternate boasting and threatening as long as they considered it safe. The author of a 'History of Our Own Times,' though himself a Home Ruler, affirms that 'some were jealous of Mitchel's sudden popularity, and in their secret hearts were disposed to curse him for the trouble he had brought on them. But they could not attempt to give open utterance to such a sentiment. Mitchel's boldness and resolve had placed them at a sad disadvantage. He had that superiority of influence over them that downright determination always gives a man over colleagues who do not know what they would have. One thing, however, they could do, and that they did. They discouraged any attempt to rescue Mitchel.' And so it came to pass, that when the editor of the *United Irishman* was convicted and banished, not the slightest commotion took place among the Irish people.

The more reckless of the English Chartists had resolved to attempt an insurrection at the time when the expected rising in Ireland would have required the presence there of all the troops then in the United Kingdom. But the very men who were to have been generals and presidents of the

future movement, as volunteer informers made the Government acquainted with the whole proceedings from time to time; and the contemptible plotters were not only arrested and brought to justice, but were made a laughing-stock to the whole country.

A similar fate speedily overtook the Irish conspirators. They were too deeply committed to take warning from the punishment of Mitchel. Indeed, it was impossible for them to retreat from the position which they had taken up, without utter loss of reputation and influence among their own party. They became more violent than ever in their denunciations of the Government and their exhortations to the Irish people to prepare for open rebellion. The *United Irishman* was suppressed, but was succeeded by a journal appropriately termed the *Irish Felon*. The *Nation* and the *Tribune*, the two other Dublin organs of the party, openly advocated rebellion and the establishment of an Irish republic. Clubs were organized throughout the country with the avowed object of preparing for a general insurrection. Pikes were manufactured and muskets purchased and distributed in large numbers, and many thousands of the ignorant and deluded peasantry assembled in remote places, and were drilled during the night in the use of arms. Mr. Smith O'Brien went about the country holding reviews of the 'Confederates,' and it really seemed, as one of their countrymen affirms, that they actually fancied the Government, with an English love of fair play, would allow them to go on making all the preparations they pleased for rebellion without any interference until they announced themselves ready to take the field. The Government, however, did not look at the matter quite in this light. Industry was paralyzed, trade was at a stand-still, and great numbers of the people were in consequence suffering severe privations and distress. It became an imperative duty to put an end to this state of affairs, which threatened the mercantile classes with bankruptcy and ruin; and on the 21st

of July Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons, amid loud cheers, that he should next day ask leave to bring in a bill to authorize the Lord Lieutenant 'to apprehend and detain, until the 1st of March, 1849, such persons as he shall suspect of conspiring against Her Majesty's Government.' The bill was passed through all its stages in the House of Commons in one day (Saturday), with only eight dissentients. On the following Monday it was sent up to the House of Lords, where it was passed with equal rapidity, and next day it received the royal assent.

The new Act was put in force at once with the vigour and promptitude which the exigencies of the case demanded, and warrants were immediately issued for the arrest of Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, Dillon, and others of the more prominent leaders of the 'Confederates.' A proclamation was issued on the same day declaring the clubs illegal, and ordering them to be dissolved. These proceedings were received by the Young Irelanders with an outburst of anger and surprise, as if they had confidently counted on being allowed to go on 'playing at preparations for rebellion so long as they liked to keep up the game.' They were at their wits' end what course to pursue. The preparations which the Government had made rendered it hopeless for them to raise the standard of rebellion; and the indifference with which Mitchel's transportation had been received showed them clearly that if they should all meet the same fate the Irish people would not stir hand or foot in their behalf. One thing only was certain, that Dublin was no place of safety for them, and they fled from it with all speed down into the country. Dublin and the districts adjoining—Kerry, Galway, Wexford, and other six counties—were proclaimed under the Crime and Outrage Act, and steps were taken to disarm the inhabitants. These measures appear to have precipitated the rising of the Confederates. Smith O'Brien had gone down to Cork and the south of Ireland, the others to different districts; but

they found that out of the many thousands who had purchased pikes and attended the midnight drills, only a comparatively small number were now prepared to encounter the perils and pains of actual rebellion. On the 28th of July the 'King of Munster' advanced towards the town of Ballingarry, in Tipperary, at the head of between 2000 and 3000 men. Here they came into collision with a body of forty-seven police who had marched out to meet them. The inspector, finding the insurgents in such force, withdrew his men into a small house occupied by a widow of the name of Cormack. The insurgents attacked them from the cabbage garden outside, but were received so vigorously that, after firing a few volleys, which were returned by the police, they withdrew and dispersed in confusion, leaving two of their number killed and several wounded. None of the police were injured. In this ignominious manner the rebellion came to an end. Poor Smith O'Brien, after wandering about the country for several days, was recognized and taken at the railway station in Thurles, as he was buying a ticket for Limerick. A few days afterwards Meagher and two of his associates—O'Donaghue and Leyne—half dead with hunger, exposure, and fatigue, were arrested by a police patrol on a public road; and nearly all who had taken a prominent part in the rising soon after fell into the hands of the authorities. The rebellion, which at one time looked so formidable, thus expired amid general ridicule and contempt.

Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and MacManus were in September brought to trial on a charge of high treason, before a special commission held at Clonmell, in Tipperary. They were all found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, beheaded, and quartered, according to the old brutal formalities. But it had been known from the first that the sentence would not be carried into effect, and it was commuted, as much from feelings of contempt as from leniency, into one of transportation for life. It is a curious manifestation of the Irish character, that the

convicted rebels, instead of feeling grateful for the mercy shown them, insisted that they must either be set at liberty or hanged, drawn, and quartered, according to the sentence of the court. The Government, however, refused to gratify their morbid vanity by raising them to the dignity of martyrs, and they were all sent to Australia. A few years after Mitchel contrived to make his escape by a Jesuitical breach of his parole, and was followed by Meagher. They made their way to America, where Mitchel settled in Richmond, became a vehement advocate of slavery, and a supporter of the South in the Civil War. After the termination of that struggle he returned to Ireland, where, owing to some flaw in the criminal law, he could not be arrested. Some of the more extreme and ardent Home Rulers tried to make a hero of him, and he was returned for an Irish county. His election was, however, declared null and void, and a new writ was issued. He was returned a second time, but at this point his sudden death put an end to the turmoil and annoyance. Meagher, who served with distinction in the army of the American Federal States, accidentally fell overboard a steamer on the Missouri in a dark night and was drowned. A better fate befel Charles Gavan Duffy, the editor of the *Nation*, who was twice brought to trial after the suppression of the insurrection, but escaped on both occasions by the refusal of the jury to return a verdict of

guilty. He became a member of the House of Commons, and afterwards emigrated to Victoria, where he attained the position of Prime Minister, and conducted the affairs of the colony with such ability and discretion that he received the honour of knighthood and a pension. Thomas Darcy M'Gee, another of the Young Ireland leaders, went to Canada, where he became a member of the Colonial Ministry, and proved himself a most loyal supporter of the British connection. His untimely death by the hand of an assassin was deeply lamented both in Canada and in this country. Smith O'Brien, like a man of honour, refused to have anything to do with any plot for escape while he was on parole. A pardon was afterwards bestowed upon him, on condition that he should not return to the United Kingdom; but this condition was ultimately withdrawn, and he returned to Ireland. He died in Wales in 1864. After the bursting of the Young Ireland bubble a number more of the young and ardent spirits, who had been induced to take part in the movement, settled down and prospered in various departments of life. Some of them, as we have seen, became members of the House of Commons, where they proved useful and were respected. Such were the beneficial results, both to the country and to the Young Irelanders themselves, of the combined firmness and clemency evinced by the Government.

CHAPTER X.

Opposition to Dr. Hampden's appointment to the See of Hereford—The Gorham Case—Debate in Parliament on the treatment of Don Pacifico and Mr. Finlay by the Greek Government—Lord Palmerston's Defence—Its powerful effect on the House—Adoption of Roebuck's Motion—Death of Sir Robert Peel—His Character—Papal Aggression—Public excitement regarding it—Lord John Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham—Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Defeat of the Government on Mr. Locke King's Motion—Their resignation—Their resumption of office—The Great Exhibition—Its brilliant success—Opening ceremony—The results of the Exhibition—Lord Palmerston's dismissal from office—Its alleged grounds—Defeat of the Ministry on the Militia Bill—Their resignation—Formation of Earl Derby's Administration.

THE Chartist and Irish insurrections were not the only troubles which the Government had to encounter at this time. They had appointed Dr. Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, to the bishopric of Hereford, and thus raised a storm both among the ritualistic and the orthodox High Church party. Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures had been regarded as unsound, though they were correctly described as only unintelligible; and a majority of the Convocation of the University of Oxford had in consequence deprived him of the privilege, which had always been connected with the Regius Professorship, of granting certificates of attendance at his lectures to students of theology as a necessary qualification for their admission to holy orders. When, therefore, Lord John Russell advised the Crown to nominate Dr. Hampden to the see of Hereford, a great outcry was made both by the High and the Low Church party against the appointment. The Bishops of London and Winchester, and several other prelates, and various dignitaries and leading clergymen, signed a remonstrance to the Prime Minister against the appointment, but without effect. The farce of an election, in which the electors were required to choose the nominee of the Crown under the penalties of *præmunire*, was gone through; and though an appeal was ultimately made to the Court of Queen's Bench Dr. Hampden's appointment was duly confirmed, and his consecration was

performed in the proper order. But the excitement caused by this affair annoyed and weakened the Government, which on other grounds was in an unstable condition.

Another ecclesiastical case which caused a good deal of annoyance, and ultimately led to the secession of a number of influential members of the Church of England, arose out of the conduct of Dr. Phillpotts, the turbulent Bishop of Exeter. He refused to induct the Rev. Mr. Gorham, who already held the vicarage of St. Just in the diocese of Exeter, into the living of Bamford Speke. Phillpotts was a prelate of great ability and learning, and a most accomplished debater, but did not carry much weight in the Church or the country. He thought proper to decide that Mr. Gorham did not hold the doctrine of baptismal regeneration as laid down in the standards of the English Church, and therefore declined to give him institution. The case was ultimately carried before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and was decided in Mr. Gorham's favour. This decision raised a great ferment in the Church of England. Some of the more advanced of the ritualistic party, including Mr. Hope Scott, the eminent lawyer who had married Sir Walter Scott's granddaughter, went over to the Roman Catholic Church. Others raised an outcry for an alteration of the tribunal of ultimate appeal. Dr. Blomfield, the Bishop of London, who had given his opinion decidedly in favour of the Bishop of Exeter, introduced a Bill into the House of Lords,

on the 3rd of June, 1850, for the establishment of a new tribunal for ecclesiastical appeals. But after a keen debate, in which the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Brougham, the Bishop of Oxford, the Earls of Derby and Carlisle, and other leading peers took part, the Bill was rejected by a considerable majority.

A discussion of much greater importance was raised in connection with the foreign policy of the Government, as represented by Lord Palmerston. A Portuguese Jew, but a British subject, of the name of Don Pacifico, had his house pillaged and gutted in open day by a Greek mob, headed by the sons of the Minister of War; and during three years Mr. Wyse, the British Minister at Athens, had pressed his claims for compensation without success. Mr. Finlay, a Scotsman, the historian of Greece, had some of his land taken from him for the purpose of making an addition to the palace gardens of King Otho, and no payment could be obtained from the appropriators. Ionian subjects of Great Britain had been systematically treated in a high-handed and lawless manner, and a midshipman of Her Majesty's ship *Fantôme* had been arrested on landing from a boat at night at Patras. The Greek authorities refused or delayed to give redress to the complainants in these and some other similar cases, and Lord Palmerston, who was under the impression that the French Minister at Athens was secretly encouraging King Otho and his advisers to resist our claims, at length ordered the British fleet to proceed to the Piræus, and lay an embargo on the Greek vessels that were found within the waters. Otho, the 'spoilt child of Absolutism,' as Lord Palmerston termed him, appealed to France and Russia, as Powers united with Britain in the treaty to protect the independence of Greece. These two Powers were quite ready to give him their countenance in the dispute in which he was involved, as they were displeased because they had not in the first instance been consulted. The French Minister at Athens behaved in a

very foolish and angry manner, and encouraged Otho to refuse compliance with the demands of the British Ministry; and the Russian Foreign Minister wrote an offensive remonstrance against their action. The French Government, too, were unreasonable and angry; but finding that the British Foreign Minister was not to be intimidated by any threatenings on the part of the other Powers, they began to fear that the affair should be settled without their having any share in it. They accordingly proffered their good offices, which Lord Palmerston accepted, on the distinct understanding that they were to be limited to an endeavour to prevail upon the Greek Government to agree to our demands. But Baron Gros, the mediator despatched to Athens by the French Ministry, 'was perpetually trying to slide out of his character of organ of good offices and to place himself in the position of arbiter.' Finding that this would not be permitted he threw up his office as mediator, and thereupon Mr. Wyse renewed the embargo, and seized anew several vessels. This at length brought King Otho to more reasonable terms, and he finally agreed to make an apology for the affair of the *Fantôme*, and to pay a sum of 180,000 drachmas as compensation for the wrongs done to Don Pacifico and to Mr. Finlay.

The French Government, who, as Lord Palmerston says, evidently thought that a quarrel with us would be useful to them at home, were exceedingly annoyed that the dispute should have been settled without their intervention, and they recalled their ambassador, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, from London. They had no desire, however, to carry their displeasure further, and official intercourse was speedily resumed. Lord Palmerston adroitly contrived to soothe the irritated susceptibilities of the French Ministers by engaging their good offices in making investigation into the amount of Don Pacifico's claims, which were ultimately reduced to about one-thirtieth of the sum he had originally demanded.

This trumpery affair seemed to the Opposition in Parliament to afford a favourable opportunity for attacking the whole of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, of which they strongly disapproved; and on the 17th of June, 1850, Lord Stanley moved in the House of Lords a resolution expressing the regret of the House to find that 'various claims against the Greek Government, doubtful in point of justice or exaggerated in amount, have been enforced by coercive measures directed against the commerce and people of Greece, and calculated to endanger the continuance of our friendly relations with foreign powers.' This resolution was supported with great energy and spirit by Lord Aberdeen and Lord Brougham, and was carried by a majority of thirty-seven.

'What the Commons may do,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'remains to be seen, but I greatly doubt the Protection party there venturing to propose resolutions similar to those of the Lords. If they do I think we know pretty well what the result would be.' No adverse motion was made in the House of Commons, but on the 24th of June Mr. Roebuck moved as a rejoinder to the vote of the Lords the following resolution:—

'That the principles on which the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government have been regulated have been such as were calculated to maintain the honour and dignity of this country, and in times of unexampled difficulty to preserve peace between England and the various nations of the world.'

The resolution was very dexterously framed, so as to draw away the attention of the House from the course followed with reference to the Greek claims, of which many sound Liberals disapproved, and to fix it mainly on the general policy of the Government in regard to foreign affairs. A debate of four nights' duration followed, in which all the leading members of the House took part. It was one of the most memorable discussions that ever took place in Parliament, both for the eloquence and the intellectual power which it called

forth. Lord Palmerston spoke on the second night. Without a note or a pause, or hesitation, or sign of fatigue, he delivered a speech occupying four hours and a half, and embracing the whole foreign policy of the country, which has been ranked both by friends and foes amongst Parliamentary masterpieces, though it hardly ever rose to what is popularly called eloquence. Mr. Gladstone, whose speech Palmerston declared to be 'a first-class performance,' said, 'No man had listened with greater admiration than himself, while from the dusk of one day to the dawn of the next, the Foreign Secretary defended his policy before a crowded House of Commons in that gigantic intellectual and physical effort.' And Sir Robert Peel went out of his way to describe Lord Palmerston's defence as that 'most able and most temperate speech, which made us proud of the man who delivered it, and in which he vindicated with becoming spirit, and with an ability worthy of his name and place, that course of conduct which he had pursued.'

Palmerston, who was not sparing of his commendation of the other speakers—even of those hostile to him—says, 'John Russell's speech last night was admirable and first-rate, and Peel and Disraeli both spoke with great judgment and talent with reference to their respective positions.' But it was admitted on all hands that the palm of eloquence was carried off by Sir Alexander Cockburn (afterwards Chief-Justice of England), who spoke on the fourth night of the debate. Palmerston said of his speech, 'I do not know that I ever in the course of my life heard a better speech from anybody, without any exception;' and Sir Robert Peel, who followed him, said, 'At the conclusion of Cockburn's speech one-half of the Treasury benches were left empty, whilst honourable members ran one after another, tumbling over each other in their haste to shake hands with the honourable and learned member.' Although Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Cobden, and the other members of the Manchester school, united with the

Conservatives in opposing Mr. Roebuck's motion, it was carried by a majority of 46—310 having voted in its favour and 264 against it. 'We defeated the whole Conservative party,' wrote Sir George C. Lewis, 'Protectionists and Peelites, supported by the extreme Radicals, and backed by the *Times* and all the organized forces of foreign diplomacy.'

It was the general impression, as Sir George C. Lewis indicates, that the ambassadors and agents of the Continental powers had combined with the leaders of the Conservative party to make this attack upon Lord Palmerston, with the hope of overturning the Government. The Foreign Secretary himself entertained that conviction, as he clearly indicated in the most dexterous part of his speech, in which he referred to 'a knot of foreign conspirators cavilling against a Minister for no other reason than that he had upheld the dignity and interests of his own country.' And in a letter to his brother at this time he says, 'The attack on our foreign policy has been rightly understood by everybody as the shot fired by a foreign conspirator.' There is good reason, however, to believe that Lord Palmerston was mistaken in supposing that the agents of the Continental despots, though they 'hated him with a perfect hatred,' had any connection with the leaders of the Conservative party, who only expressed the views which they sincerely entertained regarding his policy. But they had afforded him an opportunity of achieving an extraordinary success, and had rendered him for the present the most popular Minister that for a very long course of time had held his office.

The debate on Roebuck's motion was the last in which Sir Robert Peel took part. It did not terminate until five o'clock in the morning (29th June). He attended at twelve a meeting of the Royal Commission on the Great Exhibition, where he examined and was delighted with the plan of the building proposed by Sir Joseph Paxton. A great outcry had been made by interested

parties against the choice of a place in Hyde Park, and he undertook to take the lead in defending the decision of the Commissioners before the House of Commons. In the afternoon, while riding up Constitution Hill, he was thrown from his horse and his left collar-bone was broken. After lingering in great pain for some days he died on the 2nd of July, 1850. A public funeral in Westminster Abbey would have been given him, and a peerage would have been conferred on Lady Peel: but in his will he had left precise directions that his funeral should be of the simplest kind; that he should be buried in the parish church of Drayton, where his father and mother were interred; and that no member of his family should accept, if offered, any title, distinction, or reward in respect of any service which he might be supposed to have rendered to his country. Lady Peel, in consonance with his wishes, declined a peerage offered her by the Queen. 'Her own wish,' she said, 'was to bear no other name than that by which Sir Robert Peel was known.' The House of Commons, however, resolved, on the motion of Lord John Russell, that a monument to the great statesman should be erected in Westminster Abbey.

The sudden and premature death of a man who had acted such an important part in public affairs, and was regarded by all parties with profound respect, made a deep and sorrowful impression on the whole nation. 'The sorrow and grief at his death,' wrote the Queen to King Leopold, 'are most touching. The country mourns over him as over a father. Every one seems to have lost a personal friend.' Prince Albert, who felt he had been bereaved of a second father, said, 'We have lost our truest friend and trustiest counsellor; the throne its most valiant defender; the country its most open-minded and greatest statesman.' The Ministerial leaders in the Houses of Parliament—Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne—expressed in generous and glowing terms their sense of the void which the death of

'a great man and a great statesman had created in the Council of the nation.' But of the many eloquent tributes paid to Peel's memory there was none that produced so powerful an impression as the few words in which the Duke of Wellington, with visible and deep emotion, expressed his admiration of the friend whose public and private worth he had reason to know so well. 'In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel,' he said, 'I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communications with him I never knew an instance in which he did not show the strongest attachment to truth, and I never saw in the whole course of my life the slightest reason for suspecting that he stated anything which he did not believe to be the fact.'

Sir Robert Peel was not an eloquent orator or a man of original genius, but he was a great administrator, a great debater, a great member of Parliament—perhaps the greatest that our country has produced—and a constitutional statesman of a very high order. As he advanced in his career he made important changes in his policy, for which at the time he incurred great odium from the violent Tory party, but which no one now doubts were thoroughly conscientious, and required him to make great and painful sacrifices. Roman Catholic emancipation, freedom for Dissenters, free trade, great reforms in police, criminal laws, currency, finance, the Irish Encumbered Estates Act, and numerous other improvements, if not originated, were carried by him into practical effect. Of all he did nothing has been undone, but every reform which he made laid a secure foundation for other and more extensive changes for the better. The loss of such a man in the full vigour of his intellectual powers, and with all his ripened experience, was considered as a great national calamity, as was clearly shown by the 'tributes of re-

spect and gratitude paid to his memory—paid by Sovereign, by Parliament, by public men of all parties, by the country, by the press, and above all by the great towns and the masses of the people to whom he had given "bread unleavened with injustice."

An incident occurred at this time which, though of no great importance in itself, excited an extraordinary ferment in the public mind throughout England and Scotland. On the 24th of September, 1850, the Pope published a Bull, 'under the seal of the Fisherman,' by which he set aside the Vicars Apostolic, who had exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the Roman Catholics in England since the Reformation; and 'decreed the establishment in the kingdom of England of a hierarchy of bishops, deriving their titles from their own sees.' It divided the kingdom into dioceses, which were placed under the control of an archbishop and twelve suffragans. And this was avowedly done on the assumption 'that every day the obstacles were falling off which stood in the way of the extension of the Catholic religion.' The feeling which this ill-advised document was fitted to excite was greatly strengthened by the pastoral 'given out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome,' on the 7th of October, by Cardinal Wiseman, who had been appointed the head of the new Papal hierarchy, under the title of Archbishop of Westminster and Administrator Apostolic of the diocese of Southwark. This document, 'framed in the most inflated language of ecclesiastical bombast,' roused the indignation of the people, both by its absurd and arrogant assumption, and its designating as blessed martyrs' the men whom Englishmen of all parties and denominations regarded as the great enemies of their freedom, both political and religious.

The notion that 'Catholic England had been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished, and began now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre, the source of jurisdiction, of

light, and of vigour,' at the mandate of a man who had but recently been a fugitive from his own city, and who had been restored and was still retained there by French arms, was simply ridiculous, and might have excited contempt rather than anger. But various circumstances had recently occurred which had aroused the jealousy and indignation of the people against Romish aggressions. The national system of education in Ireland, which had been cordially supported by the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in that country, had fallen under the ban of the Papal Court on the initiation of its Ultramontane policy. It had in consequence been recently condemned as irreligious by the synod of the Roman Catholic clergy at Thurles; and the members of their Church who took advantage of the means of education provided by the State were threatened with the penalty of excommunication. But what still more roused the suspicion of the English people was the conviction that the Papal claim of spiritual jurisdiction in England had been put forward mainly in consequence of the stealthy inroads which the Tractarians had, for some years, been making upon the creed and ritual of the Established Church, and the conversion of a number of its leaders to the Romish faith.

The indignation which the Papal manifesto excited among all classes throughout the country was greatly increased by the publication, on the 4th of November, of Lord John Russell's letter, in reply to one from the Bishop of Durham. In this celebrated document, after styling the aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious, and referring to his own efforts to promote the just claims of the Roman Catholics, the Premier went on to say, 'There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome, a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with

the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times. I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation. Even if it should appear that the ministers and servants of the Pope have not transgressed the law, I feel persuaded that we are strong enough to repel any outward attacks. The liberty of Protestantism has been enjoyed too long in England to allow of any successful attempt to impose a foreign yoke on our minds and consciences. No foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion—civil, political, and religious.

'Upon this subject, then, I will only say that the present state of the land shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumption of power deliberately considered. There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than the aggression of a foreign sovereign. Clergymen of our own Church, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks step by step to the verge of the precipice. The honour paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the Church, the superstitions of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the Liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it was written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese. What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself? I have but little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course, but I rely with

confidence on the people of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or life so long as the glorious principles and the noble martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul.'

In the excited state of the public mind at this time Lord John's letter acted like 'fire to heather set.' The day after it appeared was the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, and all over the country effigies of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman, in his red robes, took the place of those of Guy Fawkes; and after being paraded through the streets of the metropolis and of other large towns, were committed to the flames amidst squibs, crackers, and rockets in the usual way. Crowded meetings were held of laymen of all classes and of all Christian denominations, at which indignant speeches were delivered denouncing the invasion of the Royal supremacy, and addresses to the Crown adopted, calling for decided measures to oppose the pretensions of the Pontiff to exercise authority in England. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Corporation of London, sent numerous and influential deputations to Windsor Castle with similar addresses to Her Majesty. The Oxford address was presented by the Duke of Wellington, and the Cambridge address by Prince Albert, in their official capacity, and to each of these replies were returned by the Queen in person, 'with great deliberation and with decided accents.' The Bishop of London delivered a charge to his clergy, condemning in strong terms the Papal rescript, and most of the other prelates of the Established Church followed his example. The clergy indeed of all grades and parties, as might have been expected, took a prominent part in the agitation. The English Roman Catholics themselves felt deeply aggrieved by the injudicious and offensive action

of the Papal court, which, much to their annoyance had, as might have been foreseen, provoked a display of an intolerant spirit and much violent abuse of their religion. But the mischief was done, and even if the Pope and his presumptuous and ill-informed advisers had been willing to retrace their steps the agitation would not have been allayed. Father Gavazzi, an Italian Republican, who had been a Roman Catholic priest but had renounced Popery, visited England at this time, and delivered in London and other large towns a series of lectures against the Papacy, characterized by great eloquence and power, which contributed to augment the torrent of angry feeling against the Pontiff and the Court of Rome.

There were not wanting at the time remonstrances against the violent and intolerant language employed respecting the Roman Catholics. It was pointed out that the Papal Bull, though foolish and insolent, was really harmless. It was a matter of indifference whether the chief administrator of the Romish Church in England was designated Archbishop of Westminster or Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium*. He had no more authority over his co-religionists in the one case than in the other. They might call him 'His Eminence' or 'His Grace,' or give him any other designation they might think fit. Cardinal Wiseman had no legal right to the high-sounding titles he had assumed, and the law gave no ecclesiastical position or dignity or authority of any kind. In the prevailing excitement throughout the country these remonstrances were unheeded, and indeed they failed to affect the real grounds of the feeling which the Papal rescript had roused against the Roman hierarchy and its arrogant pretensions.

The Parliament met on 4th February, 1851, and was opened by the Queen in person. It was a matter of course that her speech should contain some reference to the question which was agitating the whole country. 'The recent assumption'

she said, 'of certain ecclesiastical titles conferred by a foreign Power has excited strong feelings in this country, and large bodies of my subjects have presented addresses to me, expressing attachment to the throne and praying that such assumptions should be resisted. I have assured them of my resolution to maintain the rights of my crown and the independence of the nation against all encroachments, from whatever quarter they may proceed. I have at the same time expressed my earnest desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired the religious liberty which is so justly prized by the people of this country.' There was certainly no inclination on the part, either of the Queen or her Ministers, to adopt any measures dealing unfairly with the Roman Catholics; but the arrogant and aggressive conduct of the head of their Church had rendered it impossible for any Government who refused to deal with it to maintain their position for a week.

A few days before the opening of Parliament Lord Palmerston wrote a letter to his brother, which explains in clear and temperate language both the position of the Ministry with reference to the question and the grounds of the public displeasure at the conduct of the Papal court. 'The Papal aggression question,' he said, 'will give us some trouble and give rise to stormy debates. Our difficulty will be to find out a measure which shall satisfy reasonable Protestants without violating those principles of liberal toleration which we are pledged to. I think we shall succeed. The Pope, I hear, and the people about him, by whom at present he is guided, affect to treat lightly the excitement which his measures have produced in this country, and they represent the clamour as a thing got up by the Church—a parson agitation. They deceive themselves. The feeling is general and intense all through the nation, and the sensible Catholics themselves lament what has been done. The thing itself in truth is little or nothing, and does not justify the

irritation. The Catholics have a right to organize their Church as they like; and if staff-officers called Bishops were thought better than staff-officers called Vicars Apostolic, nobody would have remarked or objected to the change, if it had been made quietly and only in the bosom of the Church. But what offended, and justly, all England was the Pope's published Allocution and Wiseman's announcement of his new dignities—the first representing England as a land of benighted heathens, the second proclaiming that the Pope had parcelled out England into districts—a thing that only a sovereign had a right to do—and that he (Wiseman) and others were sent and to be sent to govern these territorial districts with titles belonging thereto. This could not and would not have been done in any other country without the consent of the government. We must bring in a measure; the country would not be satisfied without some legislative enactment. We shall make it as gentle as possible. The violent Protestant party will object to it for its mildness, and will endeavour to drive us further.'

Three days after the meeting of Parliament Lord John Russell brought in his promised Bill to prevent the assumption of territorial titles by Roman Catholic bishops. The introduction of the measure was keenly opposed, but after a discussion which was protracted through several nights its opponents mustered only 63 votes against 395. Meanwhile, however, the Ministry, though supported by the Peelites, had escaped defeat only by a majority of 14 in a House of 545 members on a motion of Mr. Disraeli, that it was their duty to introduce without delay such measures as might be most effectual for the relief of the agricultural interest. The financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave great dissatisfaction, and if his proposals were persisted in they were certain to be rejected. The feeble condition of the Government did not prevent their own supporters from pressing on them a reform which

it was manifestly impossible for them to carry; and a motion of Mr. Locke King for leave to bring in a Bill to assimilate the county franchise to that of the boroughs was carried (20th February) against them by a majority of nearly two to one. So careless and indifferent had the supporters of the Ministry become that only fifty-two of their number mustered on the occasion, while a hundred voted for the motion.

To have attempted to retain office after such an ignominious defeat would have been dishonourable as well as unwise, and on the 22nd Lord John Russell formally tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues. Lord Stanley was sent for by Her Majesty; but it was evident that a Protectionist Ministry, even if one could be formed, would be utterly unable to hold its ground. He therefore recommended that an attempt should be made to strengthen the present Government by a union with the followers of the late Sir Robert Peel. This, however, was rendered impossible by the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which the Whigs could not withdraw and the Peelites would not support. Lord Aberdeen was constrained to decline the task of forming an administration, from a conviction that no Ministry could stand which refused to deal with the Papal aggression, as he and his friends were firmly resolved not to do. Lord Stanley was again appealed to in this emergency; but the statesmen to whom he applied for help—Mr. Gladstone, Lord Canning, Lord Ellenborough, and others—all declined to form part of a Protectionist Ministry, and he was therefore compelled to abandon the undertaking. In this critical state of affairs Her Majesty summoned the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Lansdowne to her aid. By their advice Lord John Russell and his colleagues consented, at the request of the Queen (3rd March), to resume their offices, and the dead lock into which the political machine had been brought was thus removed. The supporters of the Government had been taught a much-needed lesson, and when Mr. Locke King

moved the second reading of the Bill which had 'upset the coach,' it was rejected by a majority of 216 in a House of 382 members.

But the ill-fated Ecclesiastical Titles Bill had still to be disposed of, and in order to facilitate its progress through the House the more stringent clauses were withdrawn by the Government, and it was limited to a mere declaration that the titles assumed by the Roman Catholic prelates were illegal. In this form it pleased no party. The expectations which had been raised in the minds of the high Protestants by the Durham letter were miserably disappointed by such a feeble result, while the Roman Catholics still regarded the Bill as an insult to their church. The debate on the second reading was protracted over seven nights, and the measure was vigorously opposed by Sir James Graham, Gladstone, Cobden, Bright, Roundell Palmer, Roebuck, and other prominent Liberals, but they could only muster 95 votes against 438. The Roman Catholic members obstinately resisted the Bill in its subsequent stages, but when Sir F. Thesiger moved a series of resolutions to render it more stringent they walked out of the House, and allowed three of them to be adopted, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government. The third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 217, the opponents of the motion amounting to only 46, while it was supported by 263. In the House of Lords, after two nights of debate, the second reading was carried by 265 votes against 38. The Bill was finally passed, without alteration, on the 29th of July, and in due course received the Royal assent.

Earl Russell, in his 'Recollections and Suggestions,' published in 1875, says, in vindication of the course adopted by the Government in dealing with this question, 'The object of the Bill was merely to assert the supremacy of the Crown. It was never intended to prosecute any Roman Catholic Bishops who did not act in glaring and ostentatious defiance of the Queen's title to the Crown. Accordingly a very clever artist represented me in a caricature as a

boy who had chalked up "No Popery" upon a wall and then run away. This was a very fair joke. In fact, I wanted to place the assertion of the Queen's title to appoint Bishops on the statute-book, and there leave it. I kept in the hands of the Crown the discretion to prosecute or not any offensive denial of the Queen's rights. My purpose was fully answered. Those who wished to give the Pope the right of appointing Bishops in England opposed the Bill. When my object had been gained I had no objection to the repeal of the Act.'

Lord Russell mentions that during his temporary resignation of office in February, 1851, Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham tried to persuade him not to persevere with the Bill, but to be satisfied with Parliamentary resolutions asserting the rights of the Crown. He did not like, he says, to retire from the position he had assumed; but he admits that in substance the course suggested by Lord Aberdeen would have been as effectual and less offensive than that which he took. There can be no doubt that this would have been the case, but as Sydney Smith remarked, 'a peculiarity of the Russells is that they never alter their opinions; they are an excellent race, but they must be trepanned before they can be convinced.' The Bill which caused such dissension among the Liberal party was a dead letter from the first, and was repealed in 1871.

In the midst of these political and ecclesiastical squabbles, and the annoyance and trouble which they caused both to the sovereign and the country, a most memorable event occurred, which was as pleasant as it was profitable—the opening of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations. The project originated with Prince Albert, and it was owing to his influence and unwearied exertions that it was successfully carried into execution. He was President of the Society of Arts, and at a meeting in Buckingham Palace on the 30th of July, 1849, he propounded his views on the subject to four of its most active members, and proposed that the Society should take the

initiative in the promotion of an exhibition which 'would afford the means of showing what every country was able to produce in the shape of raw materials, in machinery and mechanical inventions, in manufactures, and also in sculpture, in plastic art, and generally in art as applied to manufactures.' The proposal was cordially entertained by these associates, the leading manufacturers throughout the kingdom took it up with warm interest, the sympathies of our colonies and of the East India Company were enlisted, communications were opened with Continental States, and most of them, following the lead of France, promised their active assistance. At the beginning of 1851 a Commission was appointed 'for the promotion of the Exhibition of the Works of all Nations,' to be held in the course of that year. Prince Albert was appointed President of the Commission. Steps were next taken to raise the money to carry out the project; £64,000 was subscribed, and a guarantee fund of £200,000 was ultimately secured.*

On the 21st of February, 1850, the first of the great public meetings on the subject was held, and in addition to Lord Brougham, Lord Morpeth, the Bishop of Oxford, and other eminent Englishmen who took part

* There was great backwardness at first in raising the necessary funds. The various towns appealed to sent no end of advice, objections, and queries, but little or no money. The constant demands on a nearly empty exchequer to meet the large and growing calls were a source of painful uneasiness to the Commissioners up till the very opening of the Exhibition, and until the large subsequent receipts relieved all anxiety on this score. The writers in *Punch*, for some reason or other (probably personal pique), joined loudly in the outcry against the Exhibition being in Hyde Park, and lost no opportunity of making fun of the project. 'The backwardness of the subscriptions was of course a good point for them to handle, and one of Leech's cartoons represented the Prince as "The Industrious Boy," cap in hand, with "Please to remember the Exhibition" inscribed under it, and followed by some verses, of which the first will serve to show the general character—

"Pity the troubles of a poor young Prince,
Whose costly scheme has brought him to your door,
Who's in a fix—the matter not to mince;
Oh help him, and with commerce swell your store!"

The Prince, who had the rare quality of enjoying a joke none the less for being the subject of it, has preserved this cartoon among his records of the Exhibition' ('Life of the Prince Consort,' ii. 298).

in the discussion, France, Prussia, America, and Belgium were represented by their respective ambassadors at the British Court. It was followed by a banquet, given upon a magnificent scale, at the Mansion House, on the 21st of March, to which the principal officers of State, the Foreign Ambassadors, the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition, and the chief magistrates of more than 200 towns were invited, for the purpose of interesting them in the scheme. Prince Albert was present, and explained with great clearness and effect the purposes of the Exhibition. 'It was,' he said, 'to give the world a true but a living picture of the point of industrial development at which the whole of mankind had arrived, and a new starting-point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions.'

Strange to say, the scheme met with great opposition in various quarters from which support might have been expected, and difficulties arose concerning the site and the plan of the structure which it required no small amount of energy and tact to overcome. The Royal Commissioners had fixed upon Hyde Park as the best site for the great building in which the Exhibition was to take place. A fierce outcry, however, was raised against what was ridiculously termed 'the profanation of the Park,' and it was confidently asserted that the Park would be utterly spoiled by the crowds who would resort to the Exhibition. Sir Robert Peel, at the meeting of the Commissioners on the day on which he met his fatal accident, had agreed to defend in the House of Commons the selection of the site, and the knowledge of this fact helped considerably to abate the violence of the opposition. 'If we are driven out of the Park,' wrote the Prince Consort, 'the work is done for.' Happily this danger was averted. In the House of Commons the Opposition were defeated by a very large majority, and in the Upper House the hostile motion was withdrawn.

A suitable plan for the building had yet to be selected, and this was found to be no

easy matter. Two hundred and forty designs were sent, but the Building Committee were unanimously of opinion that 'there was no single one so accordant with the peculiar objects in view as to warrant them in recommending its adoption.' Finally, they seemed to be shut up to the acceptance of one—a huge but low structure of brick-work—immensely long and wide, like an enormous railway shed, with a dome of light sheet iron 200 feet in diameter. In this extremity, when the constructive talent of Europe seemed to be exhausted and in vain, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Paxton came to the rescue. He was the constructor of the large and splendid conservatory in the Duke of Devonshire's garden at Chatsworth, and it suddenly occurred to him that a structure might be constructed exclusively of glass and iron large enough to contain all the articles that were likely to be sent to the Exhibition, which would admit a sufficient quantity of light, be at once beautiful and inexpensive, and could with facility be prepared, erected, and removed. Mr. Paxton's ingenious and exquisite design was accepted by the Commissioners on the 16th of July. The construction of the building was intrusted to Messrs. Fox and Henderson. An army of 2000 men were employed in rearing the fabric. In spite of the difficulties with which the contractors had to contend—arising out of the shortness of the time allowed, the unusual wetness of the season, and the combinations of the workmen—with a rapidity wholly unexampled, in seven months they reared an edifice which, by the common consent of the immense multitudes who visited it, was of a more wonderful character than any of the varied wonders which it included, and was of itself one of the chief objects of attraction.* Lord

* Thackeray, in his 'May Day Ode,' has happily expressed the prevailing feeling on the subject

But yesterday a naked sod,
The dandies sneered from Rotten Row,
And cantered o'er it to and fro:
And see 'tis done!

As though 'twere by a wizard's rod,
A blazing arch of lucid glass
Leaps like a fountain from the grass
To meet the sun.'

Palmerston, writing to Lord Normanby on the day after the opening of the Exhibition, said, 'The building itself is far more worth seeing than anything in it, though many of its contents are worthy of admiration.' It covered a space of twenty acres, and the sum agreed to be paid for a year's use of the materials was £78,000.

As the building approached completion influential exhibitors from all the large towns in the kingdom applied for space. Similar applications poured in from our colonies and from the United States, as well as from nearly all the countries of Continental Europe. As might have been expected, difficulties arose in assigning to each country its proper place and limits, owing to their mutual jealousies. This troublesome question was settled by the felicitous idea of a geographical arrangement according to the terrestrial position of each State. It was decided that the transept should be assumed as the equator, and that the various countries which furnished contributions should have their places assigned according to Mercator's projection. This equitable device solved many difficulties; but a great deal of tact and prudence was necessary to remove petty jealousies and make matters proceed smoothly. Spain actually refused to exhibit unless provided with an entrance distinct from that of Portugal; and the 'transposition of the Imperial furniture of the Court of Austria from a southern to a more northern latitude seemed pregnant with consequences as grave as those attending the transfer of the Court of the Emperors from Rome to Byzantium, and actually led to a blockade of the Austrian consignments for a week in the port of Hamburg.' A difficulty arose in securing the services of a sufficient number of persons acquainted with foreign languages who could act as interpreters between the English authorities and the exhibitors who came from all parts of the world, and spoke no language but their own native tongue. At any other time this difficulty would have been insurmountable;

but the recent convulsions on the Continent had compelled a large number of political refugees to seek an asylum in England, and they were glad to give their services for a very moderate remuneration. 'It is at once a curious and an instructive fact that the vast majority of those who formed the immediate *entourage* of the royal personages visiting the Exhibition consisted of men who, having been condemned for democratic opinions in their respective countries to imprisonment for life or even to death, had eluded the violence of the laws and the vigilance of the police.' They, however, conducted themselves on this occasion with perfect propriety and strict regard to law and order.

The opening of the Great Exhibition had been looked forward to by many persons with serious apprehensions. Not a few shared with the eccentric Colonel Sibthorp a distrust of all foreigners, and seemed to think that a swarm of Communists and Red Republicans would avail themselves of the gathering to plunder and burn the metropolis. Others dreaded an outbreak of the Chartists, who had so recently threatened the peace and safety of the community. The Duke of Cambridge, it appears, participated in these apprehensions. The Continental sovereigns regarded the project with great uneasiness. Their subjects, as they well knew, were sullen and discontented at the reaction that had taken place, and the manner in which their promised rights had been withheld; and they were evidently apprehensive that contact with Englishmen and English institutions might make those of them who were attracted to the Exhibition more eager to throw off the yoke of arbitrary power by which they had been so long galled. The King of Prussia was in such a state of alarm at the danger which he fancied would be caused by the presence of Red Republicans whom the Exhibition would draw to London, that at first he prohibited his brother—then Prince of Prussia, now Emperor of Germany—from

accepting the invitation of our Queen to be present at the opening ceremonial. This prohibition was finally withdrawn, as Bunsen states, 'rather in consideration of the decided wish of the Prince to make the proposed visit, than in consequence of the arguments and the evidence which Bunsen forcibly brought before His Majesty to prove the tales of conspiracy to be wholly fictitious which in Continental Courts were received as credible.' 'The opponents of the Exhibition,' wrote Prince Albert, 'work with might and main to throw all the old women here into a panic, and to drive myself crazy. The strangers, they give out, are certain to commence a thorough revolution here, to murder Victoria and myself, and to proclaim the Red Republic in England; the plague is certain to ensue from the confluence of such vast multitudes, and to swallow up those whom the increased price of everything has not already swept away. For all this I am to be responsible, and against all this I have to make efficient provision.'

Although the Continental Powers looked so coldly on the Exhibition, yet as the object was not a British but an International one, as half the building was in charge of foreign authorities, and half the collection the property of foreign countries, Prince Albert proposed that an opportunity should be offered to the Corps Diplomatique to take a part in the proceedings of the opening day by presenting an address to Her Majesty. M. Van de Weyer, the senior member of the Corps, was commissioned to lay the proposal before his colleagues. They severally and individually expressed their approval of the idea; but at the meeting held to consider the proposal, Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador, whom M. Van de Weyer did not find at home, worked so strongly on their fears that by a majority of three they decided to decline presenting an address. The Queen, on learning this result, intimated to them that she had intended to pay them a compliment, but she would not urge them to accept as a

civility what others had been willing to receive as a favour. They had by this time begun to repent of their foolish and discourteous vote, and ultimately Brunnow's remained the only dissenting voice. But as unanimity was required, it was decided by the Foreign Office that no address should be presented by the Corps Diplomatique, and that 'they,' said Van de Weyer, 'as mute as fish, should pass before the Queen, make their bow, and stand on the side of the platform, where they certainly did look like fish out of the water. I must add that on reflection they were thoroughly ashamed of what they had done.'

The opening ceremony took place on the 1st of May, 1851, and was in every way a most brilliant success. The day was bright and genial. Not less than 25,000 spectators were within the building, in which the flags of all nations were floating, with the royal standard rising majestically above them, and it was calculated that 700,000 persons lined the route between it and Buckingham Palace. The Green Park and Hyde Park in particular were one densely crowded mass of human beings, all in the highest good humour and most enthusiastic. 'The shock of delighted surprise,' says the Prince Consort's biographer, 'which every one felt on first entering the great transept of Sir Joseph Paxton's building was a sensation as noble as it was deep. Its vastness was measured by the huge elms, two of the giants of the park, which rose far into the air with all their wealth of foliage as free and unconfined as if there was nothing between them and the open sky. The splash of fountains, the luxuriance of tropical foliage, the play of colours from the choicest flowers, carried on into the vistas of the nave by the rich dyes of carpets and stuffs from the costliest looms, were enough to fill eye and mind with a pleasure never to be forgotten, even without the vague sense of what lay beyond in the accumulated results of human ingenuity and cultivated art. One general effect of beauty had been produced by the infinitely varied work of

the thousands who had separately cooperated towards this marvellous display; and the structure in which it was set, by its graceful lines and the free play of light which it admitted, seemed to fulfil every condition that could be desired for setting off the treasures thus brought together.' The description given of this magical scene by Her Majesty herself, in language glowing with emotion and thankfulness, is singularly vivid. 'The glimpse of the transept,' she says, 'through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, with the flourish of trumpets as we entered, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. . . . The sight as we came to the middle, where the steps and chair (which I did *not* sit on) were placed, with the beautiful crystal fountain just in front of it, was magical—so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt—as so many did whom I have since spoken to—filled with devotion, more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains, the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband, the author of this "Peace Festival," which united the industry of all nations of the earth—all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever.'*

On entering the transept the Queen took her place upon the dais, surrounded by the

* It has been well remarked by Sir Theodore Martin that 'in reading this vivid description, so glowing with an emotion that speaks directly to the heart, we are again reminded of Thackeray's "May Day Ode"—

'I felt a thrill of love and awe,
To mark the different garbs of each,
The changing tongue, the various speech,
Together blent;

A thrill methinks like his who saw
"All people dwelling upon earth
Praising our God with solemn mirth
And one consent."

Behold her in her Royal place!
A gentle lady; and the hand
That sways the sceptre of this land,
How frail and weak!

ladies of her suite, the most illustrious statesmen and warriors of the age, the heads of the Church, and the foreign ambassadors. The organ pealed forth the well-known notes of the National Anthem, and 'a multitude of voices, like the sound of mighty waters, poured forth the grand old hymn.' Prince Albert then descended from the dais, and at the head of the Commissioners, 'a curious assemblage,' the Queen says, 'of political and distinguished men,' read the report of the Commission, to which she returned a brief answer. The Archbishop of Canterbury next offered up a short and appropriate prayer, followed by the Hallelujah Chorus. The procession, which was beautifully arrayed and of great length, then began, consisting of the eminent individuals who had been stationed on the dais, headed by Her Majesty, the Prince Consort, and their eldest son and daughter. They walked through the whole length of the building, in the midst of continued and deafening cheers. The illustrious and venerable Duke of Wellington, the 'observed of all observers,' walked arm in arm with his old fellow-soldier the Marquis of Anglesey. On their return to the dais the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Lord High Steward, declared the Exhibition open, and the announcement was followed by a flourish of trumpets and immense cheering.

The most perfect order was preserved throughout the whole proceedings, and not a single accident occurred, or one police case connected with the vast assemblage, to mar the delight which this magnificent

Soft is the voice and fair the face;
She breathes amen to prayer and hymn;
No wonder that her eyes are dim,
And pale her cheek.

The fountain in the basin plays,
The chanting organ echoes clear,
An awful chorus 'tis to hear,
A wondrous song!

Swell, organ, swell your trumpet blast!
March, Queen and Royal pageant, march,
By splendid aisle and springing arch
Of this fair hall!

And see above the fabric vast
God's boundless heaven is bending blue
God's peaceful sun is beaming through,
And shining over all!

spectacle produced. 'It was impossible,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'for the invited guests of a lady's drawing-room to have conducted themselves with more perfect propriety than did this sea of human beings.'

The subsequent history of the Great Exhibition was in keeping throughout with the success of the opening day. The internal arrangements of the different departments were of the most complete and satisfactory character. It had its post-office, its branch bank, its telegraph, its miniature railroad, its little army of police, and its *cafés* and *table d'hôtes* to provide daily for the wants of a constant population equal to that of a populous city. In order that all classes might partake of its benefits and enjoyments, the price of admission was gradually reduced till it reached sixpence, and the public were twice admitted free. On one day £5078 was drawn at the doors, and there were seventeen days in which sums varying from £3797 to £3006 were received for admission. In all the receipts at the doors down to the 25th of September amounted to £304,018. As many as 100,000 people were within the building at one time, and altogether it was visited by 5,000,000 persons. The guarantee fund was not required, for the undertaking not only paid its own expenses, but left a balance in the hands of the Commissioners of nearly £250,000, which was devoted to the establishment of the National Museums at Kensington. The Exhibition was closed to the general public on the 11th of October, and on the 15th it may be said to have been formally brought to a termination by Prince Albert, when the awards of the prizes were made known in the presence of a large concourse of people. As few designs ever awakened more alarm at the outset, or ever inspired greater apprehensions for the result, so few have ever been attended with such complete success. It proved to millions a source both of instruction and enjoyment. Similar exhibitions have since

followed in Dublin, Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia, and other places, but the impression produced by the Grand Exhibition of 1851 was quite unique. It tended to promote peace and goodwill among nations who were inclined to regard each other with jealousy and dislike. It made the institutions of Great Britain better understood and appreciated by foreigners, and taught them that freedom is perfectly compatible with a due regard to law and order. It fostered a healthy emulation among the manufacturers of different countries, and showed them both where the best materials could be procured and how the processes of manufacture might be improved; and though it failed to realize the expectations that it had inaugurated—a reign of peace—it was certainly calculated to promote harmony among the nations of Europe. In our own country all classes, by means of this Exhibition, increased their stock of knowledge, enlarged the sphere of their enjoyments, cultivated new and instructive relations, exercised their national hospitality, and confirmed their loyalty to their sovereign, who so heartily rejoiced in their joy.

Very shortly after the gratifying termination of the Great Exhibition the country was startled by the news that Lord Palmerston had been dismissed from office. The Foreign Secretary was regarded as the mainstay of Lord Russell's feeble administration, and his removal was considered, not without reason, to be the knell of the Government. The cause assigned for this unusual step was an opinion which Lord Palmerston had expressed to Count Walewski, the French ambassador, respecting Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, the day after that event took place, that the President had acted in self-defence, and that what he had done was in the circumstances of the case the best thing for France. It turned out, however, that there were other causes of alienation of some standing, not so much between the Foreign Secretary and the Premier as between the former and the

Court. Lord Palmerston's sympathy with the European nations who were struggling for their liberties against their Governments, had made him both feared and hated by the Continental despots, and he was at no pains to conceal his dislike and contempt for them. He was quick in forming his judgment of men and things, and impatient of delay in action when his mind was once made up; and the Queen complained that he was in the habit of acting on his own independent judgment and authority, without submitting the matter to her consideration, or even consulting his colleagues. Prince Albert, who was slow and cautious in forming his judgments, and whose natural sympathies were more inclined to favour the authority of the rulers than the complaints of the people, distrusted Palmerston's policy, and disliked the mode in which he treated the Continental sovereigns and their Ministers.

So far back as 1849 the Queen reminded the Foreign Secretary that his office was constitutionally under the control of the Prime Minister, and that the despatches submitted for her approval should therefore pass through the hands of Lord John Russell. The Premier approved of this arrangement, but hinted that the Queen on her part should attend to the draft despatches as soon as possible after their arrival, which it is evident Her Majesty had not always done. In fact, as Lord Russell must have known, his colleague had complained of the serious injury done to the public service, especially in the case of the Spanish marriage, of which Guizot took advantage, by the long delays caused by his being obliged to wait for Her Majesty's approval of his despatches before they could be sent off. Lord Palmerston, on his part, readily agreed to this arrangement, and seems for a time to have acted upon it. But ere long things went on in the old way, and the Queen prepared a Memorandum, prescribing in very sharp language the exact rules which the Foreign Secretary was bound to observe in his official intercourse with her, and

requiring that when her sanction had been given to a measure it should not be arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister; that she should be made acquainted with what passes between him and the Foreign Ministers before important decisions are taken based upon that intercourse; and that 'she should receive foreign despatches in good time, and have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off.' Lord Palmerston felt this reprimand very keenly, but he received it with great self-control and good temper, and informed the Premier that he would not fail to attend to the directions given him.

The policy of the Foreign Secretary, however, continued to be as distasteful as ever to the Court; and his colleagues, though they substantially agreed with him as to the end to be aimed at, were frequently dissatisfied with what they regarded as 'violations of prudence and decorum' in his mode of action. The Austrian Government were angry and alarmed at the reception given to Kossuth by the citizens of London on his release from his captivity in Turkey. It was 'gall and wormwood to them,' as Lord Palmerston wrote to his brother; and though he declined to receive a visit from Kossuth in person, there were expressions in the answer which he returned to the Metropolitan deputations who presented addresses to him, thanking him for the influence which he had exerted in preventing the surrender of Kossuth to Austria, that gave great offence to the Queen and Prince Albert. This incident was immediately followed by the discovery that the Foreign Secretary, without consulting his colleagues, had expressed to the French ambassador in London his approval of what Louis Napoleon had done. On the 4th of December, in accordance with the wish of the Queen, the Cabinet had formally resolved that our ambassador at Paris should be instructed to remain entirely passive, and to be careful

to say no word that could be misconstrued into an approval of the *coup d'état*, and they were naturally surprised and displeased when they learned that their colleague had anticipated and frustrated their decision. It appears, however, that Lord John Russell himself had, on two different occasions at private parties, expressed to Count Walewski approval of the Prince President's conduct*—a fact of which Lord Palmerston was quite aware—as well as that Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Charles Wood, and Lord Grey had concurred in this view. The Foreign Secretary rested his defence on a justification of the course which Louis Napoleon had adopted, asserting he had only anticipated the plots of the Orleans family and the plans of the Assembly for his overthrow. Lord John insisted that the point at issue was not the action of Louis Napoleon, but the conduct of Lord Palmerston himself in expressing approval without the knowledge of the Queen and the Cabinet. Believing as he did that this proceeding was quite unjustifiable, he intimated to him that he had come to the conclusion that the conduct of

* 'On Friday, the 5th of December, Count Walewski dined with Lord John,' wrote Lord Palmerston to Lord Lansdowne, relating a conversation he had with the Duke of Bedford, Lord Russell's brother, 'and met there some other Ministers of the Cabinet; and "that evening," said Count Walewski to Lord John, "upon that very sofa (pointing to one in the room) you expressed opinions if anything stronger than what Lord Palmerston had said to me on the Wednesday (3rd December); and whereas I had contented myself with reporting what Lord Palmerston had said in a private letter to M. Turgot, I made what you said the subject of an official despatch." Count Walewski said to me that after this Lord John asked him whether he had told all this to me, and Count Walewski said that having recently passed a day at Broadlands, he had talked over with me the circumstances connected with my dismissal from office, and that he had stated to me all that he had then repeated to Lord John. "But," said Lord John, "does Lord Palmerston mean to say all this in the House of Commons?" "Of that," said Count Walewski, "I know nothing." Lord Palmerston was quite warranted in saying as he did to the Duke that the ground on which Lord John Russell had placed his dismissal was destroyed by this statement, which showed that he had done and said no more than Russell himself had said and done; and he justly complained that, finding his original ground thus rendered untenable, he very unfairly adopted in his speech other and quite different grounds.

foreign affairs could no longer be left in his hands with advantage to the country. But in his anxiety to conciliate his powerful colleague, who he well knew would prove a most formidable enemy, he, unluckily for himself, proposed that the dismissed Foreign Secretary should accept the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This offer, almost ironical in its character, was of course civilly declined, but it laid the Premier open to the telling retort from his late colleague, 'I do not admit your charge of violations of prudence and decorum, and I have to observe that the charge is refuted by the offer which you made me of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, because I apprehend that to be an office for the due performance of the duties of which prudence and decorum are qualities that cannot well be dispensed with.'

In the discussion which ensued in the House of Commons on Lord Palmerston's dismissal, the Prime Minister treated the ex-Secretary very unfairly, by dragging the Queen's name into the dispute, and reading the Memorandum, which Lord Palmerston said he had no reason to suppose would ever be seen by or known to anybody but Her Majesty, Lord Russell, and himself. The production of this document placed him at a great disadvantage, as a feeling of delicacy and a regard for the honour of his sovereign necessarily made his defence incomplete. Some of his friends disapproved of his reticence; but he remarked, with great good sense and good feeling, that by pursuing the course which they thought he ought to have followed, he should have been bringing for decision at the bar of public opinion a personal quarrel between himself and his sovereign—a step which no subject should take if he could possibly avoid it, for the result of such a course must be either fatal to him or injurious to the country. If he should prove to be in the wrong, he should be irretrievably condemned; if the sovereign should prove to be in the wrong, the monarchy would suffer.

The conduct of Louis Napoleon was

almost universally condemned by the people of the United Kingdom, and great astonishment was expressed that Lord Palmerston should have indicated in any form, and to any extent, his approval of it. At the same time the dismissal from office of the Minister whose Continental policy was applauded by the great body of the people, was generally regarded with deep regret and disapprobation. No one doubted that his dismissal rendered it impossible for the feeble and tottering Russell Ministry to hold its ground, though characteristically, the Premier himself was of a different opinion. He speedily discovered his mistake.

Lord Palmerston believed that the real reason of his removal from office was 'a weak truckling to the hostile intrigues of the Orleans family of Austria, Russia, Saxony, and Bavaria, and in some degree also of the Prussian Government, who had for a long time past effectually poisoned the mind of the Queen and the Prince against him.' There is abundant evidence that an unfriendly feeling was entertained at the Court towards the powerful and popular Minister; but there is no reason to believe that foreign intrigues had anything to do with it, though he was both hated and dreaded by the Continental despots. No better proof could be given that Lord Palmerston was indeed what Lord John termed him in the Pacifico debate, 'the Minister of England'—a terror to crowned evil-doers—than the fact that all over Europe his removal from office was regarded as a triumph for Absolutism, and a blow to the Liberal cause. The Liberal party in Austria considered it as the utter annihilation of their hopes, while the Absolutists were in a perfect frenzy of delight. 'It will hardly be believed,' wrote the British ambassador at Vienna, 'that these arrogant fools here actually think that *they* have overthrown Lord Palmerston, and the vulgar triumph of Schwarzenberg knows no bounds. Not content with placarding the news with lying comments of

all sorts, and despatching couriers into the provinces to circulate the most monstrous fictions about the "victory of Austrian policy," his bad taste has actually gone far enough to make him give a ball in consequence.*

When Louis Napoleon had succeeded in arresting, imprisoning, banishing, or shooting his principal adversaries, and had obtained from the French people the office of President for ten years, he had expressed his determination that France should remain at peace with the other nations of Europe, but no confidence was placed in his declaration. He evidently intended to restore the Napoleonic Empire, and it was generally believed that he had served himself heir to the ambitious designs of his uncle, among which war with Great Britain was included. There is no reason to believe that he ever seriously contemplated any such desperate step, but at the time of the *coup-d'état* it seemed by no means an improbable event. It was evident that no reliance could be placed on his most solemn assurances; and it was generally believed that if he had imagined that a war with our country was necessary to the stability of his throne or his dynasty, he would have undertaken it without scruple. A feeling in consequence arose in the country that the national defences were inadequate, and that there was no provision to repel any sudden descent of an invader upon our shores, which might inflict serious injury and still more serious disgrace. A demand was therefore made that our naval force should be augmented, and the defences of our coasts increased and strengthened. In order to satisfy this demand the Government resolved to bring before Parliament a scheme for the re-

* Schwarzenberg had a bitter grudge against Palmerston, on account of his having warned Lady Ellenborough against his intrigues. He induced that misguided and unfortunate lady to elope with him, and afterwards deserted her in the basest manner. He never again ventured to set foot in England. It is to be regretted that the heartless villain had gone to his account before his hated adversary was appointed Prime Minister, and ruled the country for ten years with general and cordial approbation.

establishment of a militia. During the French war the militia had been a numerous and powerful force, but it had been allowed to fall into decay, and was indeed almost entirely disorganized. An outline of a plan for the establishment of a local militia was accordingly prepared and submitted to the Queen in the usual way. It was introduced into Parliament on the 16th of February, but met with very little favour. It was well known that the Duke of Wellington disapproved of the scheme, which, he warned the Government, was open to very grave objections, and recommended the restoration of the old regular militia. Lord Palmerston followed the same line, and pointed out that while the ordinary militia could be taken anywhere, the local militia could not be moved out of their counties, and could not therefore be made readily available in the case of an invasion. Moreover, in many counties there were no barracks where the local militia could be assembled and drilled. The cordial reception which the House gave to these and other serious objections to the Government scheme, satisfied Lord Palmerston that Parliament not only disapproved of the proposal to establish a local militia, but was by no means anxious to retain Lord John and his colleagues in office. When, therefore, a few nights afterwards, the Committee reported that leave should be given 'to bring in a Bill to amend the laws respecting the

local militia,' he moved that the word 'local' should be omitted, and with the aid of the Peelites and Protectionists he carried his motion by a majority of eleven. The Ministers regarded this adverse vote as an indication that they had lost the confidence of the House, and next day they placed their resignations in the hands of the Queen.

'I have had my tit-for-tat with John Russell,' wrote Lord Palmerston to his brother on the 24th of February, 'and I turned him out on Friday last. I certainly, however, did not expect to do so, nor did I intend to do anything more than to persuade the House to reject his foolish plan and to adopt a more sensible one. I have no doubt that two things induced him to resign. First, the almost insulting manner towards him in which the House by its cheers went with me in the debate; and secondly, the fear of being defeated in the vote of censure about the Cape affairs (the Caffre War), which was to have been moved to-day.'

Such was the inglorious termination of the first Russell Ministry, which for some time had existed on mere sufferance. It was indeed feeble from its birth onwards, its career was not distinguished by any important or useful measures, and it died unlamented. The reins of Government were intrusted to Lord Derby and a Cabinet of Protectionists, whose term of office, however, lasted only a few months.

CHAPTER XI.

Reactionary movements on the Continent—Arbitrary conduct of the Austrian Court—Opposition to German Unity—Unsuccessful attempt of Prussia to establish an Imperial Federal Constitution—Interference of Austria in Hesse Cassel—Quarrel between Austria and Prussia—The Olmutz Conference—Shocking cruelties of the King of Naples—Their exposure by Mr. Gladstone—Position of France—Its Republican Constitution—Conduct of Louis Napoleon—His attempts to gain over the Army—Composition of the National Assembly—Policy of the Majority of the Members—The President's extravagance—His demands for larger Allowances—Power of the Assembly over the Army—Opposition to Universal Suffrage—Louis Napoleon's associates and tools—Preparations for the overthrow of the Constitution—The *Coup d'État*—Seizure of the leading Generals and Deputies—Violent expulsion of the Assembly—Massacre of the Parisians—Arbitrary proceedings of De Morny at the Home Office—Imprisonment and Transportation of innocent persons to Cayenne—Election of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency by Universal Suffrage—He becomes Emperor of the French—General distrust of his Schemes—Death of the Duke of Wellington—His Character and Services to the Country.

THE reactionary movement on the continent of Europe had now run its course. Revolutionary agitation had been everywhere suppressed; but the sovereigns had, as usual, broken the promises which they made to their subjects in the time of danger and difficulty, and had in consequence sown the seeds of bitter disappointment and burning animosity throughout their dominions. The people were quiet, but their tranquillity was not that of loyalty and contentment, but of exhaustion and despair, that felt itself powerless before the overwhelming forces which the Governments had at their command. The Continental rulers showed that they had learned nothing from the era of danger and humiliation through which they had passed, and they used the power which they had regained with so much difficulty in the most arbitrary and oppressive manner. 'In Germany,' said Prince Albert, 'statesmanship is being again introduced from the steppes of Russia, and the Emperors will present it to the bureaucrats with orders and snuff-boxes.'

The constitution of the Austrian empire had undergone a radical change since the revolutionary storm of 1848. Formerly the different provinces were governed by their own laws, though, with the exception of Hungary, they were dependent on the Viennese Cabinet in regard to their general administration. But under the system

of centralization devised by Stadion and Bach, and proclaimed in March, 1849, all the provinces, without exception, were now governed by uniform laws promulgated by the Emperor, and were all alike placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Ministry at Vienna. Even this arbitrary and illegal destruction of the peculiar institutions and privileges of the various provinces of the empire did not satisfy the autocratic designs of the Austrian Camarilla, and they next proceeded to abolish the very form of a representative constitution. By letters, dated the 20th of August, 1851, addressed to Prince Schwarzenberg, as Minister President, and to Baron Kübeck, President of the Reichsrath, the Emperor declared that henceforth his Ministers should be responsible solely to the Crown, as the centre of all authority; that for the future the Reichsrath was to be considered, not as the council of the empire, but as the council of the throne, and that measures of administration or legislation were consequently to be no longer presented by the Cabinet to the Reichsrath for its opinion, but always to the Emperor. By this decree the vaunted constitution of 1849 was completely set aside, and, as Prince Albert remarked, 'Absolutism was formally proclaimed, and the Ministers were set above all responsibility.' The youthful Emperor was thus made formally to set at nought

his repeated and solemn assurances that Austria should be transformed into a constitutional monarchy; and his equally solemn assurances that the different nationalities of the empire should enjoy the same privileges, proved to amount to nothing more than that all should alike be subjected to the arbitrary regulations of the Viennese Cabinet and to martial law.

Schwarzenberg and his colleagues, not contented with establishing absolute authority over the Austrian empire, were bent on the restoration of the former state of matters in Germany. They resolutely opposed all attempts to establish German unity, as well as any reform in the constitution of the minor German States. The King of Prussia, as we have seen, refused the Imperial crown tendered to him by the Federal Parliament at Frankfort, on the ground that the sovereign Princes of Germany were opposed to his acceptance of it; but now at this inopportune moment he was guilty of the almost incredible folly of attempting a united organization of a part of Germany, 'with the free consent of its sovereigns.' The failure of such a project, at a time when royal prerogative was again in the ascendant, and all apprehension of immediate danger had passed away, was inevitable. The Governments of Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover prepared a draft of an Imperial Federal Constitution, which they proposed for the acceptance of the other German States, having for its object, they said, the mutual protection of its members against external and internal foes. Those States which declined to enter into this Confederation were to retain unchanged the 'rights and duties created by the treaties of 1815.' The Imperial Government was to be vested in a President of the Empire and a Council of the Princes, and the King of Prussia was to be perpetual President. An Imperial Diet was to be instituted, consisting of two Houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives; and minute regulations were laid down for the appointment of the Senate and the election of the

House of Representatives, and for the manner in which their respective duties were to be discharged. As might have been clearly foreseen, Austria declared at once unequivocally her dissent from any such scheme; and the Bavarian Government, after a little consideration, declined to join the Federal Constitution. Hanover and Saxony soon after withdrew their assent, which they had at first given to it, and the scheme ignominiously collapsed.

The Austrian Government were not contented with this triumph over their Prussian rival. The next step for the Emperor to take in his character of President was to resuscitate the defunct Diet, and to summon the members of the old German Confederation to meet at Frankfort for the transaction of business. The usual recognition of foreign Powers was demanded, but was withheld for a time, even by Russia. But at this stage an event occurred which tended not a little to confirm the assumed authority of Austria, and to test the real strength of its opponents. The small State of Electoral Hesse had enjoyed since the year 1832 a moderately liberal representative constitution, which had worked well and had contented the great majority of the people. The Elector himself was a worthless creature, and his chief Minister, M. Hassenpflug, whose conduct had earned him the designation of *Hass* and *Fluch* (hatred and execration), was so detested that his banishment was thought necessary for his personal security. At this juncture he was suddenly recalled, and intrusted once more with the conduct of affairs. In direct opposition to the desires both of the people and the soldiers, he annexed Hesse to the revived Confederation. The next step of this detested Minister was, without vouchsafing any explanation or laying down any budget, to demand a simple vote of a specified sum of money. It was refused, as had been anticipated and desired. On this ground alone, without any other colour of provocation, martial law was proclaimed and the Constitution suspended. The people of

Hesse Cassel, from the highest to the lowest, from the noble to the peasant, rose as one man against their Government, and expelled Hassenpflug, the main source of their discontent. The Elector fled to Frankfort, where support was readily afforded him by the revived Diet, and Hesse was occupied by the Federal troops. Austria of course sided with the oppressor, and Prussia with the oppressed. Constitutionalism and Absolutism were on the point of coming to a fair stand-up fight. The Prussian *Landwehr* were called out, and all classes and parties at once enthusiastically rose to arms to resist the reimposition upon Germany of a Federal power, dependent on the will of the Cabinet of Vienna. War seemed imminent between Austria and Prussia, when the Cabinet of Berlin lost heart, influenced not so much by the fear of a single-handed conflict with Austria as by the menacing attitude of Russia in the background. The war party was outvoted; the Hessians were compelled to take back the detested Hassenpflug; and Prussia, at the Olmutz Conference, submitted to every demand of Austria with regard to the German question and Schleswig-Holstein, as well as in the case of Electoral Hesse.

The despotic conduct of Austria, however, was far outshone by that of the Neapolitan Government, whose tyranny and cruelty were unparalleled at that time in any part of the globe. Mr. Gladstone, who spent the winter of 1850-51 in Naples, discovered with mingled horror and indignation that Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, who had destroyed the Constitution which he had solemnly sworn to observe, and abolished the Chamber of Deputies, had either driven its most distinguished members into exile or had put them in prison—that there were from twenty to thirty thousand political prisoners at that moment in the kingdom—that many of these were gentlemen of eminent station and unimpeachable loyalty—that few or none of them had been legally arrested or

brought to trial—that they were confined for months and years in loathsome dungeons and in irons, and were enduring the greatest sufferings from filth, foul air, hunger, and sickness—that, in short, the Government had become ‘the negation of God erected into a system.’ Having verified this state of matters by personal examination, Mr. Gladstone published ‘Two letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government,’ describing the scenes he had witnessed, and appealing to the European public on behalf of these unhappy victims of a stupid and savage despotism. These letters obtained an enormous circulation, and produced an extraordinary sensation throughout Europe. About twenty editions of them were sold in a few weeks, and Lord Palmerston sent a copy of the work to each of our ambassadors and envoys to be communicated to the courts to which they were accredited. Such a storm of indignation was thus raised in every European country that the infamous Neapolitan tyrant and his Ministers were fain to make some relaxation of their cruel despotism.

The reactionary spirit which prevailed in Germany, Austria, and Prussia was exhibiting itself in France also. The Ministry, with the concurrence of the Assembly, suppressed the political clubs, and placed restrictions on the liberty of the press and individual freedom, quite as great as those which had existed under the rule of Louis Philippe. The Red Republicans attempted to arrest these proceedings by a sudden rising in arms against the Government, but the insurrection proved utterly abortive through the masterly arrangements made by General Changarnier; and Ledru Rollin and other leaders of the insurgents took to flight. The dangers which thus still continued to threaten the public peace contributed not a little to strengthen the power of the military, and to promote the designs of the Prince President.

There can be little doubt that from the first Louis Napoleon had resolved to employ

every art to make his official position permanent; but in carrying out this design he had to encounter difficulties apparently insuperable. His tenure of office was limited to four years, and he was by the Constitution not eligible for re-election. A general desire, however, had risen throughout the country, and was shared by a large majority of the Assembly, that the President should be quietly re-elected. But their wishes were baffled by a questionable provision of the Republican Charter, which laid it down that no constitutional change should take place without the sanction of three-fourths of the Assembly, and this could not be obtained. It had therefore become evident that the President could not carry out his ambitious scheme without violently changing the Constitution.

Probably in anticipation that such an attempt might be made, the framers of the Constitution had jealously provided that the President should never have any personal command of the army. But Louis Napoleon very soon began to show an earnest desire to ingratiate himself with the troops. He exhibited himself constantly in a military uniform, surrounded himself with a military staff, was accompanied everywhere by military escorts, and reviewed the troops and distributed orders and honours with exactly the same forms that his uncle and the Continental sovereigns used to employ. He soon began to treat the members of his Cabinet in the most autocratic and imperious style; and the patience and forbearance which they showed in return for his arrogant pretensions emboldened him, on their first slight indications of dissatisfaction with his proceedings regarding the occupation of Rome, to dismiss them in an abrupt and ignominious manner. He announced the event to the Assembly in a haughty message, containing this significant passage—'A whole system triumphed on the 10th of December [the date of his election to the office of President], for the name of Napoleon is a complete programme in itself.' The next step in carrying out his

intrigues for the overthrow of the Constitution was to restrict the freedom of the press. The *Constitutional*, a journal devoted to Louis Napoleon's interests, was already advocating the prolongation of his Presidency. Some of the most moderate and respectable journals in Paris argued against the proposal, and were immediately seized, and their editors threatened with 'a lodging in the Conciergerie.' This arbitrary procedure was followed by a denunciation of the press in general by the *Bulletin de Paris*, one of the President's periodical organs. It announced 'the well-considered and resolute determination of the Government to force the press of all sides to respect scrupulously the Government and the law, by inflicting severe punishment on any organ of the press that should violate this double duty.'

The attempt to debauch and gain over the soldiers, which was carried out persistently, was a much more dangerous game. On the 3rd of October, 1850, an army of 20,000 men was assembled on the plains of St. Maur, a few miles to the eastward of Paris, where they were reviewed by the President, surrounded by a brilliant staff. After the manœuvres were completed, the troops were refreshed with a gratuitous distribution of provisions and wine. The attempt, however, failed. No doubt General Changarnier, who commanded in person, would have repressed any breach of discipline had it occurred, but nothing like a desire to transform the President into an Emperor was shown by the troops. The permanent Committee of Assembly felt it necessary to ask some explanations from the Government respecting this irregular and improper conduct; but they were assured by the Minister at War that 'the circumstances complained of were merely accidental, and should not happen again!'—a promise which a few days after was broken by another and more flagrant attempt on the fidelity of the army.

A still more extensive demonstration of military force was announced to take place

on the 10th of October, at Savory, near Versailles, on the opposite side of Paris from the last review. It was intimated that 30,000 men were to take part in the display, and during the interval the public mind was agitated by rumours as to the intentions of the President, and the expected results of this manœuvre. It was reported that it was the subject of bets in Paris whether the President would not return to the Tuileries Emperor. The 30,000 men were duly assembled at the appointed place. The President once more appeared on the scene in gorgeous array with his bedizened staff. The cold collation, sausages, cigars, and champagne, were liberally served out; but General Changarnier also was present, and his subordinate officers were faithful to their trust. Some of the President's aides-de-camp were seen to ride from his side, and endeavour to stimulate the troops to cry, 'Vive Napoleon!' and even 'Vive l'Empereur!' But though two or three colonels set an example of this breach of discipline, it failed of any serious effect. The great mass of the troops, and especially of the infantry, indicated not only no disposition, but a decided reluctance, to countenance the attempt. The result of these two demonstrations showed the President and his fellow-conspirators that the time had not yet arrived to carry the meditated *coup d'état* into execution, and the design was adjourned to a more convenient season.

The National Assembly, which Louis Napoleon regarded as the chief obstacle to the gratification of his ambition, consisted of 750 members, representing all shades of opinion in the country. The great majority were Legitimists, Orleanists, Constitutionals, and Moderate Republicans. Only 200 were set down as Republicans of the Mountain and Socialists. A considerable number, led by such men as MM. de Broglie, Berryer, Molé, de Montalembert, Thiers, Odillon Barrot, &c., consisted of the 'gentry not merely of birth, but of intelligence, property, public service, and public character,' and had no sympathy with

republican opinions and projects. Their eulogists speak of the gallant stand which they made against anarchy, even to the sacrifice of personal interests and popularity; the perseverance with which they laboured gradually to extirpate the passions and prejudices which opposed the re-establishment of order and sound principles; their steady maintenance, with some fatal exceptions, of principles of international right abroad, financial credit and legal justice at home. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that they had been so alarmed and disgusted with the scenes that followed the downfall of Louis Philippe that they readily combined with the President to harass and oppress the Republicans, and to crush Republican feeling. In league with him they planned and carried out the expedition to Rome, degraded the University, committed the education of the people to the Jesuits, and consigned the primary teachers to beggary. They cordially united with him in restricting the franchise by which they themselves had been elected, because the electors of Paris, indignant at their reactionary measures, had given a vote against them. They sanctioned the President's iniquitous abuse of preventive arrests and arbitrary imprisonments, and his partial and oppressive treatment of the public journals, and co-operated with him in keeping whole departments of France for nearly three years in a state of siege on the most frivolous pretences. In short, the majority of the Assembly distrusted and detested the Republic, and would quite readily have substituted for it the monarchical form of government. They no less distrusted and feared the President, but were unwilling to come into open collision with him, or to do anything that might impair his lawful authority.

It was no doubt owing to this feeling, as well as to a want of union among the various sections of the Assembly, that they so readily complied with his demands for an increase of salary. The Constitution, which evidently contemplated a President without a Court,

provided that 'he should be lodged at the public expense, and that he should receive a salary of 600,000 francs (£24,000) a year.' This sum the Assembly liberally, though unconstitutionally, not only consented to double by an additional grant of 600,000 francs, under the good-natured pretext of 'expenses of representation,' but added 150,000 francs (£6000) for charities, making, with some other small additions, his salary 1,625,000 francs, besides all the expenses of furnishing, decorating, lighting, warming, and serving his palace—above 1,000,000 francs more than the Constitution warranted. But it was soon discovered that this allowance, liberal though it was, did not meet the expenses of the magnificent Prince President, with his quasi-imperial state and household, his costly banquets, and his splendid staff of courtiers, civil and military. So early as June, 1850, the President induced his Ministry to ask of the Assembly a large supplementary addition to those official allowances of no less than 1,400,000 francs. They could not fail to perceive the object which such a large sum of money was intended to serve, but through timidity or a desire to conciliate the chief ruler of the country they voted the allowance, chiefly on the persuasion of General Changarnier. The President's necessities, however, seemed to grow in proportion to the increase of his salary, and in February, 1851, he made another demand for a grant of 1,800,000 francs. It was at the same time avowed that he expected his annual income to be permanently raised to 3,452,000 francs (about £140,000), above five times the sum established by the Constitution, and it was openly stated in debate by his partisans that these sums were to promote ulterior views. By this time, however, the seizure of the journals, the reviews of St. Maur and Savory, and the studied insults and reiterated provocations offered to the Assembly itself, had opened the eyes even of the most moderate and unsuspecting members to the President's 'ulterior' designs; they felt

that they could not consent to what would have been 'a mark of approbation for the past and the means of aggression for the future,' and they accordingly refused the grant.

This check—the only one ever given him by that over-patient body—to the greedy and insolent encroachments of the President no doubt served to confirm his resolution to overthrow the Constitution and get rid of the National Assembly. Changarnier and the other generals who were known to be faithful to the Constitution were one by one, under various pretences, dismissed. The principle of selecting Ministers from and responsible to the Assembly was boldly repudiated. 'Men of straw became men of red-tape and court embroidery,' the progresses of the President in the Departments, his bearing, his addresses, were those of an aspirant to the Imperial throne, and his whole conduct showed that he was determined to make his own will the supreme will of his government. Emboldened by the timidity displayed by the Assembly under these ominous proceedings, he now ventured to make a more formal inroad on the constitutional independence and the security of the Legislature. In order to guard against a treasonable attempt to dissolve the Assembly by force of arms, the Constitution had declared by its 32nd Article that 'the National Assembly fixes the amount of military force necessary for its own security and directs it;' but it omitted to state how the power of the Assembly was to be exercised. There was indeed an antecedent decree of the Constituent Assembly which declared that the necessary authority was in the hands of the President of the Assembly, and to obviate all possible misconception a copy of this decree was posted up in all the quarters and barracks of the troops. The President professed to be deeply indignant at this step, complained that it was an aggression of the Assembly on his authority, and a libel on his intentions; and the decree, with his approval, was torn down from the barrack

walls by the mere authority of the Minister of War. In this state of affairs the Questors—a committee of four members charged with the police of the Assembly—proposed to convert the existing decree into a formal enactment; but the Assembly, with an almost incredible want of courage and foresight, by a majority of 400 to 308, rejected the proposition of their own Questors, and thus deliberately left themselves and the country at the mercy of their deadly enemy.

While this unequal struggle was going on another manœuvre of the President, of a different kind but tending in the same direction, greatly increased the apprehensions of the Assembly. In May, 1850, he took advantage of the general alarm caused by the elections of some Socialists to propose a restriction of the franchise, by requiring from each elector a residence for three years in his district. All sections of the Assembly, with the exception of the Red Republicans, cordially supported the alteration of the law proposed by the President. It was at once carried into effect, and cut off no less than 3,000,000 voters. In October, 1851, looking forward no doubt to the scheme which he intended to propound for his own election to the Imperial dignity, he made the long-expected appeal to the democracy in a Bill for the restoration of universal suffrage. The rejection of this measure served his purpose even better than its acceptance. The Assembly fell into the trap which he had laid for them, and in spite of all warning and all entreaties Berryer and Thiers induced the majority to throw it out, though only by two doubtful votes, in the fullest house that had ever voted. The President, of course, made the most of this rejection of a Bill intended to confer political power on the populace; and the Assembly, terrified at the consequences of their own blunder, availed themselves of the opportunity of a municipal bill then in progress to make an important concession by reducing the term of electoral domicile to a single year. But while this Bill was still under discussion

the Constitution was overthrown, and the Assembly dissolved.

Though Louis Napoleon had always wished to bring about a change in the Constitution, he had originally hoped to effect this in a peaceful way. The prolongation of the Presidency would have served his purpose, as it would have given him time and opportunity to mature and carry out his plans for attaining the Imperial dignity. But the statesmen and eminent generals whom he sounded refused to entertain his overtures. There was indeed a general feeling among them that the safety and prosperity of the country would be promoted by the substitution of a monarchy for the republic; but they seem to have thought that the President was not qualified to occupy the position of permanent ruler of France.

Though he met with this rebuff from the leading statesmen of the country, he did not at once relinquish his desire to effect his purpose by peaceful means. Petitions were got up in the usual way, and the prefects did what force and fraud could do to promote the movement, and not without a considerable amount of success. The majority of the Assembly were willing to comply with the request of the petitioners, but they failed to obtain the support of the three-fourths which were required to carry the repeal of the law that forbade the re-election of the President. From the moment the revision failed Louis Napoleon's mind was made up to attempt the overthrow of the Constitution by violence. He had always about him a number of reckless adventurers who were willing to partake his fortunes, and there were three of this class—men of desperate fortunes, daring and unscrupulous—who were the main agents in the conspiracy now formed against the Assembly and the Constitution: Count de Morny, a noted speculator in the funds; Major Fleury, a bold and resolute soldier who had risen from the ranks; and M. Persigny, who was descended from an ancient family, but began life as a non-

commissioned officer, and was a zealous Bonapartist. They laid their plans with remarkable caution and cunning. No expedients were left untried to bring the Assembly into contempt. It was distracted by Ministerial crises, and defied and menaced by the Ministerial journals. Reports of *coups d'état*, never intended to be carried into effect, were spread to lull the Assembly and the public into a false security. Regiments whose officers were believed to be favourable to the President's policy were retained in Paris or drawn to it, while those that were regarded as friendly to the Republic were drafted to the provinces or despatched to Algeria. No pains were spared to inflame the garrison of Paris against the citizens, whom they termed 'Bedouins,' so that they might be willing to act against them when the time for action came. General St. Arnaud, an unscrupulous adventurer, who was sounded by Fleury and found willing to enter into the plot, was recalled from Algeria, and made Minister of War on the 27th of October. Maupas, a thorough rogue, was suborned and made Prefect of Police. The appointment of a person named Vieyra, of a most disreputable character, to the office of Chief of the Staff of the National Guard led, as was intended, to the resignation of its commander, General Perrot, a man of high honour, and he was replaced by General Lawastine, on whom the conspirators could rely to obey their orders. The forces in Paris and its neighbourhood were placed under the orders of General Magnan, who was willing to go all lengths with the President and his associates, but declined to risk his own safety by avowedly joining in their plot. 'He expressly requested not to be apprised until the moment for taking the necessary dispositions and mounting on horseback.' On the 27th of November, however, he went so far as to assemble twenty generals whom he had under his command, and announced to them that it was probable they might soon be called upon to act against Paris and

against the Constitution—an intimation which was received by them with great cordiality and promises of unhesitating obedience.

While these preparations were thus furtively made for the overthrow of the Constitution, the members of Assembly, though seriously alarmed, were paralyzed by mutual distrust, and took no steps either for their own protection or the preservation of the Republic. They almost seem to have imagined that legality would prove an adequate defence against conspiracy and violence. A man of honour, indeed, would have shrunk with horror from committing the combined crimes of perjury and treason, of which the President must be guilty before he could usurp the permanent sovereignty of France. On taking office he had thus solemnly sworn to maintain the Constitution: 'In the presence of God and the French people here represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the one indivisible and democratic Republic, and to fulfil all the duties imposed on me by the Constitution.' On two different occasions he volunteered to renew that sacred pledge, and on a third he declared in a message to the French people that he should 'set his honour' on the keeping of it. But the past history and personal character of the President did not warrant the Assembly to place implicit confidence either in his honour or his oaths, and they might have foreseen that both would be thrown to the winds the moment that it suited his purpose to do so. There was also an article in the Constitution which declared that 'any measure by which the President of the Republic should dissolve the Assembly, or prorogue it, or interpose any obstacle to the exercise of its functions, is a crime of high treason.' 'By this mere act the President is deprived of all his functions, the country is bound to refuse him obedience, and the executive power passes at once and by right into the hands of the National Assembly; the Judges of the High Court of Justice are bound, on

penalty of forfeiture of their office, to assemble immediately, to summon a jury in the place which they shall designate, and proceed immediately to the trial of the President and his accomplices.' It is evident that the framers of this Constitution anticipated very sagaciously its most probable danger, and also provided an adequate remedy. Unfortunately it was impossible for them to secure that it should be promptly and properly applied.

As by the Constitution Louis Napoleon's presidency would legally expire in March, 1852, and he was not eligible for re-election, no time was to be lost in carrying out the designs of the conspirators, which had been laid with consummate craft. The 1st of December, 1851, had been fixed for the election of a member to fill a vacant seat in the Assembly. Before that day arrived despatches were sent to all the Prefects to be prepared for a Socialist outbreak in the capital on the occasion of the declaration of the poll. Additional bodies of troops were concentrated in its neighbourhood under the same pretence, and the garrison was ordered to be in arms. No Socialists appeared or had ever been expected. The election passed off in perfect peace and order. Night came and Paris slept, and before it awoke on the 2nd of December—the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz—the *coup d'état* was struck, and, in the words of an eloquent writer, 'a self-convicted perjurer, an attainted traitor, a conspirator successful by the foulest treachery—the purchase of the soldiery and the butchery of thousands'—was master of France.

On that memorable night the President held his weekly assembly at the Elysée. It began to disperse at the usual hour, and by eleven o'clock only three guests remained—Morny, Maupas, and St. Arnaud. Vieyra, who had left some time before, had undertaken that the National Guard should not beat to arms that night. The conspirators proceeded to carry out their arrangements. Colonel Beville, an orderly officer of the President, who had been initiated into the

secret, was sent with a packet of manuscripts, comprising the proclamations for next morning, to the State Printing Office, where they were put in type—a battalion of gendarmerie meanwhile surrounding the building to prevent any one from going out until the work was done. These proclamations declared that the Assembly was dissolved, pronounced for universal suffrage, proposed a new constitution, and placed Paris and the twelve surrounding departments under martial law. Maupas meanwhile made arrangements for the arrest of the most distinguished generals of France and several of her leading statesmen, who were to be seized at a quarter past six in the morning. At six o'clock four brigades of infantry, with a strong body of cavalry, took up positions which enabled them both to overawe the city and to protect the Elysée, where the President and his fellow-conspirators passed the night.

The orders of Maupas were carried out with perfect success. Generals Changarnier, Bedeau, Lamoricière, Cavaignac, and Leflô were seized in their beds, handcuffed like robbers, and thrown into prison. At the same time the police laid violent hands on Thiers, Miot, Baze, and other leading members of the Assembly—seventy-eight in all—and carried them also off to a place of confinement. Morny, escorted by a body of infantry, took possession of the Home Office, and issued a circular to the Prefects, informing them that the Assembly had been dissolved amid the applause of the whole population of Paris.

The astounding intelligence of the foul deed that had been perpetrated under cover of the darkness, was made known to the citizens of Paris next morning by the proclamations on the walls. When the Deputies learned the arrest of their most influential colleagues they hastened to the Assembly. They found the doors shut and guarded by a detachment of the Chasseurs de Vincennes, a corps of soldiers recently returned from Africa, and long accustomed to the barbarities of Algerine warfare, who moreover,

were stimulated by a donation of five francs distributed to every soldier in Paris that day. The representatives were driven back at the point of the bayonet, but they obtained an entrance into the chamber by passing through one of the official residences, which formed part of the building. They were expelled, however, by the soldiers, and twelve of them were seized and carried off prisoners.

Driven from their chamber, the Deputies assembled at the Mayoralty of the 10th arrondissement to the number of 300. There, on the motion of M. Berryer, they passed a decree that Louis Bonaparte was deprived of all authority as President of the Republic, and directed the Judges of the Supreme Court to meet and proceed to the judgment of the President and his accomplices. The decree received 230 signatures, comprising the most distinguished men of all classes and parties in the Assembly. They then appointed General Oudinot commander of the public forces. These decrees had scarcely been signed when a band of soldiers, headed by their officers, appeared at the door, without, however, entering the apartment. One of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly ordered them to retire. The officers, pale and hesitating, appeared to feel the hatefulness of the task imposed upon them, declared they should go for further orders, and accordingly retired. Several battalions of the line, under the command of General Forey, came up at this juncture, and the soldiers soon reappeared at the door, preceded by two Commissaries of Police, who summoned the Deputies to disperse. 'We are here by lawful authority,' said the President, 'and sole representatives of law and right. We will not disperse.' The Commissaries hesitated and hung back, but at length an aide-de-camp of General Magnan came with a written order to the officer commanding the troops, directing him to clear the chamber by force if necessary. The whole Assembly declared that they would not obey this command, unless compelled.

After a good deal of hesitation the Commissaries of Police caused the two Vice-Presidents, one of whom was presiding over the Assembly, to be seized by the collar and led out. The whole Assembly followed, two and two, and were marched through the streets between files of soldiers, under the command of General Forey. When the people who happened to be in the streets at the moment saw the most illustrious Frenchmen of their time dragged through the mud of Paris like a gang of malefactors they were deeply affected, but no attempt was made to rescue them. They were conducted into the barrack of the Quai d'Orsay, where, after waiting two hours in the open air, they were shut up all the day without fuel or food, with nothing but the bare boards to lie on. In the course of the evening other fifteen Deputies were brought to the barrack, so that their numbers were raised to 234. Among these were twelve ex-Ministers, nine of whom had served under Louis Napoleon himself, and eight members of the Institute; the Dukes de Broglie, de Luynes, and de Montebello, two of the three Vice-Presidents of the Assembly; Odillon Barrot, Dufaure, Berryer, de Rémusat, de Tocqueville, Duvergier de Hauranne, de Falloux, Gustave de Beaumont; Admirals Cécille and Lainé; Generals Oudinot, Lauriston, and Radoult la Fosse, and others, illustrious for their rank, talents, and political experience and services. Two hours before midnight a large number of the windowless vans, in which felons are conveyed to prison, were brought into the court of the barrack; and into these the members of the Assembly were thrust, as if they had been criminals of the lowest grade. They were carried off, some to the fortress of Mount Valerian, some to the prison of Mazas in Paris, and the remainder to Vincennes. The treatment of the generals arrested in the morning was still more disgraceful—Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Bedeau, Changarnier—the conquerors of Africa—were shut up in these infamous cellar-vans, which are

always uncomfortable, and become intolerable on a lengthened journey. In this manner they were conveyed to the fortress of Ham, where Louis Napoleon himself had at one time been imprisoned.

The duty of taking cognizance of offences against the Constitution was intrusted to the Judges of the High Court of Justice. It was to their honour that they at once obeyed the decree of the captive Assembly. These five judges, sitting in the midst of Paris, crushed by an overwhelming military force, and in the face of martial law, had the courage to assemble at the Palace of Justice, and to issue a judicial order for the impeachment of the President. They were driven from the bench by an armed force, accompanied by a Commissary of the Police; but before they were expelled they formally adjourned the Court to a day 'to be named hereafter,' and ordered a notice of the impeachment to be served upon the President at the Elysée.

The great body of the Parisians had no inclination at this time to appeal to arms in defence of the Constitution. The Red Republicans had been crushed by the sanguinary conflict of 1848, and were without arms or leaders; the middle classes had a dread of insurrection; and the action of the National Guard had been completely arrested by the cunning device of the conspirators of the Elysée. But there was still a small section who were prepared to resist the proceedings of Louis Napoleon and his associates. Among these were Victor Hugo, Baudin, Duval, and some of the other members of the Assembly who had escaped arrest, along with several persons connected with the Democratic press. They formed themselves into a Committee of Resistance on the 2nd of December, and threw up a slight barricade at the corner of the Rue St. Marguerite. They were attacked by a battalion of the 19th Regiment, and after a brief conflict, in which Baudin and another deputy lost their lives, the barricade was taken. During part of the 3rd of December a number of barri-

acades, of no great strength, were erected in the crowded streets between the Hôtel de Ville and the Boulevard; but they were carried without difficulty by the troops, and it became evident that the attempt at insurrection had proved a failure.

For some reason, apparently unaccountable at the time, the troops at this stage relaxed their efforts, and during the night of the 3rd and the whole forenoon of the next day they made no attempt to prevent the formation of barricades in the centre of the city. It is generally believed that they were ordered to abstain from action in order to find a plausible excuse for the massacre which took place on the 4th of December. At two o'clock of that day the troops were ordered to advance, and they marched towards the advanced post of the insurgents, which was covered by a small barricade across the Boulevard. It was defended by only twenty men. A few musket shots were exchanged between this handful of insurgents and the head of a vast column of troops, 16,000 strong, about 150 yards distant, but no one was wounded. Numbers of spectators, including many women, had taken up their places on the foot pavement in the space between the soldiers and the barricade; and from the head of the column westward to the Madeleine the windows and balconies of the houses, as well as the foot pavements, were crowded with spectators who were gazing at the military array, which they evidently regarded as merely an interesting spectacle. Suddenly, as if by some common impulse, the soldiers turned towards the houses and fired point blank, both at the spectators on the foot pavement and in the crowded windows and balconies. Volley upon volley, in hot haste, was poured into the defenceless mass for fifteen or twenty minutes; and when the firing ceased a Colonel Rochefort, of the Lancers, made a charge upon the crowd, and cut down thirty persons, almost all of them in the dress of gentlemen. The soldiers followed those who tried to find refuge in the houses,

and slaughtered without mercy not only the fugitives but all the inmates, hunting them from floor to floor till they caught them at last and put them to death. 'There was no fight, no riot, no fray, no quarrel, no dispute. What happened was a slaughter of unarmed men, and women, and children.' The foot pavement was strewed with dead bodies, which lay heaped one on the other. In front of one shop no less than thirty-three were counted, and thirty-seven were found in one little peaceful court called the Cité Bergère. 'The Boulevards and the adjacent streets,' says an English officer who was an eye-witness of the shocking scene, 'were at some points a perfect shambles.'

While this wholesale massacre of innocent and defenceless persons, of both sexes and all ages, was proceeding on the Boulevard, four brigades were attacking the barricades which had been constructed in other streets. The resistance was so feeble that they were carried without difficulty; but not satisfied with killing all whom they found in arms, the soldiers, who had been ordered to give no quarter, put to death every one who came in their way. The converging movement of the troops prevented escape, and forced the people into streets barred by the soldiers at both ends, and then, whether they were combatants or inoffensive onlookers, they were shot down to a man. 'This killing,' says Mr. Kinglake, 'was done under so stringent orders, and yet in some instances with so much of deliberation, that many of the poor fellows put to death were allowed to dispose of their little treasures before they died. Thus one man, when told that he must die, entreated the officer in command to be allowed to send to his mother the fifteen francs which he carried in his pocket. The officer consenting, took down the address of the man's mother, received from him the fifteen francs, and then killed him. Many times over the like of this was done.' Great numbers of prisoners were brought into the Prefecture of Police, driven with their

hands tied into one of the courts of the building, and there knocked on the head and felled with a loaded club like bullocks. During the night of the 4th and the night of the 5th prisoners were shot in batches by platoons of infantry, and thrown into pits. The number of persons put to death in these horrible massacres cannot be ascertained with certainty, but must have been very large. The colonel of one of the regiments engaged in this slaughter stated that his men alone had killed 2500 men. Of the soldiers employed in this butchery only twenty-five lost their lives.

Paris was now prostrate at the feet of the conspirators, but their work was only half completed. On the morning of the 2nd December De Morny, under cover of darkness, took possession of the Home Office, and issued orders to the Prefects throughout the country that the *juges de paix*, the mayors, and other functionaries who refused to give immediate adhesion in writing to 'the great measure which the Government has just adopted,' should be instantly dismissed. This imperious mandate was implicitly obeyed; but though the great majority of the rural population remained quiescent, partly from apprehensions of an outbreak on the side of the Socialists, partly from ignorance of the real character of the *coup d'état*, there were insurrections in various places against the usurped authority of the President. These risings were mercilessly suppressed by the soldiers in the provinces, who closely imitated the ferocity of the army of Paris. The Departments in which the people seemed dissatisfied were put under martial law, and not only were all who were alleged to have taken up arms against the Government tried by court-martial, but 'those whose Socialist opinions were notorious' were ordered to be transported, and had their property sequestered at the mere pleasure of the Administration. Commissaries were sent into the provinces by Morny, armed with the most extensive arbitrary powers, to search out and punish all who were

supposed to be disaffected to the Government, and the spy system in its most hateful form was brought into full operation. All who suggested doubts as to the sincerity of the Government or any of its acts, or who interfered in an election in a commune in which they did not reside, or who spread rumours or suggested doubts tending to unsettle people's minds, or who carried weapons unless specially authorized, were declared enemies of their country and subjected to military execution; also all persons distributing written or printed papers, and all who should assist or receive, or even supply with food, any persons pursued by the authorities.

The Parisian massacres and provincial slaughterings had not freed the conspirators of the Elysée from all those whose hostile influence they dreaded, and on the 8th of December Prince Louis Bonaparte issued a decree by which everybody whom the police authorities chose to designate as having belonged to a Secret Society was liable to be transported, without trial, either to the penal colony in Algeria, or to Cayenne, in French Guiana—one of the most unhealthy places on the globe, where there were no barracks, or even prisons, to receive the unhappy exiles, or wholesome and suitable food provided for them, and the pestilential climate would speedily destroy them. The execution of this atrocious decree was pressed by Morny and Maupas with such unrelenting severity that in the course of a few weeks (as Granier de Cassagnac, a panegyrist of the President, admits), no fewer than 26,500 persons were seized and transported. A single Department—the Nièvre—furnished more than 1000. An Englishman travelling through the central provinces of France in the latter part of February, 1852, found the roads swarming with prisoners on their way to the coast—some in long strings on foot, others piled together in diligences, in caleches, and in carts. These unhappy victims of the most cruel tyranny had been condemned to exile worse than death, without trial, without

public, or, as far as is known, without even private inquiry, on the evidence of secret informers, not improbably of private enemies, or debtors, or others who would profit by the banishment of those whom they denounced. The story of one of the sufferers from deportation was told by an English writer of high character, who was personally acquainted with the circumstances. It is that of Hippolyte Magen, the young author of the successful tragedy of 'Spartacus.' He was arrested on the 2nd of December, but his friends were told not to make themselves uneasy, that his liberal opinions were known, and that he was imprisoned merely to prevent his compromising himself. Week after week went on, however, during which his place of confinement—the *casemates* of Fort Bicêtre—was gradually filled with 3000 prisoners. His friends were thinking with great anxiety of the influence which the cold of a Parisian winter, endured in damp dark vaults, and the pestilential air produced by the crowds which had been thrust into them, might have on a constitution unaccustomed to hardship. At length they found that he had quitted Fort Bicêtre, but that he had quitted it on his road to Cayenne—untried, indeed unaccused, but sentenced to a death in comparison of which the Noyades were merciful.

In addition to those who were transported to Algeria or Cayenne, there is good reason to believe that 100,000 more—that is, about one in ninety of the adult males of France—were confined in the vaults and *casemates* which the French dignify with the name of prisons, often piled, crammed, and wedged together so closely that they could scarcely change their positions. Over every one of these sufferers the sentence of deportation was suspended. Upwards of 3000 had disappeared from Paris alone—their fate utterly unknown to their families and friends. A great part of the persons on whom these horrible sufferings were inflicted had spent their lives in literary or professional pursuits—as authors of well-

known works, editors of newspapers, lawyers, and physicians. Those of their number who were released at the end of three months were so completely broken down in health and changed in their appearance by what they had undergone, that they could scarcely be recognized.

One of the decrees issued by Louis Napoleon on the 2nd of December appointed a new election of a President by universal suffrage. He was willing, he said, to submit himself again to the people to choose or to reject him in favour of another candidate, if they should think fit to do so. No such alternative, however, was really offered. The electors were only permitted an affirmative or a negative vote, and every precaution was taken to secure an immense majority in Louis Napoleon's favour. First of all, thirty-two departments were placed under martial law. Then all means of concerted action on the part of the opponents of the President were forbidden. They were not allowed to hold any meeting for the purpose of consultation. All journals opposed to his claims were silenced—(forty-nine were swept away in the departments, and twelve disappeared in Paris).^{*} Even the printing and distributing of negative voting tickets were made penal, so was any attempt to persuade others to vote against the President, or an endeavour to 'propagate an opinion,' or to throw a doubt on the loyalty of any of the acts of the Government, or suggesting fears tending to disquiet the people. Still further to terrify the electors, the army were ordered to vote (and to vote openly without ballot) within forty-eight hours from the receipt of a despatch of the 3rd of December, while the 20th or 21st of that month were the days appointed to receive the votes of civilians. The soldiers, of course, voted in a body for Louis Napoleon, and

thus set an example which the people were required at their peril to follow. There was no opportunity afforded of verifying the accuracy of the returns, no scrutiny, no guarantee that they had been honestly and correctly made. The whole arrangements were in the hands of the creatures of the Government.

Apart from the coercion employed by Morny and Maupas, there was no doubt powerful influence exerted on behalf of Louis Bonaparte. The priests in a body supported him, followed by the peasantry, on whom they fastened tickets, marked 'Yes,' and drove them in flocks to the poll. The Jesuits, grateful for the important concessions made to them in regard to education, marched with 'reverted cowls and unfurled banners to the ballot;' and the Orleanists, who formed the bulk of the mercantile class and of the shopkeepers, 'rallied with alacrity to the standard of expediency and fear.' In such circumstances as these the wonder is, not that the Bonapartists should lay claim to having polled for their candidate 7,439,216 against 640,737 who voted 'No,' but that any party should have had the courage to vote against the election of Louis Napoleon as President for two years, with power to form a new Constitution. When the result of the plebiscite was declared, the re-elected President, surrounded by his fellow-conspirators, proceeded in great state to the Church of Notre Dame, where he was received with all due solemnity by the bishops and other dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, in the presence of an immense crowd who filled every corner of the cathedral. The 'Te Deum' was then sung as the thanksgivings of the nation for the new and signal mercy vouchsafed to them by Almighty God. 'Moreover, the priests lifted their voices and cried aloud, chanting and saying to the Most High, "Domine! salvum fac Ludovicum Napoleonem."' (O Lord! save Louis Napoleon!)

The same day a decree was published by the President restoring the French eagle to

^{*} 'The editors of the strangled Paris papers are in concealment, flight, or prison, deported to Algeria, driven to Belgium or to London, or emigrants to the United States. Their families are plunged in misery and want, and their working staff are rotting in hospitals or starving on the *pave*.'—Letter in the *Times*.

the standard of the army, and a few days after he decreed the confiscation of the estates of the Orleans family, and restored titles of nobility in France. It was taken for granted by every one that in no long time the title borne by his uncle would be assumed by the present ruler of France; and the Senate which he had created, as in duty bound, pressed upon him the Imperial crown. Another national vote (25th November, 1852) confirmed the proposal, and on the first anniversary of the *coup d'état* (2nd December, 1852) the Prince President of the French Republic became Napoleon III., Emperor of the French.

The overthrow of constitutional freedom in France, and the violent means by which it was accomplished, excited throughout Europe deep distrust of the new French Emperor. It was generally thought that in order to maintain his position he would find it necessary to seek active employment for his army, and to gratify the ambition and vanity of the French nation by successful intrigues and enterprises abroad. It was supposed by some that Switzerland was menaced by his schemes; others alleged that he would endeavour to extend the frontier of France to the Rhine; while the Belgian King and his Ministers entertained serious apprehensions that an attempt would be made to recover possession of their territory, which it was well known the French people had long coveted. In Great Britain, as we have seen, the *coup d'état* had led indirectly to the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from the office of Foreign Minister, and to the downfall of the Russell Administration. The people and the press had not hesitated to express in very explicit terms their abhorrence of the deviser and agents of the *coup d'état*, and their contempt for the people who had tamely submitted to such injury and insult at their hands. A good deal of irritation was in consequence felt both by the new Emperor and his subjects, and a general impression prevailed that it was not at all unlikely that an attempt would

be made, by an invasion of England, to revenge the great defeat of Waterloo. Louis Napoleon had indeed publicly declared that 'the Empire is peace;' but no one was inclined to put any confidence in the assurances of a man who had deliberately violated his most solemn oath to maintain the Republican Constitution, and whom it was believed no pledges would bind. A kind of panic, therefore, seized the public, and a loud clamour was raised for the adoption of prompt and vigorous measures to strengthen the national defences.

At this juncture in our country's history the Duke of Wellington passed away, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, just when the long era of peace which his great victory over the first Napoleon had procured for Europe was about to come to an end. Ever since the overthrow of the Peel Ministry in 1846, and the consequent disorganization of the Conservative party which followed the adoption of a Liberal commercial policy, the Duke had retired from political life, and except on military questions had ceased to take any prominent part even in the debates in the House of Lords. But his interest in everything relating to the service of the sovereign and the welfare of the country was in no degree abated; and his memorable letter to Sir John Burgoyne on the defenceless state of the country, and his masterly arrangements for the preservation of the peace on the memorable 10th of April, are satisfactory proofs both of his unremitting and unselfish devotion to the safety and well-being of the community, and of the vigour and activity of his mind, even in extreme old age. Though not one of 'Her Majesty's advisers' by office, he was incontestably so in fact, for no man was ever summoned more frequently to give counsel to royalty in straits. 'Whether the embarrassment was a sudden resignation of the Ministry, or an imperfect conception of an administration, or a bedchamber plot, or a dead lock, it was invariably the Duke who was called in—sometimes as a man who could do and say

to others of all ranks and parties what could be said or done by no other person living, sometimes as an arbiter in whose decision all disputants would concur, sometimes as a pure political fetish to get the State out of trouble, nobody could tell how.' He had, in fact, become a distinct power in the State, and always exercised his vast influence solely for what he deemed the public good. His popularity among all classes of his countrymen was something wonderful and quite unique. Wherever he appeared 'the Great Duke' was received with enthusiastic and affectionate greetings, and his sayings and doings and quaint and amusing letters were regularly recorded by every newspaper in the kingdom. Titles, offices, and rewards were showered upon him from every quarter at home and abroad, and both the Crown and the Parliament exhausted their powers to do him honour. He was not only Commander-in-Chief of the army, but Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, Governor of the Tower, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Thus loaded with honours, dignities, and estates, in the enjoyment of the confidence and affection of his sovereign and the veneration of his countrymen of all ranks and parties, and surrounded by troops of devoted friends, the old age of the great warrior wore tranquilly away. The end came at last somewhat suddenly. He was residing at Walmer Castle, when, on the morning of the 14th September, 1852, he complained that he felt unwell. Medical assistance was immediately summoned, but proved unavailing, and at seven in the evening the Duke breathed his last, so calmly that his attendants could scarcely tell the precise moment when life became extinct. His remains, after lying in state in the Royal Military Hospital at Chelsea, were deposited in their last resting place in St. Paul's Cathedral, there to lie by the side of Nelson, amid demonstrations of deep sorrow on the part of the whole nation, and with the utmost pomp and magnificence of ceremony, in which the

rank, talent, and official station of Great Britain, and the representatives of all the great Powers of Europe—Austria alone excepted—took part.*

The universal testimony of his contemporaries has pronounced the Duke of Wellington to have been one of the greatest generals of our own or of any country. In quickness of observation, tenacity of memory, powers of calculation, coolness, forethought, self-possession, fertility of resources, strength of will, and sterling good sense, he has rarely been equalled—probably never surpassed by any commander either in ancient or modern times. His genius was equally conspicuous in the creation and in the employment of his materials. He carefully provided against every contingency, left nothing undone that was necessary to gain his ends, and his plans were in consequence almost invariably crowned with success. He showed himself master both of offensive and of defensive tactics, and he was victorious against all kinds of enemies and in all kinds of warfare. On no other general of his times—not even on Napoleon himself—can the same commendation be bestowed. 'There was something,' says Southey, 'more precious than his military successes, more to be desired than the high and enduring fame which he had secured by his military achievements—the satisfaction of thinking to what these achievements had been directed; that they were for the deliverance of two most injured and grievously oppressed nations; for the safety, honour, and welfare of his own country; and for the general interests of Europe and of the civilized world. His campaigns were sanctified by the cause; they were sullied by no cruelties, no crimes; the chariot-wheels of his triumphs have been

* 'There is but one feeling of indignation and surprise,' wrote the Queen to King Leopold, 'at the conduct of Austria in taking this opportunity to slight England in return for what happened to Haynau because of his own character.' There was, however, a fitness in the absence of the representatives of the patrons of Haynau the Butcher, at the funeral of the great general who fought for the oppressed.

followed by no curses; his laurels are entwined with the amaranths of righteousness, and upon his deathbed he might remember his victories among his good works.'

The Duke of Wellington was called by circumstances to serve his Sovereign in the Cabinet as well as in the field; and in the administration of civil affairs he almost always displayed sagacity, good sense, firmness, and energy. But he explicitly disclaimed all pretensions to the character of a statesman, and none saw more clearly than himself that the higher and more comprehensive duties of statesmanship required a kind of training which he had never received, and for which it is possible he was not eminently qualified. But he was endowed with administrative talents of a very high order, and in his own opinion was peculiarly fitted to deal with financial matters. He was a singularly expert calculator, and used to say that his true genius was rather for the Exchequer than the War

Office. The most prominent feature of his moral character was his setting the fulfilment of duty before all other considerations. As was said in the general order issued to the army, 'The greatest commander whom England ever saw has left an example for the imitation of every soldier, in taking as his guiding principle in every relation of life an energetic and unhesitating obedience to the call of duty.' 'He was,' said the Queen, 'the guide and good genius, as it were, of this country—the most loyal and devoted subject, and the staunchest supporter the Crown ever had. He was to us a true friend and most valuable adviser.'

'Full of years beyond the term of mortality, and of honours almost beyond human parallel,' the great Duke descended to the grave, 'like a shock of corn fully ripe.' He was one of the wisest and most loyal and faithful subjects that ever graced and supported the British throne, and one of the greatest and truest men whom modern times have produced.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Derby's Administration — Their difficulties — Dissolution of Parliament — Mr. Disraeli's Budget — Defeat of the Government — A Coalition Ministry — Its Members — Lord Aberdeen Premier — Mr. Gladstone's Financial Measures — Disputes between the Greek and Latin Monks respecting the Holy Places — Policy of France and of Russia — Prince Mentschikoff's Mission — Sir Stratford Canning's good offices as Mediator — Their success — Settlement of the Question of the Holy Places — Ulterior designs and demands of Russia — The Russian Embassy leaves Constantinople — Memorandum sent by the Czar to the British Cabinet — His conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour — Count Nesselrode's Circular — Its mendacious character — The Czar's Manifesto — The Vienna Note — War declared against Russia by the Porte — Views of the four Great Powers — State of opinion in the British Ministry — Feeling of the People — The 'Massacre of Sinope' — Its effect — Lord Palmerston's position — Mistaken notions of the Czar — The Peace Party — War declared by Great Britain and France — Their Treaty with the Porte.

ON the resignation of the Russell Ministry Lord Derby was intrusted by the Queen with the task of forming another Administration. Lord Palmerston declined the offer of office on highly advantageous terms made to him by the new Premier. The followers of the late Sir Robert Peel also refused to join a Ministry, the head of which talked of Free Trade as only an experiment that might be set aside if a new election should enable him to do so. Lord Derby was therefore obliged to form an Administration composed entirely of Protectionists, most of whom had no official training or experience. Lord Palmerston described it as containing two men of merit—the Premier and Mr. Disraeli, who was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer—and a number of ciphers.* Lord Derby was a debater of the highest order, but he was no statesman; and at the outset he stated (27th February) that the agriculturists were suffering from unequal taxation, and had a right to expect remedial measures. 'When the entire supply of an article comes from abroad,' he

said, 'the whole increase of the price falls on the consumer, but that is not the case when the article is partly of foreign and partly of home supply; and I will not shrink from declaring my opinion, that there is no reason why corn should be the solitary exception to the rule.' Earl Grey at once protested against this doctrine, and the Earl of Aberdeen declared that as the friend and colleague of Sir Robert Peel he would resist the attempt to impose any duty whatever on corn, whether for revenue or protection. Mr. Disraeli, the leader of the Ministry in the House of Commons, was somewhat more guarded than his chief; and in reply to questions put to him on the subject, he stated that the Government did not intend to propose any return to the Protective system during the present session, nor at any future time, unless at the new election, which he intimated would take place in autumn, a decided majority of members favourable to that policy should be returned to Parliament.

The Free-Trade party took the alarm at the Premier's announcement, and arrangements were at once made to resuscitate the Anti-Corn Law League, and to renew the agitation throughout the country, in case any serious attempt should be made by the new Ministry to reverse the Free-Trade policy which had been adopted by the Legislature.

As Lord Derby was in a minority in the House of Commons, and held office merely

* It was termed in derision the 'Who-who Ministry,' in consequence of a question said to have been asked by the Duke of Wellington. Lord Derby was mentioning to the Duke in the House of Lords the names of his colleagues, and as each name was given, the Duke, who had clearly never before heard of them, exclaimed, 'Who?' 'Who?' The conversation was overheard, and the story having gone about procured for the new Cabinet the sobriquet of the 'Who-who Ministry.' Lord Derby said to a political friend that the Ministry were all in a great mess, but 'Benjamin's mess (Disraeli's) was five times as much as that of his brethren.'

on sufferance, he brought forward only such measures as were likely to meet with the approval of the House. A Militia Bill was introduced and passed with the assistance of Lord Palmerston, in spite of the injudicious opposition of Lord John Russell, and a constitution was granted to the colony of New Zealand. Mr. Disraeli not having had time, as he alleged, to make a complete re-examination of the financial affairs of the country, a labour which he said he was quite willing to undertake if opportunity were afforded him, proposed to continue the system that was in operation when he and his colleagues came into office, and to continue the income tax for another year. In the beginning of July Parliament was prorogued and then dissolved.

The Government were placed in a very awkward position. On the one hand the great body of their supporters confidently expected that they would propose to restore at least some portion of the abolished Protective duties on corn, while it speedily became evident that any such attempt would prove fatal to the existence of the Ministry. They were, therefore, obliged to speak with 'two voices.' Mr. Disraeli deprecated the idea of returning to an 'exploded policy,' while on the other hand several of his colleagues and leading members of the party expressed their belief that Lord Derby would procure for the agriculturists the restoration of the system of Protection.

The new elections made no material change in the relative strength of the two parties. Lord Palmerston wrote his brother: 'We have lost some good men in this new Parliament—George Grey, Cardwell, Mahon, Grenfell, and several others; but then we have got rid of some bad ones—George Thompson, Urquhart, and the like.' Lord Palmerston omitted to mention that the electors of Edinburgh had spontaneously returned Macaulay to the seat from which they had ejected him in 1847. Mr. Robert Lowe was returned for the first time to the House of Commons at this election. The

Government were still in a minority, and when the Parliament reassembled in November they were compelled to give their assent to a resolution, pledging the House of Commons to the 'policy of unrestricted competition firmly maintained and prudently extended.' They were only saved, by the interposition of Lord Palmerston, from a kind of censure on those who had hitherto failed to recognize its justice and importance. Mr. Disraeli's budget sealed their fate. He proposed to make a reduction of the malt tax, and a slight diminution of the duty on tea; and in order to supply the deficiency thus created in the revenue the house duty was to be doubled. The scheme was not satisfactory to either party. The farmers, who expected something much more favourable to them, did not care about the reduction of the malt tax, while the project was vigorously opposed by the Liberals and Free Traders. The debate upon the budget, which was exceedingly keen as well as able, lasted four nights, and nearly all the leading members on both sides of the House took part in the discussion. It was understood that Mr. Disraeli, who rose late on the fourth night, was to close the debate; but he attacked so bitterly the leaders of the Opposition, and especially Sir Charles Wood, his predecessor in office, that Mr. Gladstone, who did not intend to take part in the debate, replied. 'This speech,' he exclaimed, 'must be answered, and answered at the moment. The character of England is involved in that of her public men—the character of England is at stake.' After indignantly repelling Mr. Disraeli's charges and invectives, he ended a masterly analysis of the budget by describing it as based on principles against which all true Conservatives stood pledged. The defeat of the budget, by a majority of 305 to 286, was followed by the immediate resignation of the Ministry.

In the prospect of this result the leaders of the Liberal party had for some time been making arrangements for a new Ad-

ministration. Lord Palmerston wrote to his brother—'John Russell clings pertinaciously to his former position of Prime Minister, and will not serve under any other chief. On the other hand, the Whig and Liberal party have greatly lost confidence in his capacity as a leader, and he would find it very difficult to form such a Government as would be strong enough to stand. I do not think the Peelites would join him. I certainly would not serve under him again, though I might serve with him under a third person.' This was the arrangement which was ultimately carried into effect. Lord Aberdeen was charged with the formation of a new Government. He at once sought the co-operation of Lord Palmerston, and offered him *carte blanche* as to departments. The ex-Foreign Secretary at first declined the flattering offer, on the ground that he was unwilling to share the responsibility of a Cabinet of whose foreign policy he might probably disapprove. But he was indispensable. The venerable Marquis of Lansdowne, in whom he had great confidence, urged him strongly to join the Government; and learning that the Foreign Office would be intrusted either to Lord John Russell or to Lord Clarendon, who had both concurred in his policy, he yielded to Lord Lansdowne's advice, and accepted the office of Secretary for Home affairs, which was his own choice.

The new Government combined almost all the men of talent and experience in the House of Commons except Disraeli. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary; Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War; Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control; and Sir William Molesworth, First Commissioner of Public Works: while in the House of Lords the Ministry was represented by the Premier, Lord Aberdeen; Lord Cranworth, the Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary; Earl Granville, President of the Council; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy

Seal; and the Marquis of Lansdowne, who occupied a seat in the Cabinet without office.

The new Administration set to work vigorously to carry out the various domestic reforms which the Premier announced in the House of Lords when he entered upon the duties of his office. The abatement of the smoke nuisance in the metropolis, the cessation of intramural interments, the extension of the Factory Acts, the institution of the somewhat hazardous ticket-of-leave system, were among the improvements adopted in home affairs; while a bill was passed modifying and improving the government of India, and an important measure dealing with the clergy reserves of Canada, in accordance with the recommendation of the Colonial Legislature, was carried through both Houses after a keen discussion and contest.

The great financial abilities of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer were previously known to his political associates, but he now for the first time had an opportunity of displaying them before the public. His budget, which was brought forward on the 18th of April, was a masterpiece both for its principles and the lucid manner in which they were expounded and applied. His financial statement—certainly the ablest and most closely reasoned which had ever been laid before the House—occupied five hours in the delivery, and was listened to from its commencement to its close with marked attention and unflagging interest. While he and his colleagues, he said, had sought to do justice to the great labouring community of the United Kingdom, by furthering their relief from indirect taxation, they had not been guided by any desire to put one class against another; and had felt that they should best maintain their own honour, and meet the views of Parliament, and promote the interests of the country, by declining to draw any invidious distinction between class and class, and by adopting it as a sacred aim

to diffuse and distribute the burdens with equal and impartial hand. In accordance with this declaration he brought forward his 'Succession Duty,' which boldly announced and successfully carried out the principle that all classes are henceforth to be regarded as equal in the eye of the law, and that the feudal immunities of the landed proprietors were to be at an end. The abolition of the Corn Laws had declared that no taxes should henceforth be levied for the benefit of a section of the community. The Succession Duty declared the logical converse, that no portion of the community able to contribute should be exempt from taxation. What the Succession Duty declared with respect to classes the extension of the Income Tax to the Irish people ratified with regard to countries, and put an end to the unfair exemption previously enjoyed by the richer classes in Ireland. At the same time the duties on soap were entirely abolished. A uniform penny receipt stamp was substituted for stamps varying according to the sum received. The duty on apprenticeship was lowered from 20s. to 2s. 6d., and on advertisements from 1s. 6d. to 6d. Reductions were made altogether on 133 articles, including tea, horses, dogs, solicitors' certificates, and articles of apprenticeship, on hackney and other carriages, &c.—amounting in the aggregate to £5,384,000.

Mr. Gladstone's elaborate and magnificent financial scheme was received with extraordinary approbation both by the House and by the country, and the various parts of it were considered and discussed in the most painstaking manner. His proposals were, almost as a matter of course, opposed by the leader of the Protectionists, on the plea that they were conceived in a spirit of injustice to the land, but they were supported by a large majority in the House; and 'wafted forward by a favourable breeze of popular confidence,' they were carried triumphantly over all opposition. It was felt by all classes throughout the country that its financial operations were directed

by a master-hand; and that the Free-Trade policy which Sir Robert Peel had inaugurated in the Legislature was being carried out by his favourite pupil with a bold originality of conception, and a felicity and eloquence of diction which secured its complete success.

The Ministry were strong, both by the great ability and experience of its members and the confidence of the nation. The agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country were flourishing in almost every department, the revenue was good and increasing, and the nation seemed to be entering on a period of great prosperity and progress. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was believed to have inaugurated a period of unbroken peace; but this fair prospect was suddenly overcast by a dark cloud which had arisen in the East. At first no bigger than a man's hand, it ultimately covered the whole horizon, and was fated to burst eventually into a fierce and sanguinary war between Russia and Turkey supported by France and Britain.

It arose out of a trumpety squabble between the Latin and the Greek monks respecting the Holy Places in Palestine. The Russian Czar was the protector of the Greek Church, and the kings of France had long been the patrons of the Latin Church, and supported its claims. France had in 1740 obtained from the Sultan certain Articles or 'Capitulations,' securing to the Latin Church in Palestine various privileges in connection with the Holy Shrine; but for a considerable time no pains had been taken to assert the rights thus conceded to them by the Porte. Meanwhile the Greeks, supported by Russia, had obtained several firmans that had been long acquiesced in, granting them advantages which infringed on the Latin Capitulations, and led to incessant disputes and the most disgraceful conflicts between the Latins and Greeks. In 1847 an event occurred which inflamed still further their mutual animosity. A silver star suspended in the sanctuary, and claimed by the Latins, marked the supposed

spot of the Saviour's birth. On the 1st of November it was secretly removed, as was alleged, by the Greeks. Complaint of the outrage was made to M. de Lavallette, the French ambassador at Constantinople, a man of an intriguing and ambitious character, who availed himself of the opportunity to reopen the whole question concerning the Holy Places, and to demand that the grants to the Latin Church should be strictly executed. This, however, was impossible without annulling some of the privileges which the Greek Church had long enjoyed. Lord John Russell wrote to the British ambassador at Paris, 'that Her Majesty's Government cannot avoid perceiving that the ambassador of France at Constantinople was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested. Not that the disputes of the Latin and Greek Churches were not very active, but without some political action on the part of France these quarrels would never have troubled the relations of friendly powers. If report is to be believed, the French ambassador was the first to speak of having recourse to force, and to threaten the intervention of a French fleet to enforce the demands of his country.' Louis Napoleon, who had just succeeded in obtaining the Imperial dignity, was anxious to divert the attention of Frenchmen from their domestic thralldom to some stroke of foreign policy that might gratify their national vanity; and the controversy between the Latin and the Greek monks in the East seemed to afford him an opportunity of exerting his influence in behalf of the Church of the West without incurring much risk or responsibility.

The main object of dispute was the possession of the key of the great door of the Church at Bethlehem, which was claimed by the Latin monks, along with one of the keys of each of the two doors of the sacred manger. They also contended for the right to replace a silver star, adorned with the arms of France, in the grotto in which it was alleged that the Saviour was born; to worship once a year at

the shrine of the Virgin Mary in the Church of Gethsemane; and to have a cupboard and a lamp in her tomb. The cause of the Greek monks was of course zealously supported by Russia, and the Russian Envoy strenuously insisted that the firmans in their favour should remain in force. There is no reason to suppose that the rival Governments cared anything about such a miserable squabble, but it became a test of pre-eminent influence at the Ottoman Court, and both parties felt that they could not yield without a loss of prestige and of power. The Sultan and his advisers were perfectly indifferent as to the point in dispute, but were afraid to offend either of the powerful rivals. They did what lay in their power to please both, and, as might have been expected, ended by giving satisfaction to neither party. Lord Palmerston tried to throw oil on the troubled waters, and remonstrated, not without some effect, with the French Government respecting the imperious conduct and the violent and menacing language of their ambassador at the Ottoman Court.

The ulterior designs of the Russian Czar, however, went far beyond any question connected with the Holy Places, and he resolved to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded him to obtain from the Porte not only a satisfactory settlement of the points in dispute, but to extort from him enlarged authority over the Greek Christians in Turkey. With this view he despatched as his ambassador-extraordinary to Constantinople Prince Mentschikoff, a nobleman of high rank belonging to the old Russian party, fierce and imperious in his character, and rough in his manners, to enforce his demands. At the same time, with a view of striking terror into the Sultan and his Ministers, the Russian fleet was manned and victualled for sea, and a powerful body of troops was collected in Bessarabia.

The ambassador made his entry into Constantinople with great pomp, accompanied by a general officer, an admiral, and

a numerous suite, and at his disembarkation a large concourse of Greeks were assembled through the exertions of the Russian mission. He conducted himself in the most offensive and insulting manner, paid his visit of ceremony to the Grand Vizier in plain clothes, and rudely turned from the door of Fuad Effendi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon whom, according to custom, he was bound also to have called. In consequence of this insult the Minister resigned his office, and was succeeded by Rifaat Pasha. The first communication made by Prince Mentschikoff consisted of a note addressed to the Porte on the 16th of March, in which the Ministers of the Sultan were accused of having acted in direct violation of the firmans issued in favour of the Greeks, and redress of these grievances was demanded. His next step, in reliance on the alarm created by his mission, was secretly to demand that the Greek Church should be placed entirely under Russian protection, without any reference to the Porte. He insisted that the greatest secrecy should be maintained in regard to this demand, and that should it be made known to the representatives of Great Britain and France he would consider the disclosure an act of hostility to the Emperor, and he and his mission would instantly quit Constantinople.

At this critical juncture Sir Stratford Canning (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), the British representative at Constantinople, was in England, but he was now (25th February, 1853) directed to return to his post. He was instructed to protect the independence of the Porte, but at the same time to warn the Turkish Ministry that the Ottoman Empire was in a position of peculiar danger, owing mainly to the maladministration of its own affairs and the grievances suffered by its Christian subjects, and he was directed to press upon the Sultan the adoption of the reforms imperatively required for the safety of the empire. The arrival of the British ambassador on

the 5th of April at the British Embassy, Mr. Kinglake says, 'spread a sense of safety, but also a sense of awe.' The Turkish Ministers were afraid to make known to him the full extent of the Czar's demands, and it was only by slow degrees that the whole truth was disclosed to him. With his characteristic directness and clearness of view, Sir Stratford saw at a glance the importance of keeping the question of the Holy Places clear of all the other subjects raised by Prince Mentschikoff. That question had placed the Porte in a difficult and dangerous position. Ostensibly it involved only a matter of sectarian feeling between the members of the Greek and the Roman Catholic Churches, but in reality, as we have seen, it was a struggle between France and Russia for predominant influence in Turkey. In regard to the Holy Places, the vacillation of the Porte had given to Russia some grounds of complaint; but as the Czar had committed himself to the public avowal that he had nothing else to complain of, the settlement of the question of the Sanctuaries would leave him without any plea for ulterior demands.

If the representative of Russia had been a skilful and experienced diplomatist he would have foreseen this result, and would have declined to negotiate for the removal of his grievance apart from the purposes which it was intended to serve. But Prince Mentschikoff had not been trained to diplomatic pursuits, and his intellectual abilities were not of a high order. He was vain, presumptuous, and overbearing, and quite unfit to contend with an adversary of the skill and great experience of the British Minister. Dealing temperately and delicately with the Russian envoy, he succeeded in inducing him to assent to a compromise regarding the Holy Places, to which the new French representative, M. de Lacour, ultimately acceded. It was settled that the Latins should retain possession of the key of the Church of Bethlehem, which had been handed over to them by the Sultan;

the Porte itself consented to replace the missing star: but these concessions were to confer no new rights on the Latins; the doorkeeper of the Great Gate of the Church was always to be a Greek priest; and the Greeks were to have the privilege of worshipping first at the tomb of the Virgin Mary, on the ground that the habit of early prayer prevailed in the Oriental churches. With regard to the cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which both parties claimed the right to repair, it was agreed that it should be repaired by the Sultan in such a way as not to alter its form. All these arrangements were to be embodied in firmans, addressed by the Sultan to the Turkish authorities at Jerusalem. In the course of seventeen days after the return of the British ambassador to Constantinople the dispute, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed with anxiety and apprehension, and which had engaged the attention of European diplomatists for nearly three years, was amicably settled; and for the part which he had taken in this affair, Sir Stratford received the thanks of the Turkish Government and of the Russian and French ambassadors.

This result, however, was far from satisfactory to the Russian Emperor. He seemed to have imagined that as the instructions of the British ambassador did not authorize him to be more than a mere peaceful negotiator, he could strike terror into the Divan by threats of employing force, and thus coerce them to yield to his demands. Prince Menschikoff was therefore directed at once to press his demands for what was virtually an exclusive Protectorate over the whole Greek population, their clergy, and their churches, including not only their spiritual privileges, but all the other rights, privileges, and immunities of those professing the Greek faith, and of their clergy, dating from the most ancient times; and if this should be refused, to bring his mission to a close, and to quit Constantinople with his suite, carrying away with him the whole staff of the Russian Legation.

The instructions of the Czar were obeyed by his representative, both in the spirit and to the letter. Language of a most offensive and peremptory nature was employed by the Russian envoy, and the ulterior consequences of a refusal were depicted in violent terms, but all in vain. The Sultan and his Ministers stood firm. Prince Menschikoff now discovered, apparently for the first time, that he had really to deal with the formidable and dreaded enemy of Russia—the man who was called in St. Petersburg ‘the English Sultan.’ ‘People who knew the springs of action in the Russian capital used to say at that time that the whole Eastern Question, as it was called, lay inclosed in one name’—the name of Sir Stratford Canning. It was the great Eltchi alone who in the space of forty-five days brought to a satisfactory settlement the vexed question of the Holy Places, baffled all the efforts of Russia to encroach upon the sovereign rights of the Porte, and imbued the Turkish Ministers with courage and firmness to resist the imperious and unwarrantable demands of the Czar, and yet at the same time to temper their refusals with such courtesy and moderation, and such expressions of a willingness to make concessions as far as they could do so with honour and with safety, as to place their enemy completely in the wrong, and to commend their own cause to the approbation of the whole civilized world. It was the knowledge of this fact which inflamed the mind of the Czar almost to madness, and contributed not a little to drive him to the adoption of a course of action which ruined his reputation for honest and straightforward dealing, and cost him his life.

The demand of the Czar was courteously but firmly refused by the Sultan and his Ministers, with the full approbation of the representatives of Austria, Prussia, and France, as well as of Britain. On this Prince Menschikoff angrily declared his mission at an end, formally announced that the relations of Russia with the Porte were broken off, and quitted Constantinople.

On the same day the arms of Russia were taken down from the palace of the Imperial Embassy. The Turkish Ministers crowned their triumph by issuing firmans confirming all the accustomed privileges of the Greek Church, and sent copies of these documents to the Court of St. Petersburg, along with a courteous note to the Russian Chancellor, assuring him that they confirmed the privileges of the Greek Church in perpetuity. 'This was doing exactly what Russia ostensibly required; but it was also doing exactly that which the Czar most abhorred, for to his mind it indicated nothing less than that the Greek Church was passing under the protection of Lord Stratford.'

It was well known to the British Ministry, and was generally suspected by the public, that the Czar had long entertained hostile designs against the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. It subsequently transpired that when he visited England in 1844 he had several conversations with the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary, about Turkey and her prospects, and what should be done in the case of her dissolution. After his return to his own country he caused Count Nesselrode, his Chancellor, to draw up a memorandum embodying the views which he had expressed to the British statesmen with whom he had conversed on this subject. While expressing the Emperor's wish that the independence of Turkey should be maintained, the document affirmed that it was impossible to conceal the fact that the Ottoman Empire contained within it many elements of dissolution, and that unforeseen events might at any time bring about its fall. But it was added, 'the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common. The understanding will be the more beneficial, inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria, between

whom and Russia there already exists an entire accord.' This important document was preserved in the archives of the Foreign Office in London; but it is to be regretted that Lord Aberdeen did not at once disclaim any intention on the part of the British Government to enter into any combination for the purpose specified. As the memorandum was received and retained, and no reply returned, the Czar seems to have taken up the notion that our Ministry concurred in the ideas which he had expressed.

When Lord Aberdeen became Premier, in January, 1853, the Emperor resumed the discussion of the subject which he had so much at heart in several conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British representative at the Russian Court. On the 9th of January he again expressed his anxiety to be on the best terms with Britain, and his conviction that the Ottoman Empire was in a critical state. 'The affairs of Turkey,' he said, 'were in a very disorganized condition. The country itself seems to be falling to pieces; the fall will be a great misfortune; and it is very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding on these affairs, and that neither should take any decisive step of which the other is not apprised.' Sir Hamilton expressed his concurrence in this view of the subject. The Emperor then proceeded to say, in words which became very memorable in the light which they threw upon his designs: 'Stay; we have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements are made.'

On two subsequent occasions the subject was resumed by the Emperor in the same strain. On the 23rd of January, after speaking of the millions of Christians in the Turkish Empire whose interests he was called upon to watch over, he went on to say: 'Turkey, in the condition which I have

described, has by degrees fallen into such a state of decrepitude that, as I told you the other night, eager as we all are for the prolonged existence of the man (and that I am as desirous as you can be for the continuance of his life, I beg you to believe), he may suddenly die upon our hands; we cannot resuscitate what is dead. If the Turkish Empire falls, it falls to rise no more; and I put it to you, therefore, whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency than to incur the chance of confusion and the certainty of a European war, all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly and before some ulterior system has been sketched. This is the point to which I am desirous you should call the attention of your Government.'

The British ambassador referred to the aversion which his Government always entertained to the plan of undertaking engagements upon possible eventualities, and hinted that they would be disinclined to the idea of disposing beforehand of the succession of an old ally. The Emperor, however, continued to press his notion that it was of great importance that the British Government and he should understand each other, and not allow events to take them by surprise. On the 20th of February he said to Sir Hamilton, 'If your Government has been led to believe that Turkey retains any elements of existence, they must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you that the sick man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise. We must come to some understanding.'

The next day the Czar returned to the subject, and at last expressed explicitly the views he had previously hinted at. 'The Principalities,' he said, 'are in fact an independent state *under my protection*; this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria; there seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent state. As to Egypt, I quite understand

the importance to England of that territory. I can then only say that if, in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objection to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia; that island might suit you, and I do not know why it should not become an English possession.' In a previous conversation with the British ambassador respecting Constantinople, the Czar had stated that he would not allow the British Government to establish themselves there, and he was disposed to engage not to establish himself there as proprietor, 'but he would not say as occupier.'

'As I did not wish,' wrote Sir Hamilton Seymour, 'that the Emperor should imagine that an English public servant was caught by this sort of overture, I simply answered that the English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready communication between British India and the mother country. The Emperor replied that he wished the Government to write more fully upon these subjects. He did not ask an engagement or convention; he merely wished a free interchange of ideas, and in the case of need the word of 'a gentleman.' That is enough, he said, between us.

The British Government, on being made aware of these notions and wishes of the Czar, disclaimed all idea of taking possession of any part of the Sultan's dominions, expressed their conviction that the extinction of the Ottoman Empire was not so near at hand as the Czar alleged, and refused to enter into any kind of secret engagement with Russia in regard to this matter.

Before his departure from Constantinople, Prince Mentschikoff offered to accept a Note signed by the Turkish Minister, instead of a mutual treaty. But this document was more exacting than even the proposed Convention, for it not only stipulated for those professing the Greek faith the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges, and of those granted to other sects, but insisted

upon their also participating in all the advantages which may hereafter be conferred, even by special favour, upon the foreign legations accredited to the Sublime Porte. Compliance with this demand would have virtually invested the Czar with the sovereignty of all the members of the Greek Church within the dominions of the Sultan. The proposition was, of course, rejected.

On the 31st of May Count Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor, made another and final effort to intimidate the Sultan and his Ministers, and to induce them to accede to these demands. He addressed an autograph letter to Rishad Pasha, in which he formally announced that in a few weeks the Russian troops would receive orders to cross the Ottoman frontier, not to make war, but to obtain 'a material guarantee' as a security for the rights demanded by the Czar. In order to render this strong step unnecessary, the Turkish Minister was called on to sign without delay, and without any change whatever, the note delivered by Prince Mentschikoff before leaving Constantinople.

To this violent and arbitrary demand the Porte returned a temperate but firm refusal; and the Russian Chancellor, finding that nothing could be made of the Turkish authorities, considered it necessary to make an attempt to justify the Emperor's proceedings to the European public. He accordingly addressed, on the 11th of June, a circular to the agents of his Government, to be communicated to the Courts to which they were respectively accredited. This document, which was pronounced a gross insult to the common sense of Europe, was full of deliberate falsehoods and of the most extraordinary contradictions; and surprise was expressed that a statesman so respectable as Count Nesselrode, who had always been regarded as a man of honour and integrity, could affix his name to statements which bore on their very face the impress of most palpable falsehood.

On the 27th of June appeared in the *Official Gazette* of St. Petersburg the celebrated Manifesto of the Czar, announcing

to his subjects that the Russian troops had entered the Danubian Principalities, and declaring that if the Porte still persisted in its blind and obstinate resistance to his just demands he should call God to his aid, and leaving to Him to decide upon the question in dispute, and relying upon His all-powerful arm, should march to the defence of the orthodox faith. This Manifesto was followed (2nd July) by a second circular from Count Nesselrode, which contained the astounding assertion that the occupation of the Danubian Principalities had been decided upon *because* the allied fleets had proceeded to the anchorage of Constantinople—an assertion contradicted by Count Nesselrode's own note of the 31st May. The glaring falsehood of this statement was at once indignantly exposed by the Governments of France and England, who at the same time pointed out that there was no resemblance between a direct and hostile violation of the territories of a neighbouring State and the anchorage in an open bay of the fleets of friendly powers, whose presence there 'violated no treaty nor territory, nor infringed any international law.'

There is reason to believe that if the British Government, on the receipt of Count Nesselrode's note of 31st May, had declared formally and emphatically to the Czar that the entry of the Russian troops into the Principalities would be considered as a *casus belli*, the Czar would not have allowed his forces to cross the frontier, and peace would have been maintained. But the Porte was advised by the British Ministry not to treat the occupation as an act of war. The Dardanelles were in consequence closed by treaty against the vessels of war of foreign powers, and the Emperor thought himself warranted to issue manifestoes to his subjects, in which he announced that Turkey had forfeited the sympathy and support of her allies. It must be admitted that the conduct of our Ministry was fitted to encourage the Czar in the belief that they had no serious intention to afford the

Sultan any effective resistance against Russian aggression.

It would appear that Lord Aberdeen and the majority of his Cabinet still cherished hopes of being able to prevent an open rupture between Russia and the Porte; and a conference was held at Vienna of the representatives of the four great Powers—Austria, Prussia, Britain, and France—at which a document was framed known to Europe as the ‘Vienna Note.’ It declared that the Government of His Majesty the Sultan would remain faithful to the letter and the spirit of the stipulations of the Treaties of Kainardji and of Adrianople, relative to the protection of the Christian religion. It was readily accepted by Russia: it entirely suited the Russian policy; and the four Powers unanimously agreed to recommend its adoption by the Sultan. The Turkish Ministers, however, saw that these words embodied the claim which they had all along rejected, and would be so construed as to support the demand of the Czar to exercise a Protectorate over both the spiritual and temporal rights of the Greek Church; and they proposed to strike them out and to substitute the following—‘To the stipulations of the Treaty of Kainardji, confirmed by that of Adrianople, relative to the protection by the Sublime Porte of the Christian religion;’ thus indicating that the only Protectorate exercised over the Christians of Turkey is that of the Sultan himself. The representatives of the four Powers were greatly displeased at the refusal of the Turkish Ministers to accept the Note unless with this modification, and even Lord Clarendon remonstrated against the obstinacy of the Turks in a matter so critical. But the Russian Chancellor frankly avowed that his master had attached to the Note the very interpretation which the sagacity of the Sultan’s advisers had fastened upon it, and he refused to accept it in its altered form, on the very ground that the words proposed by the Turkish Ministers denied to the claims of Russia that satisfaction which the representatives

of the four Powers had recommended. Europe was in consequence compelled to acknowledge that the Divan were in the right, and had discovered that, as the Prince Consort said, the Note was a trap laid by Russia through Austria. What Russia still required, and what the Porte still refused to grant, was the protectorate of the Greek Church in Turkey.

Meanwhile a warlike feeling had been rising among the people in the Ottoman Empire, and was daily increasing in strength. The Mahometan Moolahs were preaching a holy war against the infidels who were seeking to subjugate their country and to destroy their religion, and at length the religious enthusiasm of the Turks had risen to such a height that the Turkish Government had to choose between war or a revolution. ‘The war frenzy and fanaticism of the Turks,’ Lord Aberdeen wrote to the Queen, ‘have passed all bounds, and threaten the safety of the Sultan and of the Christian inhabitants of the capital.’ At length, with the advice of a Great Council, attended by 172 of the most influential men of the empire, the Porte determined upon war. On the 4th of October the Porte sent to Prince Gortschakoff a summons by letter to evacuate the Principalities within fifteen days from its receipt, intimating at the same time that the Prince’s refusal would be considered as tantamount to a declaration of war on the part of Russia, and that hostilities would be declared thereupon by the Porte. The Prince did not comply with this demand, and on the 23rd of October Russia and Turkey passed into a state of war. The Czar, who was by this time in an almost frenzied condition, issued a proclamation to his subjects, couched in language of a most extraordinary kind, expressing his ‘confident reliance upon God’ in the struggle in which he was about to engage, and his firm conviction that ‘our faithful subjects will join the fervent prayers which we address to the Most High that His hand may be pleased to bless our arms in the holy and just cause

which has ever found ardent defenders in our pious ancestors;’ and concluding with words which in the circumstances cannot be regarded as other than blasphemous: ‘In Thee, O Lord, have I trusted; let me not be confounded for ever!’

The conduct of the Czar was condemned by all the four great Powers, and especially by France and Great Britain, in which there prevailed a feeling of strong indignation against Russian ambition and insolence. It may seem at first sight strange that this should have been the case, for Austria and Prussia had a much stronger interest in resisting the aggressive policy of Russia than France or Britain. But the King of Prussia, who was an amiable but weak and impulsive dreamer, was nearly related to the Czar, and was completely under his influence. After concurring in the protest of the other Powers against the demands of the Russian autocrat, and in the other measures adopted by them with the view of averting hostilities, he suddenly deserted them, declaring that the interests of Prussia did not require or allow him to engage in a war. Austria was deeply interested in preventing the Danubian provinces of the Turkish Empire from becoming part of the vast dominions of Russia, but she was afraid to take part in the contest without the co-operation of Prussia; and when after a while the Czar was compelled to withdraw his troops from the Principalities, she had no longer any direct interest in the struggle. The case was different in France and Britain. In both countries a strong feeling had been roused against the attempt of Russia to destroy the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. Louis Napoleon had personal reasons for cherishing a grudge against the Czar, who consented with manifest reluctance to acknowledge his dynasty, and alone of all the great Powers had absolutely refused to address him like other sovereigns as ‘Mon Frère.’ It was his interest and his earnest wish to cultivate amity and a close

political alliance with Great Britain, and he eagerly availed himself of the opportunity to do so afforded by the arrogant and arbitrary conduct of the Russian Emperor. The hostile feeling of the French people towards their old adversary, though as yet not strong, ultimately outstripped even the wishes of their ruler.

Among the people of the United Kingdom there had long existed a jealousy of the aggressive spirit of the Russian Government, and distrust of its honesty and veracity; and the attempt of the Czar to bully and rob ‘the sick man’ had excited deep indignation among all classes and political parties. This feeling was so strong and so universal that Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues would at once have been expelled from office if they had refused to support the Sultan against the imperious demands of the Czar. The Premier was strongly averse to war, which he justly regarded as one of the greatest evils, and was resolved to exhaust every means in his power to prevent it; and he clung to the hope that an amicable settlement of the dispute between the Czar and the Porte might yet be effected, even after the Russian army had crossed the Pruth. The feelings of Lord Aberdeen were shared by Mr. Gladstone, but Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were of opinion that prompt and decided measures were necessary to prevent the spoliation of the Turkish Empire.* These differences of opinion in the Cabinet kept them in a state of hesitation and uncertainty, and made it very difficult for them to decide what course to take. A small but highly respectable section of the community strongly disapproved of our interference in the dispute between Turkey and Russia, and especially condemned the proposal to go to war for the

* There was a widespread belief that if Lord Palmerston had been at the Foreign Office the war would have been prevented. Of this the Prince Consort was aware. On the 19th of October he wrote to Baron Stockmar, ‘The Palmerstonian stocks have gone up immensely, people saying that if he had been at the Foreign Office he would by his energy have brought Russia to reason.’

protection of the Porte against its powerful and unscrupulous adversary. But the great body of the people were impatient at the hesitation and delay of the Government, and were clamorous for the adoption of vigorous measures against the aggressor in the quarrel.

While matters were in this unsatisfactory state, and the country was gradually though insensibly drifting into war, an incident occurred which roused the people almost to fury. A Turkish squadron, consisting of seven frigates, a sloop, and a steamer, were lying at anchor in the harbour of Sinope, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, while a Russian fleet of six ships of the line and some steamers had issued from Sebastopol, and were cruising about that sea. The Turkish commander, apprehensive that he might be attacked by this overwhelming force, earnestly solicited reinforcements, but no attention was paid by the Government to his representations. On the 30th of November the Russian fleet suddenly bore down on the Turkish vessels at Sinope. Though the contest was hopeless the Turks fought with desperate valour against this fearful odds, until the whole squadron except the steamer was destroyed. Upwards of 4000 of the Turks were killed, and of the survivors, only 400 in number, every man was wounded. A great part of the town was also battered down by the Russian cannon.

The tidings of this disaster—the ‘massacre of Sinope,’ as it was called—excited a perfect storm of indignation, grief, and shame in Britain; and the conduct of the Russian emperor was denounced, though unreasonably, as a deliberate act of treachery and of shocking barbarity. A meeting of the Cabinet was held as soon as the news arrived, to consider what should be done. Lord Palmerston had repeatedly urged that two squadrons should be sent to the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles, but the Premier could not be brought to see the propriety of such a proceeding. Even yet he declined to take any decided or vigorous

step; and provoked at this hesitating policy Lord Palmerston resigned his office on the 15th of December, on the ground of a difference with his colleagues on the question of the Reform Bill which Lord John Russell was about to introduce into Parliament.* But it soon became evident that the country would not tolerate his withdrawal from the Government at this critical moment. As Mr. Kinglake says, he was gifted with the instinct which enables a man to read the heart of a nation, and he felt that the people would never forgive the Ministry if nothing decisive was done after the disaster at Sinope. His colleagues were constrained to yield to popular opinion, and as he says, took ‘a decision on Turkish affairs in entire accordance with opinions which he had long unsuccessfully pressed upon them,’ and he withdrew his resignation and resumed his seat in the Cabinet. The decision referred to was a resolution of the Cabinet to send the fleet to Constantinople, with instructions to the admiral ‘to protect the Turkish territory against any overt act of hostility against Turkey by sea.’ If the Russian fleet left the harbour at Sebastopol, to which it had retired after the affair of Sinope, the British and French squadrons were then to pass through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea.

Russia was anxious to delay hostilities until the spring, to afford her time to muster an overwhelming force in support of the troops she had thrown into Wallachia; but the suspense had become intolerable to

* Mr. Kinglake is of opinion that in Lord Palmerston’s mouth this explanation was a fair one, because the ‘difference’ in question had been *brandished* against him in such a way as to compel him to retire from the Government. There was a strong but erroneous impression at the time that Lord Palmerston’s resignation was brought about by an intrigue of the Court, and the Prince Consort’s letters show quite unequivocally the dislike which he entertained towards that powerful and popular Minister. Mr. Kinglake says, ‘In the midst of these anxious December days, when England was fast driving towards war, how came it to happen that a difference on the then flat subject of poor old “Reform” was so used as served to become the means of driving Lord Palmerston from office?’ He insinuates that it was owing to the action of some members of the Cabinet.

Turkey, which had to bear the large expense of what was really war without the opportunity of attacking the invader before his reinforcements could be brought into the field. War was therefore formally declared, as we have seen, by the Porte, to commence on the 23rd of October; and Omar Pasha, at the head of a considerable army, occupied the line of the Danube, and placed the Balkan in a state of defence.

The Emperor Nicholas had up to this period apparently flattered himself with the belief that the British Ministry would not have recourse to arms in defence of Turkey, but would confine their interposition in her behalf to diplomatic notes and protests. Lord Aberdeen's known aversion to war, the reliance placed on the supposed influence of the Peace party in England,* and the powerful remonstrances of Messrs. Cobden and Bright against the policy which seemed likely to lead to active hostilities between our country and Russia, induced him to believe that if he should persist in his resolution to compel the Porte to accede to his demands the British Government would not actively interfere to prevent him. He was confidently assured by his advisers, and he readily believed, that England's fighting days were over, and that her sons cared too much for money and their own ease to risk either in a European quarrel. His surprise and anger may be conceived when on the 12th of January, 1854, he received official notice that if his ships of war should venture to leave Sebastopol they would be compelled to return to port by the combined fleets of the Western Powers. On this he withdrew his representatives from London and Paris, and the Governments of Britain and France of course followed his example. On the 27th of February Lord Clarendon conveyed the

ultimatum of the British Government in a letter to Count Nesselrode. It declared that they had exhausted all the efforts of negotiation to obtain a satisfactory settlement, and were now compelled to announce that if Russia should decline to restrict within purely diplomatic limits the discussion with the Porte, and should not at once intimate her intention to evacuate the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia by the 30th of April next, the British Government must consider the refusal equivalent to a declaration of war, and will take its measures accordingly.

The Russian Czar, however, was impervious to all arguments and appeals. He had indeed raised among his own subjects a spirit of eagerness for war, which he could not now allay even if he had wished to do so, after declaring to them that 'France and England have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia, combating for the orthodox faith.' He persisted in the course which he had marked out for himself in the same haughty and imperious manner in which he had entered upon it. In his reply to a letter of remonstrance addressed to him by the Emperor of France, he justified every step he had taken; declared that the adoption of the construction which he had put upon the Treaty of Kainardji, as to the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey, formed the only opening for friendly discussion; and reminded the Emperor of the disasters of his uncle when he invaded Russia in 1812—a taunt which had the effect of rousing the indignation of the French people, among whom up to this time a war with Russia was far from popular. He submitted to the Conference which was still sitting in Vienna, as the only basis on which he could allow discussion, certain conditions which were found to be a considerable increase upon the first obnoxious demands by Prince Mentschikoff, and which were declared to be utterly inadmissible; and with regard to the ultimatum submitted to him by France and

* A deputation from the Society of Friends, who had been prominent members of the Peace party, proceeded to St. Petersburg and requested the Emperor to preserve Europe from the calamity of war. He received them very courteously, and of course declared that he was most anxious to meet their wishes.

Britain, he intimated through his Chancellor that he did not think it fitting that he should make any reply. This decision reached London on the 24th of March. Four days later a formal declaration of war, on the part of the Queen, was read by the Sergeant-at-Arms, accompanied by some of the officials of the city, in front of the Royal Exchange. The reasons for this momentous step were set forth in an official document in the *London Gazette*. After narrating clearly and succinctly the progress of the Eastern question; the demands made by the Czar; the studious concealment, in the first instance, of his most important claims; and the various attempts that were made by the Queen's Government, in conjunction with the other three great Powers, to settle the questions at issue upon a just and moderate basis, and the persistence of Russia in her unwarrantable demands, the document concluded by declaring that Her Majesty felt called upon 'by regard for an ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognized as essential to the peace of Europe; by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong; by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a power which has violated the faith of treaties and defies the opinion of the civilized world—to take up arms in conjunction with the

Emperor of the French for the defence of the Sultan.'

On the 27th of March the Emperor of the French addressed a message to the Corps Législatif, announcing 'that Russia, having refused to reply to the summons of France and Britain, was thereby placed with regard to France in a state of war, the whole responsibility of which rested upon Russia.'

A considerable body of the troops destined for action in the East had already taken their departure, and on the 11th of March the magnificent fleet which was assembled at Spithead, consisting of twenty iron steamships, carrying 2000 guns and 21,000 men, set sail for the Baltic. On the eve of its departure for its destination Her Majesty wrote Lord Aberdeen, 'It will be a solemn moment! Many a heart will be very heavy, and many a prayer, including our own, will be offered up for its safety and glory.'

Shortly after France and Britain entered into a treaty with the Sultan, by which they engaged to defend his dominions until a peace was concluded guaranteeing the independence of the Ottoman Empire. On the 10th of April a treaty of alliance was signed between the two Western Powers, binding themselves to employ all their land and sea forces in order to expel the Russian forces from Turkey, and for the re-establishment of peace upon a secure and equitable basis.